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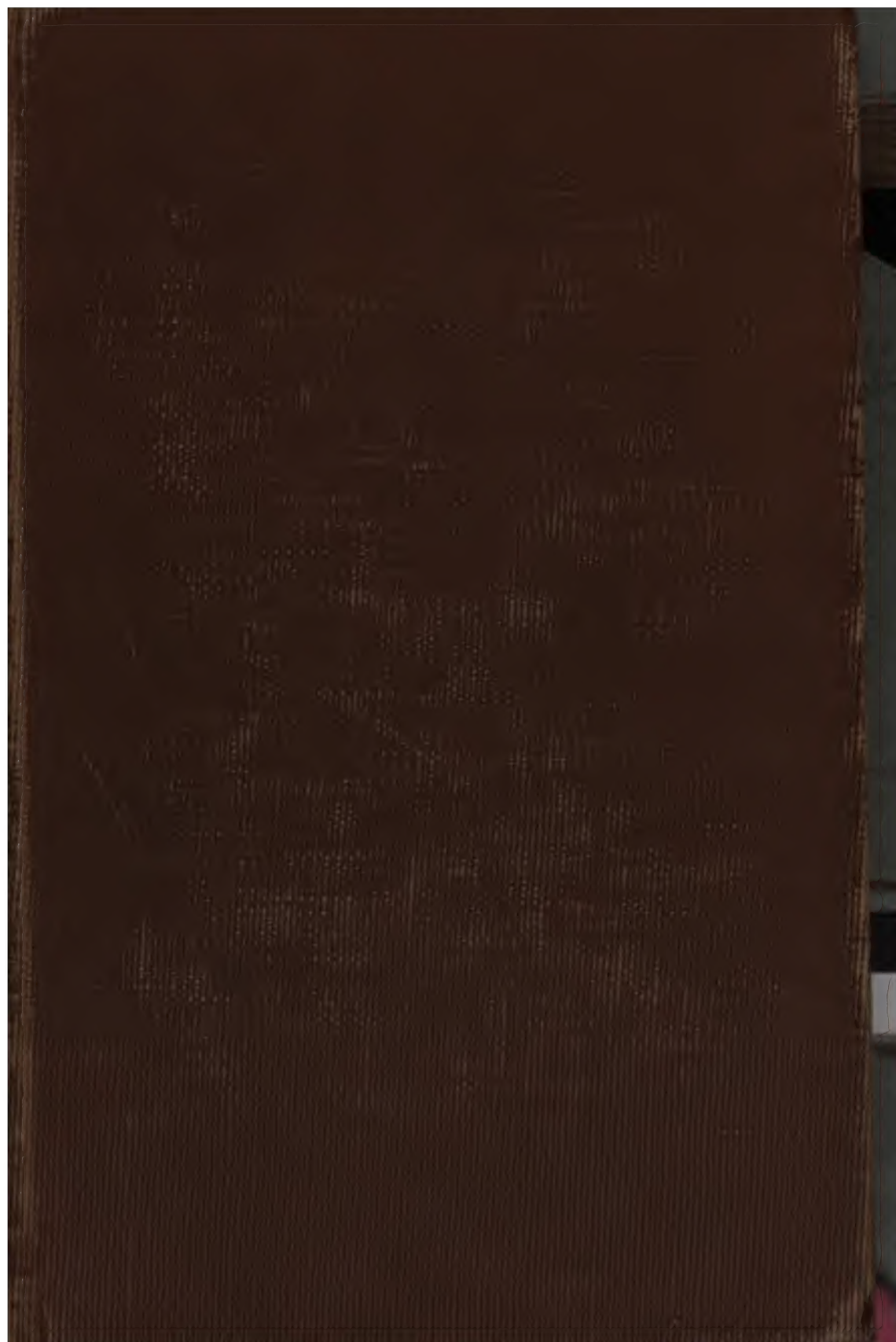
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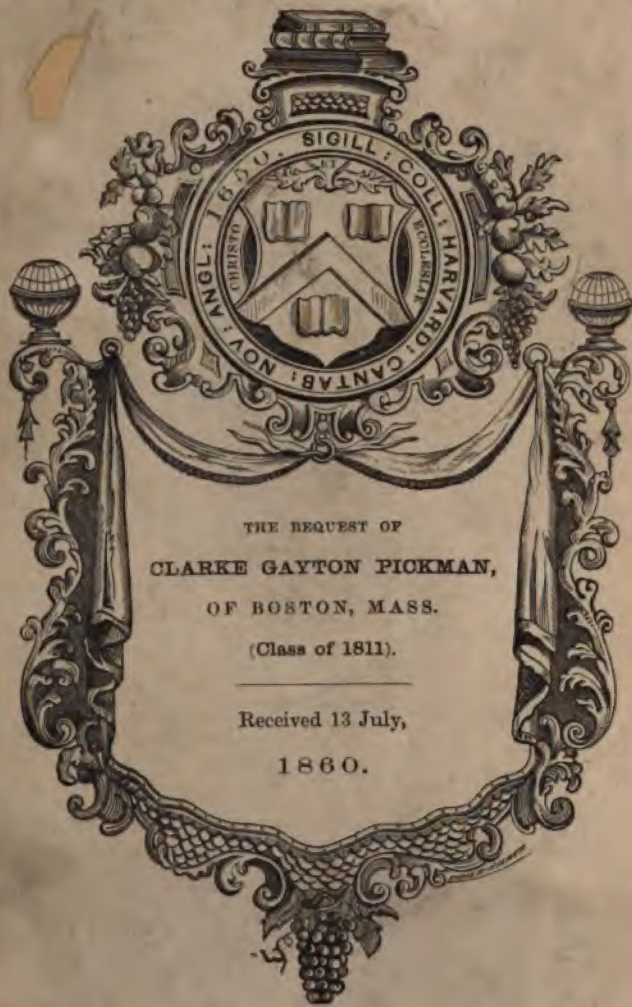
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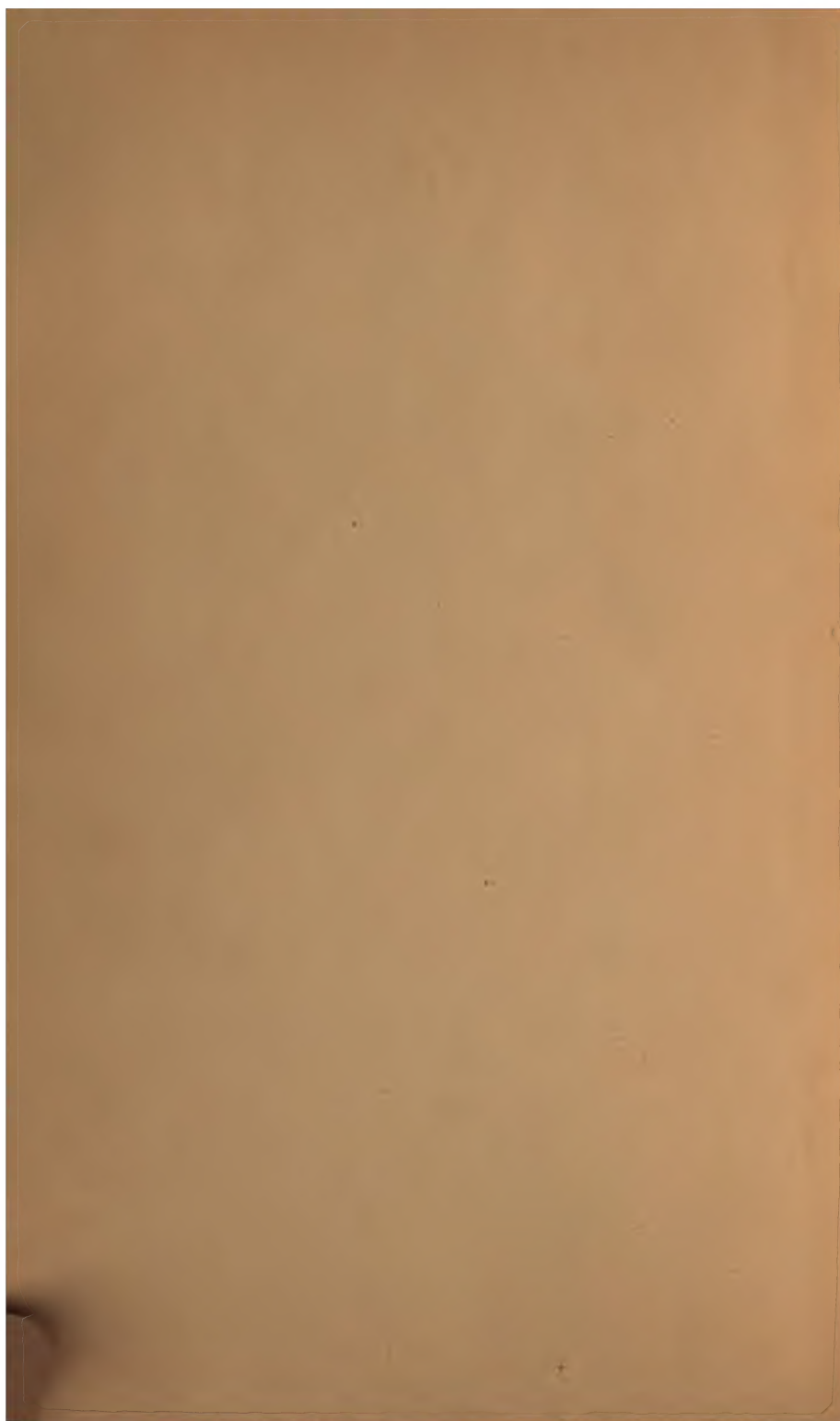
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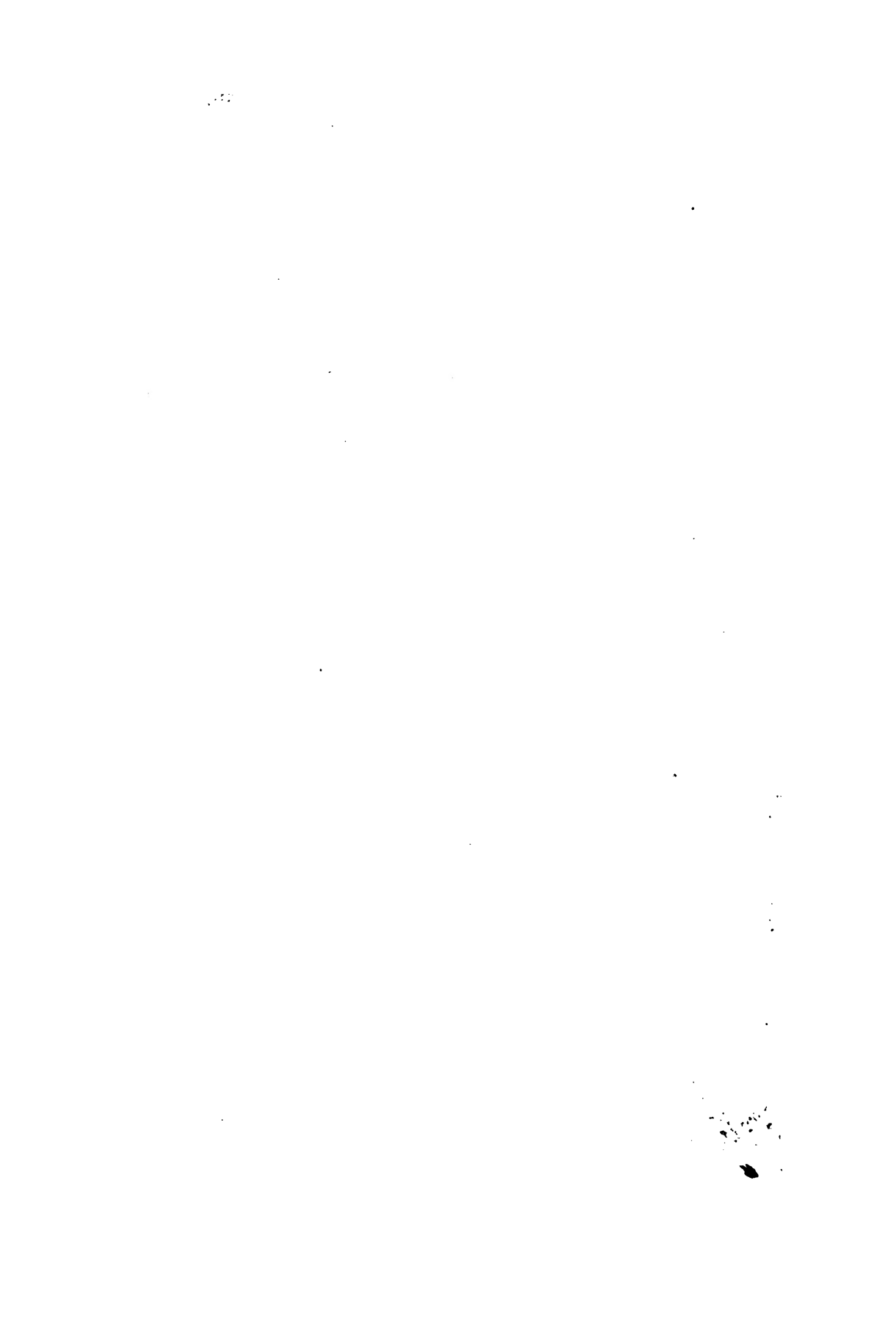


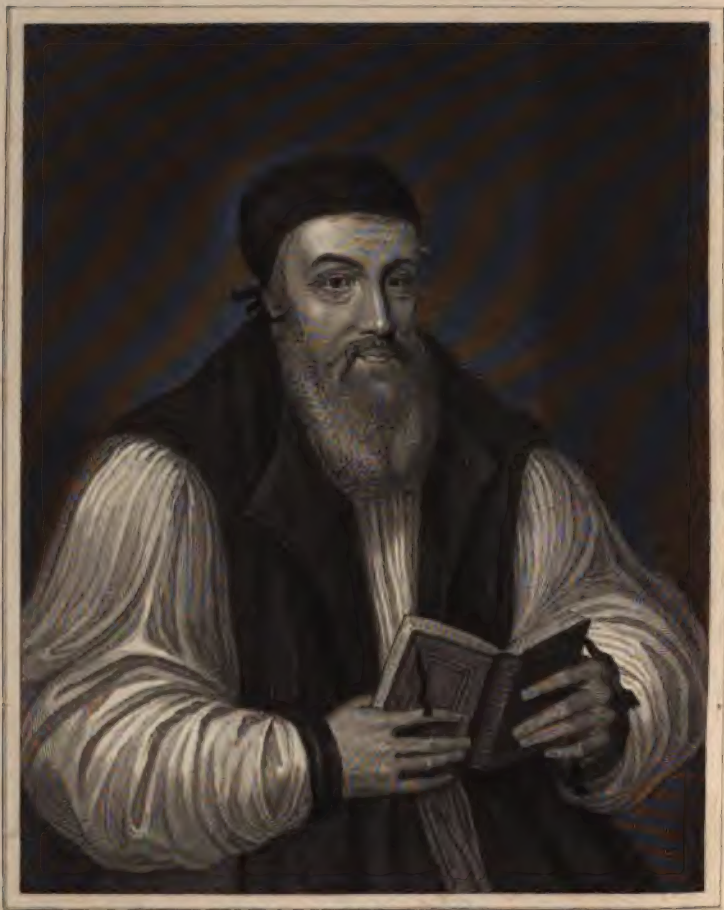
THE REQUEST OF
CLARKE GAYTON PICKMAN,
OF BOSTON, MASS.
(Class of 1811).

Received 13 July,
1860.









Engraved by J. Fisher, A.R.S., after a drawing by W. Stettin, taken from a Picture in the Repository of the House the Archbishop of Canterbury of Lambeth Palace.

EDMUND GRINDAL,
Archbishop of Canterbury.

Born about 1519.

Died July 6th 1583.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE AND ACTS
OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDMUND GRINDAL,

THE FIRST BISHOP OF LONDON, AND THE SECOND ARCH-
BISHOP OF YORK AND CANTERBURY SUCCESSIVELY,
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL MSS.

Faithfully transcribed out of the best Archives; whereunto Reference is made
in the History.

IN TWO BOOKS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

^y
2 OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCXXI.

C1356.15

1868. July 13.

Pierman Bequest.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
THOMAS,
BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN;
AND
ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it please your Grace,

I PRESENT your Grace with the Life and Actions (as far as I could retrieve them) of one of your glorious predecessors in the chair of Canterbury. And how he discharged his most high and holy office in those critical times, wherein the newly Reformed Church (beset with enemies and malecontents) needed a very wise conduct, I leave your Grace, and other intelligent and impartial readers, (after perusal of these sheets,) to judge.

This commentary indeed, in course of time, should have followed that of Archbishop Parker's Life, but hath the fortune to appear in the world before it. The reason whereof was, the solicitation of a great many honourable, worshipful, reverend, and other inquisitive persons, who were desirous (upon an occasion sufficiently known) to understand more perfectly, who and what this Archbishop was, so long ago deceased, that almost all of him, but his

name, and a particular notion or two, (however taken up of him,) was gone out of memory. Some of these were my friends and acquaintance, who knew I had composed such a work; as indeed I had divers years ago, together with the Life of his immediate predecessor; for this honest end, *viz.* to contribute more light into the state of the Church of England, when it first emerged out of Popery, and to shew the great and painful cares and labours of those its chiefests piritual governors; whom (with several others of Queen Elizabeth's first Bishops) I cannot but look upon with awful reverence, as men inspired by God with larger degrees of his Holy Spirit of piety, wisdom, resolution, and constancy.

To their request therefore, my Lord, I soon yielded: not out of any inclination to mingle myself in quarrels and contests, (which my nature abhors,) but to gratify their reasonable desires; and likewise that a due and honorary respect might be kept up for the memory of those holy Primates and Prelates, that first had the oversight of our religion, upon the blessed Reformation, committed to them: and chiefly, that the true history of our excellently constituted Church, and the genuine doctrines and practices of it, might be more known. Which would (I dare say) direct us better to judge of our modern controversies, and be a means to reconcile an honourable esteem towards it; and perhaps to unite Protestants in a better understanding together, both at home and abroad.

And truly, my Lord, since this good Archbishop hath been lately so much, and yet so darkly talked of, justice and religion require that right be done

to his name, especially having been sometime a personage of such eminent rank and figure here. It is humane to vindicate the reputations of the dead, who cannot speak for themselves: it is the part of a Christian to do it for those who have been *Confessors* for religion, and lived and died constantly in the true faith of Christ. But it is the duty of a member of the Church of England to preserve the memory, fair and unspotted, of one that had been advanced to the highest honour and trust in it; and bore a great part in the first reformation of it.

It is true, my Lord, it hath been Archbishop Grindal's misfortune (I cannot tell by what means) to be of later times misdeemed as an ill governor of this Church. But surely in the times wherein he lived (when he was better known) his episcopal abilities and admirable endowments for spiritual government (as well as his singular learning) were much celebrated. Give me leave, my Lord, to produce the testimony of a learned Churchman and contemporary with him. When the see of York (anno 1568) lay destitute of a Pastor, Dr. Matthew Hutton, the Dean, sensible of the great need that northern diocese and province stood of a fit person for that weighty and difficult charge, sent a letter to Cecil the Secretary, expressive of the same: suggesting withal, what qualifications he that was to be sent among them ought to have, *viz.* "that he
" should be a teacher, because the country was ignorant; a virtuous and godly man, because the
" country was given to sift such a man's life; a stout
" and courageous man in God's cause, because the
" country otherwise would abuse him; and yet a

“sober and discreet man, lest too much rigorous-
“ness should harden the hearts of some that by
“fair means might be mollified, &c. And such a
“Bishop likewise as was both learned himself, and
“also loved learning; that that rude and blind
“country might be furnished with learned preach-
“ers.” And all these excellent qualities he reckon-
ed centred in Grindal. For, as he added, “such a
“man was the Bishop of London known to be.”
And therefore he wished that LONDON were trans-
lated to YORK, as I have observed elsewhere.

Nothing to this day sticks upon our Archbishop,
but the matter of the Exercises, and his suspension.
That is the stumbling block and the rock of offence.
Whence many have surmised, I know not what,
inclination in him towards a discipline in this
Church different to what was established. But how
groundless this is, may sufficiently, nay abundantly,
appear by what is related thereof in this history.
Nor need I add any thing more of that affair, except
the great esteem and high value he universally had,
even at that juncture, when he lay under his Prince’s
frowns. Insomuch (if I may presume to detain
your Grace in a few lines more) that when Barnes,
Bishop of Durham, had taken the liberty to speak
somewhat reflectingly upon the Archbishop, soon
after his disgrace, the Lord Treasurer Burghley
took occasion to signify to him, with a concern,
how reports went, that he had no good mind to-
ward the Archbishop of Canterbury at that time of
his trouble. I have that Bishop’s answer to that
great Lord, writ by his own hand. Wherein it
is observable, he does not charge the Archbishop

with lack of sincerity toward the Church, nor condemneth those Exercises. But more like a courtier, and one that affected further favours from the throne, accused him of "wilfulness, and for contemning the regal power, and obstinacy in not yielding to that which their Honours [of the Star Chamber] had set down; the same being godly and expedient for the time, the malapertness of brainless men considered, &c." And as for the Exercises, "though being well ordered, he confessed they were *de bene esse religionis*, yet they were not *de esse religionis sinceræ*. And therefore not to be urged so, as to contend with her Highness and her Council.

"This, he owned to the Lord Treasurer, he had discoursed but to two or three at the most; and that he urged it only in defence of her Majesty, when bruits had been spread, that the Archbishop had been cruelly dealt withal, and had not deserved to be so straitened. And also other slanders (he added) had been dispersed, *viz.* that my Lord of Leicester, and others, should further his troubles. Which, he said, he knew to be most false: and that he was therefore under a kind of force to assert the Archbishop's wilfulness and undutifulness to be the just occasion thereof, &c. And more than this, he affirmed, he had not done; nor, but that he was forced, he should not have done or said any thing of him at all. And lastly, he concluded, that he never minded, if he might, to urge her Majesty's indignation against any man, *neque addere afflictionem afflicto.*"

A disrespect also was taken notice of in him to-

wards the Archbishop; which was, that when he was last in Town, he had not given the Archbishop a visit. But this, he said, he had determined to have done, had he not been warned by some (whom he would obey) not to do it.

My Lord, I have mentioned this passage for two ends chiefly, *viz.* that it might appear it was not the Archbishop's favour to another Church's discipline, and dislike of this, that was the cause of his present troubles; and to shew, that he still retained an high esteem from the greatest and best of the Court; as is evident from that care that was taken that his good name should not be impaired. I only add, that Bishop Barnes had no good-will towards the Archbishop; and he could not forget, how the Archbishop had not long before dealt against him for some defects, either in the discharge of his episcopal function, or for his bribe-taking officers.

But, my Lord, to return to our history. The benefit whereof is not barely to acquaint us with the life of a single Archbishop, but to let us in (as it were through this door) into more public affairs of the State, and especially of the Church, that fell within that compass of years. As, what the cares of the Queen and her Council were for religion and the good government of the Church, in pursuance of her authority in causes ecclesiastical: what was done in Synods; what in ecclesiastical Commissions, and at visitations of dioceses and provinces; what methods and labours were used for uniformity in religious worship, established by law, both with Papists and Puritans; what Bishops were appointed to preside in the sees, as they became vacant; what

ecclesiastical canons, ordinances, constitutions, and injunctions were made or propounded; what regulations of Archbishops' Courts; what correspondence held with the Reformed Churches abroad; what respect had to those strangers, that for the sake of Christ and true religion, fled over, and planted themselves in this kingdom: inspection into the religion and manners of the Inns of Court and Universities; vigilancy against errors and heresies; with divers other things of that nature. All of good use for such as desire to understand the true constitution of our excellent apostolical Church.

And now, my Lord, I have nothing more to add, but the protestation of my truth and sincerity in every thing I have writ concerning this most venerable Primate, and the other affairs concurring. It is the product of many years search into authentic manuscripts, records, papers of state, and more secret letters; besides the registers of London and Canterbury, (wherein I have used mine own eyes,) and that of York, (wherein I have been forced to use the eyes of others, but of such faithful, diligent persons as we may confide in.) A good number of these (besides those that are entered into the body of the history) I have exactly transcribed, and cast them to the end of the book, for the justification of myself, and the satisfaction of inquisitive readers. And as I have had these advantages of archives, so I have invariably followed them, and without reserve or concealment, fairly and faithfully set down the notices they have furnished me with.

x. THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

And thus, my Lord, recommending myself and my pains unto the favourable interpretation and candour of your Grace, (and all other learned readers,) I humbly take my leave, being,

If it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most humble

And obedient servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE AND ACTS
OF THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDMUND GRINDAL,

The first Bishop of London after Queen Elizabeth's Access to the
Crown, and the second Archbishop of Canterbury.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Grindal's country and parentage. Noted in the University for his learning. Disputes before the King's Visitors. Becomes Bishop Ridley's Chaplain. Bucer applies to him. Preaches abroad. Becomes Chaplain to the King. Lives in exile.

WE have but little to say of the earlier part of this Prelate's life. He was born about the year of our Lord 1519, in a little angle of the county of Cumberland called Cowp-land, or Copland, from the hills in those southern parts of the county, which *cope* in the old English language importeth. And though, as he himself in one of his letters gave the character of it, Cowpland, of all that shire, was the ignorantest part in religion, yet brought it forth this shining light of learning and religion: and however bar-

CHAP.

L

Anno 1519.

His country
Cumber-land.

BOOK barous the place of his birth was, yet it obtained a great
I. share in his tender affection and love towards it. It had la-

Anno 1519. boured not only under great ignorance, but under great op-
2 pression of covetous landlords, most of any one part of the
realm. For the redressing of which, in the month of May,
anno 1563, when he was Bishop of London, he betook him-
self to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, his cordial and
constant friend; discovering at large to him the state of the
place, and discoursing and consulting with him about a re-
medy of the evils it suffered under: having often thought,
as he said, to make a general suit to him for a regard to
it. Which, no question, had a good effect.

The gentry
there.

The like concern this reverend and pious Bishop had for
the good education of the gentry there; whose influence he
knew would be so considerable upon the whole country.
And hearing of the decease of one Mr. Skelton, a gentleman
that had lived very near his own native town, leaving a
young son and heir behind him, he speedily informed the
said Cecil, master of the wards, of it; adding, that he knew
his countrymen would make good speed for the wardship.
And therefore he earnestly desired the said master, "that
" he would take order for the good education of the ward;
" and not leave the poor tenants subject to the expilations of
" those country gentlemen, without some choice." Wherein
he offered, if it pleased him to understand his opinion, to
utter it simply according to his understanding.

His family
and rela-
tions.

As for the Bishop's own family and relations, to them he
bore an hearty affection, as well as to his country. He was
born in the parish of St. Begh's, (so called from a certain
Irish virgin saint, named St. Bega, who retired here, and
had a cell afterwards founded here to her memory.) Yet a

Ralph Tho-
resby, of
Leeds, Esq.

very inquisitive learned gentleman in the north hath in-
formed me, that this Bishop was not born at St. Begh's, but
at Hensingham, a mile south of Whitehaven, three miles
distant from St. Begh's, but in the said parish.

Edwin
Sandys of
St. Begh's.

There was an intimate friendship and familiarity from
their youths continued between him and Edwin Sandys,
who succeeded him also in London and York, which sprang,

as it seems, from their acquaintance in this town of St. CHAP.
 Begh's; Sandys being from the said place, and his father a I.
 justice of peace there. For from twelve years old (except Anno 1519.
 from Sandys's thirteenth to his eighteenth, when perhaps
 their parting was occasioned by one of them going to the
 University before the other; Sandys being three or four
 years elder than Grindal) they had lived in the University,
 and out of it, through all fortunes, (both in adversity, for
 the sake of the Gospel, and in prosperity,) as brothers toge-
 ther. And therefore, in the year 1563, when Sandys's former Vid. Annal.
 life and innocence had been unhandsomely traduced by Sir of the Re-
 John Bourn, of Worcester, knight, in an apology of his to form. chap.
 the Privy Council, he earnestly prayed them, that Bishop
 Grindal, who had known him so well from his young years,
 might be called to give his testimony of his behaviour.

In an house here, in St. Begh's parish, held by his fa- Procures
 ther, he fetched his first breath. The lease of this house, leases for
 with the land pertaining thereto, being under twenty shil- his family.
 lings rent, but well built at the charges of his father and
 brother, he obtained of Sir Thomas Chaloner; together with
 another lease of certain tithes of the parsonage of St. Begh's, 3
 himself paying the fines, and conferring it upon his brother
 and his children; intending thereby to advance his family.
 But God disappointed him; the males of the family dying
 soon after; and, by some unlooked-for misfortune, the leases
 being in danger of a forfeiture. For his brother, whose
 name was Robert, and his wife Elizabeth, and Edmund his
 only son, all three died anno 1567, in the space of three
 weeks, to the good Bishop's no small grief: his said brother
 leaving four daughters orphans; and by his testament he
 made his second daughter Anne sole executrix: whereby
 she had the possession of those two leases. She had been
 willed in her father's last testament to be directed in all
 things by her uncle the Bishop. But, clean contrary to his
 mind, and utterly against his will, she bestowed herself in
 marriage with one William Dacres, son of Richard Dacres, His niece
 gent. who dwelt beside Carlisle: which William had combined marries to
 himself with Leonard Dacres and others in that traitorous Dacres.

BOOK rebellion, moved in the year 1569, in Cumberland. Now the
I. Bishop's fear was, that if William Dacres, who married his

Anno 1519. niece, should forfeit his goods and chattels by reason of his
 being in rebellion, he having the two leases in his hand, they
 might all be swallowed up in the forfeiture; and so his other
 three nieces be utterly deprived of their portions therein.

**His leases
 like to be
 forfeited.**

This put the Bishop upon suing to the Secretary his
 friend, in the month of February the said year, that he
 would be a means to the Queen aforehand, (for avoiding
 the being prevented,) that she would grant, that the portion
 and interest which the other three sisters orphans had, or
 ought to have had, in the said two leases, might be reserved
 unto them: and also, that whatsoever might accrue to her
 Majesty by forfeiture or attainder of the said William
 Dacres, concerning those leases of the house and tithes
 aforesaid, he (the Bishop) might have the preference before
 another for the purchasing thereof; being willing to pay as
 much as the thing was worth, or more: leaving the Secre-
 tary, as he said, to consider how much he was bound in na-
 ture and charity to make this request. Or in case the for-
 feiture fell not to the Queen, but to Sir Thomas Chaloner's
 executors, (which was the common opinion at St. Begh's, by
 reason of the charter of liberties which the abbey there had,
 and Sir Thomas purchased,) then he prayed the said Secre-
 tary, who was one of the said Chaloner's executors, that he
 would permit him to compound with him: though his judg-
 ment, as he added, was, that no such liberty could pretend
 to a title in the goods of traitors.

**Will. Grin-
 dal, Lady
 Elizabeth's
 tutor.**

I cannot trace his family any farther; only, that I find
 one William Grindal, a dear and intimate friend, colleague,
 and pupil of Roger Ascham, Fellow of St. John's college in
 Cambridge: who was removed from the college to the court
 by Cheke, King Edward's tutor, and dwelt with him, and as-
 sisted him, probably for a time, in the instructing of that prince.
 He was chiefly employed as a tutor to the Lady Elizabeth in
 her studies. Ascham, in a letter to the said lady, commend-
 ing her proficiency in learning, and rendering her fortunes
 and high birth thereby more noble, by joining good literature

thereunto, assigned several things to be the causes thereof; CHAP.
 as her reading of Plato, her own excellent judgment, the 1.
 counsel of an accomplished lady, the Lady Champernoun, Anno 1519.
 who it seems had some charge over her; and among the 4
 rest, the precepts of his dear friend Grindal. And she made
 very notable progress in Greek and Latin, by the cares and
 method that this Grindal took in her instruction. And what
 further advances she was likely to make in those languages,
 in case she proceeded in the same course that the said
 Grindal took with her, Ascham signified in one of his letters
 to Cheke^a. "It can scarce be credited, to what degree of
 "skill in the Latin and Greek she might arrive, if she shall
 "proceed in that course of study wherein she hath begun
 "by the guidance of Grindal." But she had a great loss in
 losing soon this her ingenious and learned instructor: for
 he died young, in the year 1548, of the plague, and made a
 very pious end; and left this character: *mores, ingenium,*
memoriam, judicium tale habuit, quale vix cuiquam in
Anglia contingit. The Lady Elizabeth, to recruit herself
 with another instructor, sent for the afore-mentioned As-
 cham from Cambridge, to supply his place; and he accord-
 ingly came up, and was with her at Cheshunt. But what
 relation the said Grindal was to our Prelate, besides that of
 his ingenuity, piety, and learning, I know not. There was
 also one James Grindal, a clergyman, on whom the Bishop James Grin-
 bestowed a prebend in Paul's; and another of his name, dal.
 whom he retained in his family, when Archbishop of Can-
 terbury. I meet also with one of this name, or very like it,
 in the reign of King Richard II. I dare not say the Bi-
 shop was of his family; but yet I will mention him here:
viz. Thomas Grendal, of Fenton in the county of Hunting- Camden's
 don; who, being cousin and heir to John Beaumeys, of Armories.
 Sautre, of the same county, granted his coat (that is, of Tho. Grin-
 Beaumeys) to Will. Moigne, knt. which was argent, upon dal.
 a cross azure, five garbs, or.

Our Edmund Grindal, in his tender years, addicted him- He escapes
 self to his studies. And even while he was a child books a great dan-
 were his delight and recreation, carrying them about with ger when a
boy.

BOOK him: which, as it shewed the pleasure he took in learning, ^{1.} so it fell out once very fortunately to him. For when he ^{Anno 1519.} was a boy, walking somewhere in the fields, and having his book in his bosom, an arrow accidentally came, that light with its point just in the place where the book was; which, if the book had not been there, must have certainly slain him. Which passage Conrad Hubert, the publisher of Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, (which he dedicated to him when he was Archbishop,) would make to be a special piece of God's providence; by saving his life in such a remarkable manner, who was afterwards to do him such great service in his Church.

Sent to
Cambridge.

He was sent up to the University of Cambridge; where three colleges may boast of him. Magdalen college first entertained him, and gave him his earliest seasoning. Thence he became a member of Christ's college; drawn thither, I suppose, upon the account of some encouragement and exhibition. His third remove was to Pembroke hall, where he was first Fellow, and President in King Edward's time, while Bishop Ridley was Master: afterwards, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he became Master of the college. And, to all these colleges he shewed his gratitude: to each assigning certain liberal benefactions by his last will, as shall be told hereafter.

Disputes
before the
King's vi-
sitors.

Before he came to be taken notice of in the Church, he made a figure in the University, as one of the ripest wits and learnedest men in Cambridge. And when an extraordinary act was commenced, anno 1549, for the entertainment of King Edward's visitors there, viz. Goodrich Bishop of Ely, Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr. Mey, and Dr. Wendy, all very learned men; and the questions to be disputed were,

Whether transubstantiation could be proved by plain and manifest words of Scripture: and,

Hist. of
Brit.
Church.

Whether it might be collected and confirmed by the consent of Fathers *for these thousand years past*. [So Fuller; but it should rather be, *for a thousand years after Christ*.]

At this disputation, one of the four selected out of the whole University that asserted the negative, was our Grindal, then a young man, and Fellow of Pembroke hall: a college wherein in those times were harboured many eminent professors of sincere religion, that came up students from the northern parts, as Ridley, Turner, Bradford, and others. The other three disputants being Pern, Guest, and Pilkington. And probably Bishop Ridley hearing how aptly and excellently Grindal did then acquit himself, might from thence design him for his chaplain. The disputation may be seen at large in Fox's Martyrology.

CHAP.
1.

Anno 1549.
Pembroke
hall.

He was this year (being Bachelor in Divinity) admitted the Lady Margaret's public Preacher in Cambridge.

Lady Mar-
garet's
Preacher,

Anno 1550.

The first appearance of him in the Church, as I can find, was when Bishop Ridley, now removed to the bishopric of London, made choice of him for his chaplain, being fellow-domestic with two other holy and learned men, Rogers and Bradford, who both ended their lives at a stake for the testimony of the Gospel. Of all whom the said Bishop, in a letter to Sir John Cheke, gave this testimonial: "That they were men of good learning, and, as he was persuaded, of excellent virtue; and which were able both with life and learning to set forth God's word in London and in the whole diocese." And of Grindal, in particular, he told Cheke, "that he himself knew him to be a man of virtue and learning." But as yet this last was without preferment: for whom, upon the death of Layton, an old preacher, he designed the prebend of Cantrelles in the Church of St. Paul's, had he not been obstructed by one Thomas, a clerk of the Council, who had laboured with the King and Council the next avoidance for himself. And, being become void, letters were writ to the Bishop by some of the Council to stay his collation of the prebend. For when it was perceived that Ridley would never be thought to bestow the prebend upon Thomas, some procured it to be settled for the furnishing of the King's stables. This extremely troubled the good Bishop; who therefore applied himself to Cheke, Wroth, and Cecil, at the Court, whom he

Becomes
Ridley's
Chaplain.
MSS. Ceci-
lian.

The Bi-
shop's cha-
racter and
care of him.

BOOK I. esteemed men that loved the Gospel: that they would interpose, that he might collate this his Chaplain to the said prebend, to whom he said he would with all his heart grant it; that so he might have him continually with him, and in his diocese to preach. He added, "that the man, Mr. Grindal, moved him very much; for that he was known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning. And, finally, he prayed them for God's sake to help; that, with favour of the Council, he might have knowledge of the King's good pleasure to give this living unto his said well-deserving Chaplain." But whether Grindal after all this enjoyed Cantrelles or no, I cannot tell: nevertheless, soon after, the chantership of the church was collated on him, a thing of better value. So that in short time the Bishop, like a good master, provided for this, as well as his two other chaplains. This was collated on him August 24, 1551.

Anno 1550.

6

Made
Chanter
of Paul's.

President of
Pembroke
hall.

Bucer ap-
plies to him
about a dis-
putation
held with
Young.

Grindal was now President of his college, (as Ridley the Bishop, to whom he was Chaplain, was Master,) but was absent this summer, being at London with the Bishop; when there happened a public disputation at Cambridge, between Martin Bucer, the King's Professor of Divinity, and one John Young, of the same University, a Papist, yet a subscriber; who undertook to grapple with that learned Professor about works done before justification; which he asserted were not pleasing to God, but were of the nature of sin. Young held the other part; though the doctrine were laid down in one of the King's late Homilies, viz. that of Good Works. In fine, the disputation caused great stir and party-making in the University. The business came into the Vice-Chancellor's court, where Young accused Bucer of great errors, and asserting matters both against Scripture and Fathers; and had drawn up in writing his own disputation, but not faithfully, and communicated it to his friends; though he would not to Bucer, who was most concerned, when he desired it. The reverend man, therefore, to vindicate himself from slanders and misreports, wrote down the disputation himself, according to what both said

pro and *con*, and first laid the writing before the heads: CHAP. I.
 and thought it expedient likewise, for his own safety and reputation, being the King's Reader, for thus vindicating his Anno 1550.
 doctrine, to give an account of this affair to the Court; and therefore wrote it to Sir John Cheke: and soon after he sent the whole copy of this dispute to Grindal, then with the Bishop, his very cordial friend, together with a letter to him, dated August the last, praying him first to peruse it well himself, and then to represent it clearly and fully to the said Bishop: and that, "because this point now debated" was a principal article of doctrine, which," as he said, "he would not betray for the sake of no creature in the world; and that it was not meet for him to be tolerated a moment in his present function, should he err in this head of Christian doctrine:" he beseeched Grindal therefore to open his cause to the Bishop, and withal to ask his counsel, what he would direct him to do; which he was confident the reverend Father would not think much to impart to him: and since it was the cause of Christ, the Church, and University, that Grindal would speedily send some trusty person to him, with an ample answer, if he came not himself. This whole letter to Grindal may not be amiss to be perused: and 7
 I have set it in the Appendix, as I found it in his Scripta Num. I. Anglicana. And no question this kindness Grindal did for his friend Bucer, and especially for his greater friend truth.

It was but the latter end of the winter following that he paid his last respects to his said friend; being one of those that assisted at the funeral, and bore up Bucer's hearse, Assists at Bucer's funeral. when he was carried to St. Mary's church to be buried: and Dr. Matthew Parker preached his funeral sermon. But to return to Bishop Ridley, our Grindal's patron.

These his foresaid three Chaplains the Bishop preferred to be prebendaries of his church of St. Paul's. But such Employed abroad in preaching. was their worth and usefulness, that they were all employed abroad: so that Ridley could keep none of them with him in his house, as he told the Secretary and the Vice-Chamberlain.

BOOK In the year 1551, Grindal's parts were so well known,
I. that he was concerned in two amicable private conferences:

Anno 1551. What the true and genuine sense of those words of Christ
Engaged in was, *This is my body*; and, whether they were to be un-
certain con- derstood in the letter, or in the figure? the former managed
ferences. at Secretary Cecil's house, and the latter at Mr. Morison's;
 whereat divers learned and noble men were present. There
 assisted on the Protestant side, (beside Grindal,) Cheke,
 Horn, and Whitehead; and Feckenham, Young, and Wat-
 son on the other.

Becomes In December this year a resolution was taken by the
one of the King's Council, that the King should retain six Chaplains;
King's whose employments were thus laid out for them: two to be
Chaplains. always with the King in waiting; the other four to be sent
 over the kingdom, especially the remoter counties, to preach
 to the common people, and to instruct them in the principles
 of true religion, and obedience to their prince. These six
 were afterwards reduced to four: and Grindal was one of
 these; the other being Dr. Bill, Dr. Harley, (afterwards Bi-
 shop of Hereford,) and Dr. Pern. And their annual salaries
 were 40*l.* each.

Anno 1552. In the month of June, 6 Edward VI. for his greater
Hath a countenance he obtained a royal licence to preach. And in
royal li- July following, I find (in King Edward's Warrant-Book) a
cence to grant to Edmund Grindal, B.D. of a Prebend in Westmin-
preach. ster for life, void by the death of one Breton.

Nominated In the month of November, Grindal was nominated for a
for a bi- bishopric in the north, being then not above three and
shopric. thirty years of age: such public notice had been already
 taken of his abilities. Of this his designed preferment Bi-
 shop Ridley was very glad, giving God hearty thanks, as he
 said in a letter to certain of his friends at court, *viz.* Sir
 John Gate, Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir William Cecil, Secre-
Mss. Ceci- tary, "that it had pleased him to move the heart of the
liam. " King's majesty to choose such a man, of such godly qua-
 " lities, unto such a room." But being desirous to bestow
 the prebend that would be vacant upon Grindal's remove,
 and to fix some worthy person therein himself, fearing some

courtier might obtain it of the King for some unworthy or unfit person, the said Bishop addressed for that purpose a letter to the same Sir John Gate, and Sir William Cecil, men of great interest with the King. And as an argument to move the King thereto, he shewed them how well himself had bestowed three or four of these prebends, and what worthy and well-deserving men they were, to whom he granted them; namely, men that were known to be so necessary abroad in the commonwealth, that he could keep none of them with him in his house; meaning our Grindal, together with Bradford and Rogers: propounding to their consideration also, how he was placed where he had daily need of learned men's counsel and conference. Beseeching them therefore, for God's sake, to be so good unto the see of London, which, as he said, was *the spectacle of all England*, as to be petitioners for him in God's cause unto the King; "That seeing his Highness did perceive that he did so well bestow the prebend which Mr. Grindal had of his collation, that it would please him, of his gracious clemency, to grant him the collation of the same again: that he might therewith call some other like learned man, whom hereafter, by God's grace, his Highness might think meet likewise to promote, as Mr. Grindal then was. If they desired to know unto whom he would that dignity of his church, called the Chantership, should be given, he told them, unto any one of these following persons: Mr. Bradford, (*whom in my conscience, said he, I judge more worthy to be a bishop, than many of us that be bishops already to be parish priests,*) Mr. Sampson, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Grimold, Dr. Lancelot Ridley, all preachers. And to conclude, he prayed them to be suitors to the King for him: nay, not for him, but for God's word's sake, that the said collation might be given unto him for one or any of these; and he would surely praise God in them."

What this northern bishopric was, to which Grindal was nominated, we are left to conjecture. It was concluded in the year 1552, by the King and his Council, that the bishopric of Durham, now void by the deprivation of Tonsal,

CHAP.
I.

Anno 1552.

8

What it
was.

BOOK should be divided into two. And consideration was now
I. had of placing fit men in them; as appears by King Edward's Memorials, set down in Archbishop Cranmer's Life.
Anno. 1552. Now I make little doubt, but that Grindal, being a north-
Lib. ii. cap. country man, was pitched upon for one of these bishops;
5. the date also so well agreeing. For this Memorial of the King was writ by him in October 1552, and Bishop Ridley's letter (wherein is mentioned this nomination of Grindal to a northern bishopric) was dated just the month after.

But all this came to nothing, there being then a great topping courtier that put an end to this pious purpose of supplying those parts, where ignorance and superstition most prevailed, with two bishops. For by his sway he got the whole bishopric dissolved, and settled as a temporal estate upon himself.

Anno 1553. So that we leave Grindal still in the possession of his prebend of St. Paul's, laying out his talent in a diligent and faithful preaching of the Gospel in divers parts of the realm, as well as at the court, till the death of good King Edward.

9 VI. when we find him flying his native country to avoid the persecution and cruelty that the Popish religion directed to be used to replant itself; and especially towards the most eminent of the preachers and instruments of the Reformation; whereof our Divine was deservedly looked upon as one. He made Strasburgh in Germany his sanctuary; the magistrates of which town did freely and christianly give harbour to divers English Protestants of the best rank, both of the laity and the clergy; and allowed them a church for the exercise of their religion, according as they professed it in England. Thither he came in very honourable company, viz. with Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Richard Morison, Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Wroth, and Mr. Hales; all persons of very great learning, and extraordinary worth and goodness. And one may conclude of what value and esteem Grindal now was in making one of this society. And of this his departure his patron Ridley, now prisoner, had intelligence; and in a certain letter to Augustin Bernher, relating how Grindal's two fellow-chaplains, Rogers and Bradford, one

was offered up to God in martyrdom, and the other ready to be offered, used these words of him; "Grindal is gone." CHAP. II.
 "The Lord, I doubt not, hath [seeth] and knoweth wherein Anno 1558.
 "he will bestow him." Prophetically, methinks, spoken of those high places in the Church, wherein God afterwards bestowed him.

And being almost in despair of the restoration of religion in England, and consequently of his return thither again, he resolved to make himself master of the German tongue, that his talent might not lie unoccupied, but that he might be able to preach God's word in the German churches. Which the better to compass, he retired from Strasburgh, and the English there, to a town called Wasselheim, to learn the language: which he at length did to that perfection, *ut vox tua etiam in Germanicis ecclesiis audiri potuisset*; i. e. Learns the German tongue.
Conrad Hubert's Epist. Dedicat. ante Script. Buc. Anglican.
 that his voice might have been heard in the German churches; as a learned German told him. He also made some residence at Spire.

CHAP. II.

Some account of him in his exile. Concerned in the Frankfort business. Bishop Ridley's letter to him thereupon. Aids Mr. John Fox in his Martyrological Histories. Ridley's letter to Grindal about his disputation.

NOW let us trace our exile, as well as we can, through this his pilgrimage, and inquire how he employed himself in this his forced leisure. And I find him concerned in the first stirrings of the matters of Frankfort; and all along a great and diligent collector of papers relating to the writings, examinations, acts, and sufferings of the martyrs in England under Queen Mary. And from him Mr. Fox received great assistance in his work. Anno 1554.
How he employed himself abroad.

Mr. Grindal was among the number of those pious and 10

BOOK learned Divines, and others at Strasburgh, that took to
1. heart the controversies that were springing up at Frankfort,
 Anno 1554. in the year 1554, about a new model and form of wor-
 Grindal shipping God, varying from the last corrected book under
 sent to King Edward. To the brethren of Frankfort that were
 Frankford. of this mind, those of Strasburgh sent a letter, signed
 by Grindal, together with divers others. "Therein first
 "taking notice of the goodness of God, that had moved the
 "hearts of the magistrates of that town to allow a church
 "to the poor English for their religious worship; not
 "doubting of their further friendship in permitting them,
 "frankly, to use their religion, according to that godly
 "order set forth and received in England. That they,
 "their brethren of Strasburgh, doubted not of their good
 "conformity, and ready desires in reducing the English
 "Church, begun there, to its former perfection of the last
 "book used in England, so far as possibly could be ob-
 "tained; lest by much altering of the same they should
 "seem to condemn the chief authors thereof; who, as
 "they at that present suffered, so were they ready to confirm
 "that fact with the price of their bloods: and should also
 "give both occasion to their adversaries to accuse their
 "doctrine of imperfection, and them of mutability; and the
 "godly to doubt of that truth, wherein before they were
 "persuaded; and lastly, to hinder their coming together at
 "Frankford, which before they had purposed." This
 letter they sent by two of their members, viz. Chambers and
 Grindal, whom they made their agents, to treat with the
 magistrates and them. And as their wisdom, learning, and
 godly zeal was well known to them all, so they signified,
 that what they should do should fully take place with
 them from whom they were sent.

His mes-
 sage there.

Grindal and his fellow being arrived at Frankfort, and
 the letter read in the congregation there, he then declared
 by word of mouth the reason of their coming: which was
 chiefly to establish the English book. Yet, that they
 meant not to have it so strictly observed, but that such
 ceremonies and things, which the country where they were

could not bear, might be omitted; the substance and effect thereof remaining. Which when Knox and Whittingham (the main instruments of a new office) asked, what they meant thereby? they answered, they had no commission to dispute in those matters; but they requested only their answer to three questions: one whereof was, what parts of the book they would admit. To which they answered, what they could prove to stand with God's word, and the country would permit.

Grindal, after this, returned back again, with a letter sent by those of Frankfort, in answer to that sent from Strasburgh. But seeing the small likelihood of agreement, he did not think fit to concern himself any further in this affair, that drew apace to contention; but resolved with others, that then were at Strasburgh, not to go and reside at Frankfort, as they had thought, but to remain where they were. Yet afterwards, in April or May 1555, he was at Frankfort again, with Cox, Chambers, and some others of chief account; and there, by their prudence, quieted these differences: so that from henceforth the greatest numbers of students and other exiles took up their habitation here.

Nor did the remembrance of this town's kindness to the English slip out of Grindal's mind ever after, whensoever he had opportunity of owning it. Thus particularly in the year 1561, writing a letter to that town upon another occasion, he enlarged himself, both in his own name, as in the name of the rest, for the charitable and Christian harbour afforded them there in their afflicted state: saying, "that no time should ever root out of their minds this benefit. And, that England had so many bishops, and other ministers of God's word, which at that day preached the pure doctrine of the Gospel, was owing to Strasburgh, Zurich, Basil, Wormes, but above all the rest to Frankfort. *Vos illos hospitio excepistis, exceptos summa humanitate complexi atque autoritate tutati estis. Et, si istam vestram pietatem gratis animis non agnoscere-mus, et prædicaremus, essemus omnium mortalium ingra-*

CHAP.
II.

Anno 1555.

Comes
back.

Goes again.

Frankfort's
kindness to
the English
acknow-
ledged by
him, when
he was
Bishop.

BOOK "tissimi;" i. e. "You received our people to harbour; and
L "being received, embraced them with the highest humanity,
Anno 1555. "and defended with your authority. And if we should
 "not acknowledge and speak of this piety of yours with
 "thankful minds, we were of all mankind the most un-
 "grateful."

Collects
the writings
and stories
of the per-
secuted
English. One of Grindal's great businesses now was to collect together the writings and stories of the learned and pious sufferers in England, and to publish them: for which purpose he had a great correspondence here. In the year 1555 had come to his hands Ridley's disputations at Oxford; also Marcus Antonius Constantinus's Objections to Archbishop Cranmer's book against Stephen Bishop of Winchester, and the Answers to those Objections, which were either framed by the said Archbishop or Ridley in prison: and a treatise in English against Transubstantiation; which was Ridley's. This last, by the counsel of Grindal and others, was resolved to be put into Latin. And so it was. But these writings Grindal with his friends there did make some stop to put in print as yet, lest it might irritate the enemies of those holy men then in captivity; and therefore reckoned it better to defer it for a while. And concerning this, Grindal being now at Frankfort, and having an opportunity here, sent a letter to the said Bishop Ridley, to know his pleasure herein. And because in the letter are other matters relating to the present state of the exiles, I shall here insert it: and the rather because the answer to it from Ridley is preserved in Fox, and mention only made of this letter.

His letter "Gratiam et consolationem a Domino, et Servatore nostro
to Ridley. "Jesu Christo.

"Sir, I have often been desirous to have written to you,
 "and to have heard from you; but the iniquity of the
 "times have hitherto always put me forth of all hope and
 "comfort. Now at this present God seemeth to offer some
 "likelihood that these might come to your hands, which
 "I thought to use, referring the rest to God's disposition.

" Your present state, not I only, (who of all other am most
 " bound,) but also all other our brethren here, do most
 " heartily lament, as joyned with the most miserable capti-
 " vity that ever any Church of Christ hath suffered. Not-
 " withstanding, we geve God most humble thanks, for that
 " he hath so strengthened you and others, your concaptives,
 " to profess a good profession before so many witnesses.
 " And I doubt nothing, but that he that hath called you
 " and them not only to believe upon hym, but also to suffer
 " for hym, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable
 " comfort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in
 " the schole of the cross. He graunte that his name may be
 " glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as may be
 " most to his honour, and your everlasting consolation.

CHAP.
 II.
 Anno 1555.
 12

" Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partely of our
 " state in these partes. We be here dispersed in divers and
 " several places. Certayne be at Tigurye good students
 " of either University a number; very well entreated of
 " Maister Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the
 " whole citye. Another number of us remayne at Argentine,
 " and take the commodity of Maister Martyr's lessons, who
 " is a very notable father. Maister Scory, and certayne
 " other with hym be in Frysland, and have an English
 " Church there, but not very frequent. The greatest
 " number is at Frankford, where I was at this present by
 " occasion; a very fayre city, the magistrates favourable to
 " our people, with so many other commodities as exiles
 " can well look for. Here is also a Church; and now (God
 " be thanked) well quieted by the prudency of Maister
 " Coxe, and other which met here for that purpose. So
 " that now we trust God hath provided for such as will
 " flye forth of Babylon, a resting place, where they may
 " truly serve hym, and hear the voice of their true Pastor.
 " I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well
 " nigh an hundreth students and ministers on this side the
 " seas. Such a Lord is God to work dyversly in his,
 " according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best
 " what is in man.

BOOK

I.

" Primus est victoriae titulus gentilium manibus apprehensum Dominum confiteri. Secundus ad gloriam gradus est, cautâ secessione subtractum, Domino reservari.
 Anno 1555. *" Illa publica, hæc privata confessio est. Ille judicem Cyprian. de " sæculi vincit, hic contentus Deo suo iudice, conscientiam Lapsis. " puram cordis integritate custodit. Est hic fortitudo " promptior, hic sollicitudo securior. Ille appropinquante " horâ suâ jam maturus inventus est, hic fortasse dilatus " est, qui patrimonio derelicto idcirco secessit, quia non erat " negaturus, confiteretur utique si fuisset et ipse detentus.*

" We have also here certayne copies of your aunswers in
 " the disputation. *Item, Antoniana objecta cum responsione:*
 " the treatise in English against transubstantiation, which in
 " tyme shall be translated into Latine. It hath bene thought
 " best not to print them till we see what God will do with
 " you, both for incensyng of their malicious fury, and also
 " for restraining you and others from writing hereafter;
 " which should be a greater loss to the Church of Christ,
 " than forbearing of these for a tyme. If I shall know your
 " will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed.
 " Thus much I thought good to let you understand con-
 13 " cerning these matters, and concerning the poor state of
 " men here, who most earnestly and incessantly do cry
 " unto God for the delivery of his Church, to behold the
 " causes of the afflicted, and to hear the grones of hys
 " imprisoned: knowing that you, who in this state have
 " more familiar access unto God, do not forget us.

" God comfort you, ayd you and assist you with his
 " Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the
 " glory of his name, the edification of his Church, and the
 " subversion of Antichrist's kyngdom. Amen.

" From Frankford the 6. of May, 1555.

E. G."

Travels to
 Spire.

Whilst Grindal remained in these parts, he took occasion
 to visit some places of eminency in Germany, as did the
 other exiles commonly. One of those places which he saw
 was Spire, where he was courteously entertained and
 harboured by one Leach, a Scotchman; to whom he after-

wards shewed himself a true friend in his necessity, by interposing seasonably for him to the Secretary of State, when by false witness he was in very great danger in Ireland, as we shall see under the year 1563. CHAP. II.
Anno 1555.

The learned and industrious John Fox was, among the English exiles, the chief writer. He at length departed from Frankfort, and took up at Basil, that he might be near a good printing press. Where he wrote divers things: and among the rest his two master-works were, a Latin translation of the controversy between Archbishop Cranmer and Gardiner Bishop of Winchester about the Eucharist, and an Ecclesiastical History also in Latin; wherein he intended more especially to enlarge upon the modern persecutions in England. And at the same time he laboured also an English Martyrology, of those that suffered under Queen Mary. In all these Grindal was his great counsellor and assistant. The first, Fox finished in the year 1557. But while he was in his translating work he met with divers knotty matters and difficulties, especially in Winchester's style: which made him write to Grindal, wishing that he was nearer, and would have taken up his residence at Basil; or at least to make a journey thither, that he might consult with him in divers matters, while the work lay before him. But Grindal in a Latin letter, by way of answer, told him, that indeed had not some things fallen out, he had seated himself there: that there was nothing that he would more willingly do, than to join his study and pains, if need were, to so pious an enterprise: but that he had there at Basil some English, and among them James Pilkington, a man, as he styled him, of a most exact judgment, with whom he might sometimes communicate counsels. And he hoped that learned person would not be averse to it. Assists
J. Fox.

Fox was moved with the difficulty of translating exactly; that is, to use good proper Latin, and withal to reach the writer, even to a word, if possible. The English style also stuck with him; which having so many ecclesiastical phrases and manners of speech, no good Latin expressions could be found to answer them. Winchester's inversion of Cran- Counsels
and advises
him in a
letter.

BOOK I. mer's book put him also to a stand, and his dislocating of Cranmer's arguments, placing them in another and a worse method. Lastly, he was troubled with the apprehension of 14 the variety of censures that he was like to meet with, when his translation should come forth. It was now his friend Grindal's office to counsel and comfort him; which he seasonably did in a letter to this tenor :

E Foxii
MSS.

Quod ad judiciorum varietatem attinet, non est cur multum labores. Boni de te bene loquentur, mali male. Satis est laudari à laudatis viris; omnibus placere nemini unquam datum est. De ratione vertendi nemo melius judicabit quam tuipse, cui non est incognita fidi interpretis libertas. Verbum verbo reddi, qui exigent, seipsos statim proderunt, quam nullius essent judicii. Sensum sensu reddidisse, semper in laude fuit, modò scriptoris mentem, non suam explicuisse appareat. In his omnibus mediam quandam viam tenuisse, ut ferè etiam in cæteris, tutissimum erit. Idemque etiam judicio de stylo. Nam neque ecclesiasticus stylus cum fastidio rejiciendus est, (quod faciunt quidam) præsertim cum capita controversiarum sine eo nonnunquam perspicue explicari non possunt: neque è diverso tam superstitiosè consecrandus est, ut orationis lumen aliquando aspergere non possimus. Hujus rei egregium nobis exemplum ob oculos posuit D. Calvinus, quem honoris causâ nomino, qui et styli ornatum non neglexit, et ecclesiasticas loquendi formulas, tanquam civitate donatas, sæpe numero usurpat. De librorum inversione quâ utitur Wintoniensis, meum quidem hoc est judicium; ut omnino permittatur ille suo arbitratu, uti, atque ordine, neque moveas quicquam. Duo sunt quæ me præcipue movent. Primum, vociferabuntur adversarii, fraude et dolo malo mota esse argumenta loco suo. Nam ut in præliis, non semper eodem ordine pugnam ineunt imperatores, sed aliquando primam aciem invadunt, aliquando in cornua impressionem faciunt, nonnunquam equestri pugna, sæpius etiam tenui armaturæ velitatione hostes primum aggrediuntur. Iniquissimum enim esset de ordine pugnae incundæ

ab hostibus leges accipere. Ita et de vobis queretabuntur, si Wintonienses copię aliã ratione, quam ipsemet instruit, in aciem producantur. Deinde et hoc mihi videtur ad auctoris ingenium patefaciendum pertinere. Nam qui in tota vita præposterissimus (ut ita dicam) fuit omnium rerum humanarum et divinarum inversor, consentaneum est, ut in scribendo etiam præposterum sese ostendet, et ut vulgo dici solet, Joannem ad Oppositum. CHAP. II. Anno 1557.

Hæc mea est sententia, tu pro tuo candore aliter consulas. Quod ad titulum libri, nemo melius adaptabit quàm interpres, qui non modo singulas sententias, sed et verba etiam et apices pœnè excussisti.

Mihi impræsentiarum libri copia non fuit: itaque nunc nihil habeo quod in medium proferam. Si posthac aliquid occurrerit quod acuminis aut gratiæ aliquid in se habeat, non illibenter communicabo. Verùm quiddam est quod nunc scribenti mihi in mentem venit, cujus tuam prudentiam admonere, non inutile fore existimavi. Audi vi hoc mussitatum aliquando in Angliã, Cantuariensem aliquando Papistis attribuire, quod ipsi non profitentur. Et si benè memini habet quasdam antitheses inter Papisticam et doctrinam nostram; hæc formula, Illi dicunt, Nos dicimus. Ibidem credo habet, Papistas corpus Christi ubique esse asseverare. Quod illi nusquam docent, sed in omni altari pertinaciter esse contendunt. Siqua similia inter vertendum repereris (nam illud exempli causa tantum affero) aut sicubi tuo ipsius 15 judicio non plene satisfiat, faceres meo quidem judicio non male, si ad D. Petrum Martyrem catalogum hujusmodi locorum mitteres; et illius consilium in amantiss. sui patroni opere requireres. Communicaret sat scio libentissimè, et fortasse siqua ipse præterea annotaverit similia, subindicaret.

Hæc ita à me scripta sunt, ut tuo tamen judicio omnia geri vellem; tantum meæ mentis sensa apud amicum et fratrem, candidiùs fortasse quàm prudentiùs in medium profero. Saluta D. Balæum, et cæteros amicos. Opto te in Domino quam optimè valere.

Edmundus Grindallus tuus.

Argentina V. calend. Jan. 1557.

BOOK
I

And according to Grindal's advice in the foregoing letter, Fox soon applied himself to Peter Martyr in this affair, accosting him with this letter, (for I had rather give the reader the author's own words, than my translation of them.)

Anno 1557.
Fox writes to Pet.
Martyr for his advice.
Foxii MSS.

Salutem in Christo. Vir doctissime, prolixa ista disputatio Domini Archiepiscopi, quam amicorum suasu, tuâque occasione vertendam suscepi, vix credas, quantis mihi constat laboribus. Oratione Wintoniensis nihil vidi insuavius, confragosius, aut magis spinosum, in qua nunquam sic vorticosus est, ut Sibylla potius aliquâ, quàm interprete indigeat: imo nescio an ulla Sibylla sit tam ænigmatistes, aut Delius tantus vates, qui sensum ubique expiscari possit. In tertio libro unus est aut alter locus, ubi aquam ex pumice citius quàm sententiæ lucem invenias. In periodis plerùmque tam profusus vel infinitus magis est, ut bis sui oblitus videatur, quàm sui reperiat finem. Tota phrasis etiam ferè structuram habet, ut maxima quidem parte constans ex relativis, omnem ferè translationis gratiam respuat. Ex quo quanta mihi nascitur difficultas, tibi haud difficile divinatu fuerit. Cantuariensis aliquanto mollior, sed idem tanto prolixior, quo si non plus mihi molestiæ, certè tantundem laboris affert. Accidit porro ad hos griphos librorum ac doctorum, qui passim hic citantur, inopia. Et scis quàm non concinnum sit, doctores aliter quàm verbis propriis loquentes introducere. Ea res me coget brevi repetere Argentinam vestram per mensem unam aut alteram, ut subsidium τῆς βιβλιοθήκης alicujus emendicem. In primo libro tuum nomen cum Luthero et Bucero citat Wintoniensis, impingens tibi falsarii aut mendacis alapam. Sed Cantuariensis contrà, Petri sui nominis nihil prætermittit ad defensionem. Locum ipsum ad te versum transmittam, simul cum reliqua parte quæ jam absoluta est, &c.

The tenor of which letter is to this import:

“Health in Christ. Most learned Sir, you would scarce
“believe, what great pains that large dispute of my
“Lord of Canterbury cost me; which by means of you,
“and the persuasion of my friends, I undertook to translate.

“ I never saw any thing more unpleasant, rough, and intan- CHAP.
 “ gled, than Winchester’s discourse : wherein sometimes he II.
 “ is so full of depths, that he needs some Sibyl rather than Anno 1557.
 “ an interpreter. Yea, I doubt whether any Sibyl be such Winches-
 “ a riddle resolver, or Apollo so great a prophet, to be able ter’s style
 “ every where to comprehend his sense. In the third book harsh. 16
 “ there be one or two places, where you may sooner draw
 “ water from a pumice, than find light for the sentence. In
 “ his periods, for the most part, he is so profuse, or rather
 “ infinite, that he seems twice to forget himself, rather
 “ than to find his end. The whole phrase hath in effect
 “ that structure, that consisting for the most part of relatives,
 “ it refuses almost all the grace of translation. Whence
 “ how great difficulty arises upon me, it will be easy for you
 “ to guess. The Archbishop of Canterbury is somewhat
 “ softer, but so much the longer ; whereby, if it doth not
 “ create me more trouble, yet certainly as much labour.
 “ To these dark sentences happeneth moreover the want of
 “ books and doctors, cited up and down herein. And you
 “ know, how it is not handsome to bring in doctors speaking
 “ otherwise than in their own words. This thing will oblige
 “ me shortly to resort to your Strasburgh for a month or
 “ two, to beg the aid of some library. In the first book
 “ Winchester cites your name with Luther and Bucer,
 “ laying to your charge the imputation of a forger or a liar.
 “ But the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand,
 “ omits nothing for the defence of the name of his friend
 “ Peter. I shall send over to you the very place translated,
 “ together with the remaining part now finished, &c.”

But after all Fox’s pains and labour in this translation, Fox consult-
 his book translated never yet, I think, came forth : which is eth with
 pity, for the general usefulness thereof, and for the spreading Grindal
 of the just fame of that excellent Archbishop and holy about print-
 martyr, and being a piece so correctly and accurately done. ing a trans-
lation of
Cranmer’s
book
 A good part of the original writing is in my hands. But against
 the reason it was not printed was partly the want of a Gardiner.
 wealthy printer in those times to undertake it. Fox, for MISS. penes
me.

BOOK I. this purpose, had desired his friend Grindal to treat with one Wendelin, a printer in Strasburgh, about it. But Anno 1567. Grindal in his answer told him, that, in truth, to speak what he thought, he dared not to discourse Wendelin in that affair: for he was a morose man, and strongly addicted to that opinion in matter of the Sacrament which they ascribed to Luther; so that there was no hope that he would take it in hand: but there was one Augustin Frisius, another printer there, but very poor; who, if the charges were supported by others, was a man that would strenuously go about it. Yet that, in his own judgment, Froscover, a printer at Zurick, was the fittest person to commit the business to; who, as he was rich enough, so upon Bullinger's motion to him, and encouragement, he would no doubt undertake it.

But while Fox was thus busy in preparing to publish his work, an order was set forth in those parts, forbidding printing of any books: which put him to some melancholy stand; for he depended in a great measure upon the benefit of his books for his subsistence. Of this, when he had complained to his good friend aforesaid, as he was sorry for that unseasonable edict, so he made his own conjecture of it; 17 viz. that it might proceed from the advice of the German princes, that the contest about the Sacrament might not be revived; as it might be, if more books of this argument should be exposed to the world. For, as Grindal added, the report now went, that the princes were wholly taken up about composing that controversy; and in the mean time were willing, that there should be some intermission of writing *pro & con*. And so, finally, he exhorted the translator to stay a little, and expect what good issue time would produce as to this matter, seeing there was a necessity for him so to do: promising him, that afterwards, if he could not obtain the work to be perfected there, his pains should not be wanting, if he could do any thing by prayer and interest, that he might have a supply to go and try elsewhere. But, in fine, Froscover, according as Grindal had devised, undertook the printing of the book, and Fox delivered part

of his copy to him. But the business still underwent delay; and Fox himself seemed to be cooler in it, knowing how exulcerated those times were with sacramental controversies. Yet the laborious man, by Grindal's and his other friends' persuasions, went on with his translation, till he had fully finished all; which was done by June in the year 1557. Which when Grindal understood, he congratulated to him the conclusion of this long work with these words; *Gaudeo te tandem opus illud Domini Cantuariensis ad exitum perduxisse. Longum opus fuit, et in quo necesse erat multis cum difficultatibus luctari; i. e.* that he was glad that he had at length brought the Archbishop of Canterbury's work to an end. And that it was a long labour, and in which he must needs have met with many difficulties.

Something of this laborious work was set forth in print; but that was only some small part at the beginning, which was but as a specimen to the whole: which, when printed, he sent to Grindal. Upon the receipt whereof, as a taste of the work, he declared himself much pleased.

The other great work our painful countryman laboured in this time of his exile, and wherein he had the concurrent and constant assistance of Grindal, was the History of the Persecutions of the Church of Christ, and especially in the later times of it. Many accounts of the acts and disputations, of the sufferings and ends of the godly men under Queen Mary, came from time to time to Grindal's hands: who had a correspondence with several in England for that end and purpose. And as they came to his hand, he conveyed them to Fox. Nor did he only do this; but withal frequently gave Fox his thoughts concerning them, and his instructions and counsels about them; always shewing a most tender regard to truth; and suspending upon common reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands. And because a complete account of all particulars of those that suffered in that sharp persecution could not so soon be procured, he advised Fox, for the present, to print separately the acts of

CHAP.
II.

Anno 1557.

Assists Fox
in his History of the
Persecutions.

BOOK some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic
I. relations came to hand : and that a larger and completer
Anno 1557. history of these martyrs should be printed together after-
 18 wards, when he should be supplied with fuller accounts of
 the whole persecutions. And, finally, that his history
 might be both in Latin and English, for the more general
 benefit.

Sends Fox I find Grindal, soon after Bradford's martyrdom, sending
Bradford's Fox his history, together with many of his holy letters,
martyrdom. which Fox thanked him for ; and added, that he saw
 what a good performer of his word he was : wishing, that
 all the rest of the martyrs' histories might be composed after
 the same diligence. Grindal wrote him likewise, that he
 had a farrago, *i. e.* a great heap of such papers. To whom
 Fox, that he doubted not, that he would, with the like vi-
 gilancy and faithfulness, peruse and digest them. But to
 return to Bradford. He communicated to Fox (beside
 what he had sent him before) Bradford's examinations, and
 some other of his writings : telling him, that when he had
 translated them, (for his Latin Martyrology) and had sent
 them back to him, he would send more of Bradford's
 writings to him. He added, that he wanted much of what
 that holy man had writ ; but what he had of his might be
 depended on ; and perhaps he should scarce find so many of
 his composures any where else. For indeed Grindal had
 greater opportunities of knowing Bradford, and getting his
 papers, than others ; they two having been fellow-chaplains
 together to the Bishop of London, and the King ; and
 fellow prebendaries of St. Paul's ; and I might add also,
 fellows of the same college.

An inform- Again, in the year 1556, soon after the burning of Arch-
ation about bishop Cranmer, Fox requested Grindal to take some pains
Cranmer's ; to describe the life and death of the said most reverend
 father. To whom he gave this answer ; that a certain
 learned and pious man in England had already wrote
 a faithful and exact account of his death to Peter Martyr.
 Grindal added, that it was not then come to his hands, but
 that he heard by those that had seen and read it, that it was

elegantly and faithfully written: and that it was not fully concluded, whether it should, out of hand, be printed by it-
 self. If it were, he told Fox, that then he might make his use of it, being made public: but if it was determined not to publish it, he promised him, that he would use his best diligence to procure a copy for Fox's use, as soon as he should need it. For, as he told him, he could not believe he had already finished so great a work, as he was upon, in the midst of so great employment.

Grindal had also a copy of Cranmer's and Ridley's disputations at Oxford, writ by themselves; where objections of the adversaries, and their answers, as far as they could recall them to their memories, were set down: which Grindal, as he told Fox, had compared with what the notaries at these disputations had taken, and found things agreeing well enough in the main; unless that in the copy all things were more briefly related; reproaches and vain repetitions omitted. These he promised Fox that he would send him, after he had made some larger progress in his work, together with some other things, which would be proper for him to cast into the course of his history, if he thought good; professing, that he desired by all the means that he could to further his purpose, that that reverend writer might bring to the conclusion he wished, the history of this English persecution. This Grindal wrote from Strasburgh to Fox, November 28, 1557.

There is a letter still extant, written from the said Ridley, out of prison, to Grindal then at Frankfort, concerning his said disputation at Oxford, soon after it happened, and also concerning a treatise of the blessed Sacrament; both which he had composed. In which letter he thus tells Grindal concerning them: "My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal all the whole manner, after the which I was used in the disputation," (namely, with what indecent clamours, and outcries, and stopping him in his arguments it was managed.) "As for the treatise in

CHAP.
II.

Anno 1557.

And of his
and Ridley's
disputations.

19

Ridley's
letter to
Grindal.

- BOOK I. "English *contra transubstantiationem, vix possum adduci, ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur:*
 Anno 1557. "*cæterum quicquid sit, nullo modò velim, ut quicquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certò constiterit.*"
 By which we may perceive, what a diligent collector Grindal was of the histories and writings of the learned confessors, and sufferers in those Marian days, with intention to publish them. Copies of the aforesaid disputation and treatise (which that reverend father and martyr had writ) were soon dispersed. And one of them, Dr. Ironside, late Master of Wadham college, Oxon, (having found it in his father's study,) caused to be printed there, anno 1688, very seasonably in the reign of the late King James. Bishop Ridley's own preface to the disputation, beginning, *Hæc, amice lector, &c.* (wherein that father shews how tumultuously it was done,) Fox hath translated into English, and sets it in his Acts and Monuments, I make no question, by the advice of Bishop Grindal.
- Ridley to Grindal about the Frankfort contest. And holy Bishop Ridley, hearing of the controversies stirred there at Frankfort about the Common Prayer Book used in the Church of England under King Edward, writes thus to the same Grindal a little before his martyrdom :
 Blames Knox. "Alas! that our brother Knox" (who was the chief raiser of discontents against the use of it in the congregation of the English exiles there settled) "could not bear with our Book of Common Prayer; matters, against which, altho' I graunt a man (as he is) of wit and learning, may find to make apparaunt [meaning plausible] reasons; but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove, by God's word, the reason he maketh against the Letany, and the fault *per sanguinem et sudorem*, (i. e. by thy cross and bloody sweat,) he findeth in the same, I do mervail, how he can, or dare avouch them before the English men, that be with you. As for *private baptism*, it is not prescribed in the book, but where solemn baptism, for lack of time, and danger of death, cannot be had. What would he in that case should be done? Peradventure he will say, It is
- Dr. Covell's Brief Answer to J. Burges's Reasons, &c. printed 1606, p. 69.

"better then to let them die without baptism. For this his CHAP.
 "better, what word hath he in the Scripture? and if he II.
 "have none, why will he not rather follow that, that the Anno 1557.
 "sentence of the old ancient writers do more allow? From
 "whom to dissent, without warrant of God's word, I cannot
 "think it any godly wisdom. And as for *purification of* 20
 "women, I ween the word *purification* is changed; and
 "it is called *thanksgiving*. Surely Mr. Knox is, in my
 "mind, a man of much good learning, and of an earnest Bucer in
 "zeal. The Lord graunt him to use them to his glory," Censura de
 But return we to Fox. primo libro
Sacrorum.

Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, and martyr, his ex- Philpot's
 minations also were soon come over from England. Which, examina-
 when Fox had spoke somewhat concerning, and consulted tions.
 with Grindal, whether they ought not to have a review, and
 some corrections of them made, before they were exposed to
 the public; Grindal freely thus expressed himself in this
 matter: "that there were some things in them that needed Grindal's
 "the file; that is, some prudent hand to usher them judgment
 "out into the world. For, that Philpot seemed to have of them.
 "somewhat ensnared himself in some words, not so well
 "approved; as, that Christ is *really* in the Supper, &c.
 "And, that if the English book had not been divulged,
 "some things might be mitigated in it. And next, that he
 "sometimes cited the ancients *memoriter*, being void of the
 "help of books; where one might easily slip; (as he did;) as
 "when he said that Athanasius was chief of the Council of
 "Nice; when as he at that time was only the deacon of the
 "Bishop of Alexandria, as he (Fox) had remembered rightly.
 "But Athanasius, he said, laboured in disputes more than
 "the rest; and in that sense, indeed, he might be said to be
 "the chief. But there the controversy was of honour and
 "primacy," (and therefore Philpot could not be brought
 off by that means.) Grindal also supposed, that Fox him-
 self might in like manner espy some other oversights;
 wherefore he bade him use his judgment. Grindal sub- Bishop
 joined, that he had heard, that Peter Martyr and Bul- Hooper's
 linger had wished, that in the writings of Bishop Hooper, writings in
prison.

BOOK he had had time and leisure to recognize what he wrote.

I.

Anno 1557. For being wrote suddenly, and under confinement, he had not warily enough writ concerning the cause, that had been tossed about by his disputations with so many, as such an envenomed age required.

His advice to Fox about publishing the martyrs' examinations.

But, after all, Grindal modestly added, that he arrogated not to himself the part of a critic, but only, according to his custom, candidly communicated his own sense: and that he doubted not but that Fox, if he thought good to publish these examinations, would, where there was need, add some censorial notes. He also let him know, that some history of Philpot was come over to them, and more they expected; which he thought might be very conveniently placed among the Acts of the rest of the Martyrs; and that perhaps, if he set forth Philpot's examinations separately by themselves, the same might again be inserted in his great work among the Acts.

Sends him money.

With this letter Grindal also sent Fox two dollars, wishing they were two hundred; but by what means they came to his lot he concealed till another time. There were monies secretly conveyed over from England, by persons well disposed, to private hands, to be distributed among these exiles; especially preachers and students, who were not able to subsist of themselves. And Grindal, I suppose, had some 21 of this charitable money consigned to him, to bestow according to his discretion. And a share of it was this which he now sent to Fox; who was very poor, and had, besides himself, a family to maintain.

He compiled as well as assisted in these Histories of the Martyrs.

In short, by all these particulars, which I have extracted out of Grindal's and Fox's own letters, we see how earnest an assistant the former was to the latter in compiling his Martyrology, both by his continual counsel and by supplying him with materials for it; much whereof he sent him drawn up and methodized by his own pen in English: and Fox's work was only to translate into Latin. And by his advice also, Fox published there at Basil divers examinations and histories of the English bishops and divines at sundry times in single pieces, soon after their respective martyrdoms.

And it was his advice to the same Fox, to digest them altogether in a more large volume; but thought not convenient CHAP. II. that he should make too much haste to put it forth; till he Anno 1557. could make the relations of the persecution more full and complete, and might obtain more certainty of truth to depend upon. Therefore, in the year 1557 he gave his advice, that Fox should rather, for the present, get ready his Ecclesiastical History as far as to the end of the reign of King Henry VIII. and put that first into the press. And then after a while more full and certain accounts might be procured.

In the next year, viz. 1558, Queen Mary being now dead, Anno 1558. Grindal and some other of the chief exiles being called away Advises Fox to make a stop. into their own native country, he could not further assist Fox in his labours. But upon his departure, in the month of December, he jointly with Sampson advised him again as before; that is, for the present to make some stop, till they might come to have more certain and larger intelligences out of England of the late persecution; which now they should have fairer opportunities of knowing: which the said reverend man signified to him in this short letter from Argentine.

Sal. in Christo. Mutationes temporum meum etiam institutum mutarunt, doctissime et charissime Fox; ego jam cogor urgentibus amicis in Angliam iter instituere, qui alioqui Basileam ad vos transvolassem. Jam quod ad Historiam Martyrum attinet, Sampsonus et ego existimamus optimum fore, ut ad aliquod tempus premeretur; donec ex Anglia et certiora et plura comparemus. Dubium enim non est, quin multa tum in lucem prodibunt, quæ antea in tenebris delitescebant. Si tibi etiam idem videatur, bene est. Nos quæcunque possumus ibi corrademus, et ad te transmittenda curabimus. Levis erit jactura temporis, si rerum copiam et certitudine compensetur. Vale in Christo, quàm optime. His letter to him. Foxii MSS.

Edmundus Grindallus tuus.

Argentinae, raptim 19. Decemb. 1558.

BOOK
I.

Anno 1558.
A particular
passage
communicated by
him to Fox.

I have only one thing more to say of Grindal with respect to Fox's work: that he also supplied him with collections of matters that happened before these times, whereof one was so remarkable, that by setting Grindal's name under it he might acknowledge whence he had the relation. The passage is concerning the death of the pious Mr. Stafford, 22 Reader of Divinity in Cambridge about 1528, when religion first began to shew itself there. The story was this. There was one there of great fame for his skill in the black art, and therefore was commonly called Sir Henry Conjuror. This man at last fell sick of the plague. Out of compassion to whose soul at this time, that good man ventured his own life by resorting to him; and there so effectually argued with him of his former wicked life and practices, that he brought him to repentance, and caused all his conjuring books to be burnt before his face. Thus he endeavoured to save that man's soul, though he lost his own life by it; for he got the infection, went home, and died. To this story are subjoined these words, *Ex testimonio D. Ridley et Edmundi Episc. Lond.* The meaning whereof I suppose was, that Ridley might have told this to his chaplain Grindal, and he to Fox.

CHAP. III.

Grindal comes home. Employed in the Reformation of Religion; and in a public Disputation. Preaches at the Court, and St. Paul's. One of the Queen's Visitors. Visitation of London. He and other eminent exiles preach at St. Paul's. Nominated for the see of London. His scruples. Consults with Peter Martyr about various usages in this Church. His answers. Grindal elect, his Letter to the Queen about exchanges. His concern about the crucifix in the Queen's Chapel.

Hastened
home upon
Queen
Mary's
death.

IT pleased God to bring him home sooner than he thought, to exercise his talent in his own country. For upon the

access of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, there was need of Grindal to assist in the work of the restitution and government of the Church of England, lately much defaced by Popery. And therefore he was hastened home; and was ready to depart for England in December 1558, that is, the very next month after Queen Mary's death. Being come home, he was soon employed in several weighty ecclesiastical affairs.

And first, when a form of prayer and public worship was thought fit to be drawn up and prepared, which might be ready to be presented against the Queen's first Parliament, to be laid before the House, and other matters to be deliberated for the reformation of the Church; there were some few learned and wise men set apart privately for this weighty work; whereof Mr. Grindal was one; who it is likely, having been chaplain and very intimate with Bishop Ridley, was well acquainted with the reasons and methods used under King Edward in the composing the Common Prayers, wherein that Bishop, with Archbishop Cranmer, had the chief hand. And in Sir Thomas Smith's lodgings 23 in Cannon-row in Westminster, did he and the rest meet accordingly, from time to time, that first winter.

I find him at this work, upon Dr. Edwin Sandys (one of this number) his presenting this assembly with a paper by him drawn up, of certain things which he judged needful to be redressed: one whereof was, that private baptism, where-Instances of his judgment in matters to be reformed. in women sometimes took upon them to baptize, might be taken out of the book; for which he thought the Queen was to be solicited. At which Grindal wrote his judgment in the margin in these words: *Potest fieri in Synodo; i. e.* It may be done in the Synod. Which Synod was ere long to be called together.

There was another paper drawn up for ecclesiastical discipline laid before these Divines, now or some time after, it is uncertain, which passed also Grindal's eye and censure, and had his emendations and additions by his own hand, which I have seen among Mr. Petyt's manuscripts. In one article of this paper it was thought fit it should be enjoined to min-
Petyt's MSS.

BOOK I. isters to wear a grave apparel, distinct from the laity. In the margin here he noted his approbation of this difference of

Anno 1558. apparel; yet judged, that *it might not be altogether the same used in the Popish time*; and that wisely and warily, for the avoiding of offence at that nice time: shewing his judgment herein quite contrary to the innovators, who would have no difference at all in apparel between the clergy and laity.

Ann. of the
Reformat.
p. 425.

For so was one of their queries made some time after in their appeal to Bullinger, the learned foreigner: *viz.* whether laws for garments ought to be prescribed to churchmen, to distinguish them from laymen? Another article was in favour of small vicarages and livings, for the obliging the impropiators to augment them; and that ordinaries, with the assistance of one or two justices, might have authority to tax the parishioners of great towns, for the bettering of the stipends of them that ministered there. But this article our Divine thought a tender point, to lay this burden upon the people, and therefore gave his judgment in the margin; *Consideretur melius, i. e.* that it was better to be considered of: and after, upon consideration of it, it was thought fit to be omitted; for it is in the paper crossed out. To another article in this paper, *viz.* about orders for pluralists and non-residents, he subjoined this seasonable clause: *And for such as had livings, and had obtained licences to live beyond seas only upon misliking of religion*; as many priests at this time did. These instances are produced, not only to shew that he was employed in the first reforming of religion, but of his prudent and grave advice and conduct therein.

Grindal appointed to oppose the Popish Bishops.

24

Again, when in March following a solemn conference was held publicly at Westminster, whereat was present the Lord Keeper, and many other of the nobility and gentry; and White Bishop of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, and Abbot Feckenham, with some few more Popish bishops, undertook to make good some Papistical principles; Grindal was one of the eight Protestant Divines selected to enter the lists against them. Which disputation is more largely spoken of in the Annals of the Reformation.

Chap. v. p. 88.

He was also upon occasion called forth to preach. And

in the Queen's first Lent, on the 23d of February, he CHAP. III. preached before her Majesty. In which Lent there preached also divers other learned Protestant Divines, and the first of Anno 1558. note in King Edward's time; viz. Dr. Cox, Dr. Parker, Dr. Bill, Dr. Sandys, Mr. Whitehead; all whom, excepting the Preaches before the Queen. second and third, had but lately come from exile.

The English Service Book, that had been enacted in the Anno 1559. late Parliament to be used throughout the churches of England, began Sunday May 12, 1559, in the Queen's chapel. The Wednesday after, May 15, it began to be read at St. Paul's church. And for the more solemn introducing it there was a sermon, which Grindal was made choice of to make, together with a very august assembly of the Court present; viz. the Queen's Privy Council, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of Arundel, Sussex, Westmoreland, and Rutland, the Lord Russel, and many more lords and knights; the Lord Mayor also and Court of Aldermen. And sermon being done, they all departed to the Lord Mayor's to dinner. Preaches at Paul's, at the first reading of the Common Prayer there.

In the summer of this year 1559, the Queen's visitation was on foot all over England, to require the oath of supremacy, to inspect cathedrals and the manners of the clergy, and the like.

Then was our Divine employed, being one of the Queen's Employed in the Queen's visitation in the north. commissioners for that royal visitation, in the north. When among other things then done, he deprived him that was the unworthy governor of Sherborn hospital for Papistry; and who had made such unreasonable leases and grants, that that house, that maintained a great number of poor, was like to go into utter decay: a practice commonly used by the Popish Clergy in these times. We shall hear hereafter (viz. under the year 1574) the endeavours Grindal, being then Archbishop of York, used to make void those leases.

And as distinct visitors were appointed by the Queen's special commission for each part, so London and the parts adjacent had their peculiar commissioners. Of these I can Visitation of London.

BOOK
I.

Anno 1559.

only assign Dr. Rob. Horn, an exile, not long after this Bishop of Winton. This being afterwards the chief city of Mr. Grindal's see, I shall hint a few things of the visitation of it. And the first and chief care seemed to be taken for the reforming of the city of London, that commonly gave the example to all the rest of the realm.

To trace, therefore, a little this visitation. Those few friars and nuns who were anew instituted, and set up of late under Queen Mary, were discharged: for July 4, the priests and nuns of Sion and Charter-house departed; and 25 on the 12th the black friars in Smithfield, and the Abbot of Westminster and the monks there, were deprived. On the 18th of July the visitors sat at the Bishop of London's palace. In this visitation they took care to have all the utensils and instruments of superstition and idolatry demolished and destroyed out of the churches where God's pure service was to be set up; such as the roods, that is, the images of Christ upon the cross, with Mary and John standing by; also images of other saints, tutelaries of the churches, to whom they were dedicated, Popish books, altars, and the like; as knowing that while these things remained, the practices of idolatry must almost necessarily be continued among the ignorant people, and the reformation of religion be greatly obstructed.

St. Paul's
purged, and
other
churches.

And first, the cathedral church of St. Paul's was to be purged. The visitors sat there August 11. Then Harpsfield, Bishop Bonner's chaplain, and divers others belonging to that church, were summoned. On the 21st the visitors sat at St. Bride's, where the two church-wardens and two others were sworn to bring in a true inventory of that church. And so, I suppose, were the respective church-wardens of divers other parish churches within that precinct. The 22d they sat at St. Laurence in the Jury, the 23d at St. Michael's in Cornhill; inquisition being chiefly made in each for church goods. And so likely at other churches.

Popish
images
burnt.

The 24th, being St. Bartholomew's day, was the first day the burning of Popish relics began. And it was so ordered as to be seen of the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, foreign

Ambassadors, besides a multitude of other persons attending them: for, according to an old custom, this being the first day of Bartholomew fair, the Mayor, Aldermen, Ambassadors, and many others in company with them, afforded their presence at a wrestling in Clerkenwell; and as they came home through Cheapside, against Ironmonger-lane, and against St. Thomas of Acre, (*i. e.* Mercer's chapel,) were made two great fires in the street; wherein were thrown a great number of roods, with the images of John and Mary, and the resemblances of divers other saints, that had been taken down from the churches; the people looking on with great wonder.

CHAP.
III.

Anno 1559.

The next day, *viz.* August 25, was burnt at St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate, the rood, with Mary and John, and the patron of the church, and other church goods. And while these were burning, a person stood within the church wall and made a sermon upon the occasion; and at length, in the midst of his discourse, threw into the fire certain books. At this time was taken down a cross of wood that stood in the churchyard, and was burnt with the rest, which cross had lately been set up by one Warner, a tawer of skins; whether as an enjoined penance, or a voluntary good work, I know not.

Rood burnt
at St. Bot-
olph's, Bi-
shopsgate,
and other
things.

September 16, the rood, with Mary and John, belonging to St. Magnus church, was burnt at the corner of Fish-street, together with other superstitious things pertaining to that church; which no question wanted not for things of that sort, Maurice Griffith, a violent Papist, and Bishop of Rochester, being lately incumbent, and about seven or eight months before buried there. So that from Bartholomew-tide, and so forward, within a month's time, or less, were destroyed all the roods, church-images, church-goods, with copes, crosses, censers, altar-cloths, rood-cloths, books, banner-staves, wainscot, with much other such like gear, in and about London. These were some of the matters that passed in the visitation of this city; whereof, not long after, our Divine was called to be Bishop.

And at St.
Magnus.

This royal visitation reached also the Universities of the

BOOK
I.

Anno 1559.
Grindal
made Mas-
ter of Pem-
broke hall.

Matters of
religion
now passing
in London.

Obsequies
of the
French
King so-
lemnized.

land; the visitors for that of Cambridge being Sir Willi Cecil, Sir Anthony Cook, and some others. Here Dr. Yor was put out from the mastership of Pembroke hall for refusal of the oath of supremacy, and our Divine was placed in his room by the said visitors. Of which college he some time had been fellow.

In this vacancy, until our Divine became Bishop of London, give me leave to commemorate some of the preaching that came up now at Paul's Cross, and some matters that occurred and were done in London, referring chiefly to religion.

September 3, one Makebray, a Scotchman, and lately exile, preached at Paul's Cross.

September 8, were celebrated the obsequies of Henry, French King, in St. Paul's choir, which was all hung with black and arms; and his hearse garnished with thirty dozen of pennis, and fifteen dozen of escutcheons of arms. His hearse was garnished with great escutcheons, bossed with great crowns; and all under feet with black, and a great pall of cloth of gold, and coat-armour, target, sword, and crest. The Lord Treasurer was chief mourner; next, Lord Chamberlain, the Lords Burgany, Hunsdon, Cobham, Dacres of the south, Paulet; Sir Richard Sackville, Sir Edward Warner; and many more mourners, all in black. There were fourteen heralds of arms attending in their coat-armour, following after the lords. Then dirge was sung and then they repaired to the Bishop's palace to dinner. Thence in the afternoon they came to church again, heralds before them. And the service was then performed the Archbishop of Canterbury elect was minister, Scory elect of Hereford preached, the third Bishop was Barlow, elect of Chichester; which three had black gowns, and great hoods lined with silk, and priest's caps. After all was done, they repaired to the palace to supper; there being sent officers to the Queen's house, of every office some, for the more convenience and splendour.

September 10, Turner, another exile, a man formerly much esteemed with Archbishop Cranmer, preached the Pa

Cross sermon; where, besides the Mayor and Aldermen, was CHAP. III.
a great audience of the court, city, and country.

September 17, Veron, a Frenchman by birth, that had Anno 1559.
been also of reputation for his profession of the Gospel under King Edward, and suffered imprisonment upon Queen Mary's access to the crown, preached at St. Paul's. He had words in his sermon to this import, asking, *Where were the bishops and the old preachers now? Now they hid their heads.*

The —— day of September, the new Morning Prayers be- 27
gan now first at St. Antholin's in Budge-row, ringing at five in the morning; and then a psalm was sung, as was used among the Protestants of Geneva, all men, women, and young folks singing together; which custom was about this time brought also into St. Paul's.

The 24th, Huntington, the preacher, came up at Paul's Cross.

The 30th began the Morning Prayer at Paul's, at the hour the Apostle-mass had beforetime been used.

October 8, Veron, being accounted a great preacher, was Account of Veron's sermon before the Queen.
put up to preach before the Queen. He took the confidence to tell the Queen in his sermon, that the new bishops ought to have their lands and revenues, as the old bishops had; otherwise they should not be able to maintain and keep good houses, as was customary for the prelates, and as was expected from them. For all the talk now was of curtailing the bishoprics, and leaving the bishops to be made to subsist upon some parts of the ancient revenues thereof.

October 19, Robert Crowley, an exile, formerly of Magdalen college, Oxon, (afterwards a printer, now again resuming the profession of divinity,) preached at Paul's Cross.

October 23, the Queen's visitors sat again at Paul's. Then Harpsfield, the Archdeacon of London, was deposed, and divers other Prebendaries and Vicars of that church.

November 4, a priest was married at St. Botolph's without Aldgate unto the widow of a priest deceased, late minister of Ware in Hertfordshire, when one West, a new doctor, (for so they that were Gospellers were now called,) preached; Account of a sermon at Aldgate.

BOOK and in his sermon took occasion to declaim much against
L the rood-lofts, (now the roods were gone,) where, it seems,
Anno 1559. still the people shewed their devotions. He also aggravated
 the low and poor estate of those that in the late reign fled
 abroad for the word of God, urging much that livings ought
 to be provided them.

Miles Coverdale preaches at Paul's. November 12, the reverend Miles Coverdale, an exile,
 late Bishop of Exon, and the translator of the Bible into
 English in King Henry VIII.'s reign, took his turn at
 Paul's Cross.

Bentham preaches there. The 19th, Mr. Bentham, another confessor and ^{he}exile, and
 that was not long after made Bishop of Coventry and Litch-
 field, preached in the same auditory. On which day Ton-
 stal, the learned and reverend old Bishop of Durham, (who
 had made a great figure in King Henry's reign, noted for
 his services to that King, when he cast off the Pope's su-
 premacy,) was buried decently at Lambeth; where he was
 in easy custody with the Archbishop elect.

Jewel makes his challenge at Paul's. November 26, Mr. Jewel, Bishop elect of Sarum, preached
 the Paul's Cross sermon; where was as great an audience as
 had been ever almost seen there: the Lord Mayor, the Al-
 dermen, and many of the Court made up some of his audi-
 ence. This was that most memorable sermon, as near as I
 can conjecture, wherein he first gave his challenge to any,
 whosoever, that if they could maintain and make good the
 Popish practices and doctrines of private mass, prayer in an
 unknown tongue, &c. either by Scripture, or example of the
 primitive Church, or the old doctors or councils, he openly
 avowed, that he would yield and subscribe to him, and he
 28 should depart with victory; and that none of all them that
 stood out against the Protestants, were, or ever should be,
 able to prove against them any of those points. Which
 words of his occasioned great surprise at present, and much
 talk afterwards, as though he spake more than he was able
 to justify or make good: insomuch, that in his next sermon
 that he preached at the same place, which was the March
 after, he thought fit to take notice of it, and of the dis-
 courses against him his former sermon had occasioned; say-

ing, "it ought the less to trouble him, that these reports CHAP. III.
 "were only in corners; and that if his sayings had been so Annæ 1559.
 "weak as was given out, they might easily have been re-
 "proved; which had not yet been done: but he marvelled
 "the parties never came yet to light, to take the advantage."
 And then he repeated his challenge again, with the addition
 of more of the Popish errors; whereat the Papists were so
 nettled, that Dr. Cole, lately Dean of Paul's, was put on to
 take Jewel up; but he thought fit to conclude the quarrel
 with a few letters passed between them. But begging par-
 don for this digression, we now turn our eyes again to the
 subject of our history.

When Bonner, Bishop of London, who by his late bloodi-
 ness procured an eternal stain of cruelty upon his name, Made Bi-
 shop of London.
 was laid aside from his bishopric, by declaring his deposition
 under King Edward to have been valid, the Queen thought
 none so fit to succeed him as Grindal; it being a suitable
 diocese for him, where his behaviour and doctrine had been
 so very well known, and where, no question, he was the
 dearer to the citizens, having been formerly so dear to their
 late holy Bishop, Dr. Ridley.

He was one of the five first elects; Parker elect of Can-
 terbury, Cox of Ely, Barlow of Chichester, and Scory of Remains
 under some
 scruples.
 Hereford, being the other four. But our Bishop elect of
 London remained under some scruples of conscience about
 some things; especially the habits and certain ceremonies
 required to be used of such as were bishops. For the re-
 formed in these times generally went upon this ground; that,
 in order to the complete freeing the Church of Christ from
 the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and cus-
 tom practised by that apostate and idolatrous Church should
 be abolished, and that all their ceremonies and circum-
 stances of religious worship should be clearly abrogated;
 and that the service of God should be most simple, stripped
 of all that shew, pomp, and appearance, that had been custo-
 marily used before; esteeming all that to be no better than
 superstitious and antichristian. This commonly received
 opinion, which the late English exiles especially had im-

BOOK
I.

Anno 1559.

bibed, was the cause that Grindal was now in doubt, whether he might with a safe conscience accept of a bishopric, when he saw he must submit to divers of these things, if he did; namely, such things as were practised in the Church of England in the late reign of King Edward. For so it was now determined, that religion should be reformed according to the way and manner, wherein it then appeared and was practised.

Consults
with Peter
Martyr a-
bout them.

In this scruple, therefore, he thought fit to consult with Peter Martyr, one of the learnedest Protestant Professors of Divinity in Europe in his time, and of excellent moderation;

29 and at this time Public Professor at Zurick in Helvetia.

And being Grindal's friend and acquaintance, (for they had been at Strasburgh together,) in the month of August he sent a letter to him; which passing from Strasburgh, and so to Zurick, came not to Martyr's hands before October. Therein Grindal communicated to him his doubts, desiring his speedy resolutions of them, that he might, according to that light he should give him, accept the episcopal office, or refuse it:

Impropriations.

one of these was concerning impropriations, which were to be annexed to bishoprics. For the Queen now (chiefly to gratify some of her courtiers) made exchanges with her bishops, by the authority of a late act of Parliament; taking to herself their ancient good manors and lordships, and making over to them in exchange, tithes and impropriations. A matter those first Bishops took very heavily; and scrupled very much whether they could or should comply in a thing so much to the injury of the revenue of their respective sees, which must suffer considerably by these exchanges; and whereby all hope should be cut off of restoring the tithes, so long unjustly detained from the respective churches, for the maintenance of the incumbents. Another point at which he stuck was, wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra sacra* or *in sacris*. He desired Martyr's judgment briefly of these things.

Garments.

Martyr's
answer and
advice.
Epist. P.
Martyr.

That reverend man, in the beginning of November, gave his answer. And first, as for impropriations, he thought Grindal needed not to be so solicitous; for that it was a

thing lay not in his power, whence or how it pleased the Queen to provide wages and food for her bishops and the parish ministers. And then, as for going in a cap, whether round or square, and in a gown, in ordinary conversation, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgment was, that they should not wrangle more than need was about them, since superstition seemed not properly to be concerned herein. But, in the next place, as for the habits to be used in the ministry of holy things, since they carried an appearance of the mass, and were merely remainders of Popery, it was, he said, the learned Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurick, his opinion, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, lest by his example a thing that was scandalous should be confirmed. But Martyr said; that though he was always against the use of such ornaments, yet he saw the present danger, lest they should be put from the office of preaching; and that perhaps some hope might be, that as altars and images were already taken away, so also those appearances of the mass might in time be taken away too, if he, and others who had taken upon them episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein: but notwithstanding, if it came not to so good effect, yet, should he decline the office, another might succeed in his place, who would not care to have those relics rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward to advise him rather to refuse the bishopric than to submit to the use of those vestures. But because he saw scandals of that kind were altogether by all means to be avoided, therefore he more easily yielded to Bullinger's opinion aforesaid: but if altars 30 and images had been continued and preserved, then he did freely, as he had wrote in other letters, judge, that Grindal ought by no means to minister.

In general, he advised him to do nothing against his conscience. He acknowledged the questions which he sent him had difficulty in them, and therefore excused himself that he had no sooner imparted his counsel, since it could not so easily be given. He added, that when he was at Oxford,

CHAP.
III.

Anno 1559.

Conscience
to be con-
sulted.

BOOK I. though he were a Canon, yet he would never wear the surplice in the choir. He knew his example was no just confirmation of Grindal; but that which moved him then, and still did the same, might perhaps have some force with Grindal, namely, that that was not to be done, which might confirm the practice of what his conscience did not approve.

Anno 1559. Grindal writes again to Martyr for his advice. The same year our Bishop elect wrote two letters more to the same reverend man, both in October and December, for his advice and counsel: for he cared not to trust to his own wit and learning in the performance of his duty in matters not so clear to him. The things he now wrote to P. Martyr about were partly the same, about which he had consulted with him before, and partly some other. One of Grindal's queries was, that seeing he was not left at his liberty for the garments, whether he should accept of the episcopal function offered him, because of the imposition of the matters aforesaid?

Martyr's answer. P. Martyr's answer came late; for Grindal had accepted the bishopric, and was made Bishop before it came to his hand. But Martyr's advice was consonant to what Grindal had done; that is, that he should not decline it; and that because of the great need of ministers. Wherefore if they, who were as it were the pillars, should decline the offices of the church, the churches should be destitute of pastors, and they should give place to wolves and Antichrists. And being without the function, it would not be in their power to amend such things as gave offence, yea scarcely to keep that which was granted: but if they, such men as himself, sat at helm, there would be much hope, that if not all, yet that many things might be redressed.

His judgment in case of great tithes. In the next place, as to the State's taking away many of the lands and lordships from the sees, Martyr would not have this evil to discourage him from accepting the bishopric; since that they themselves did not alienate them, but others; and that it was done, they not being consulted with. But when upon this taking away the demesnes from the bishops, and in lieu thereof giving them great tithes, (which indeed belonged to parish ministers,) Grindal made

a conscience what the said ministers should do for a subsistence, since the tithes, their dues, were gone, Martyr soon answered this, viz. that they must be maintained by the bi- shops; and that they must trust God, who would open some way and means to provide for them, seeing he fed the birds of the air, and clothed the lilies of the field, and forsook none rightly walking in their vocation.

CHAP.
III.

Anno 1559.

Of the square cap and the external episcopal habits, he 31 thought there was no need much to dispute, when the wearing thereof was without superstition, and especially when it might have a civil reason in this kingdom.

Of the habits.

Of the garments which they termed holy, he confessed they somewhat more stuck with him; so that he wondered they should be so stiffly retained: and he wished all things in the service of God might be done in the most simple manner. Yet he subjoined, that in case peace might be obtained between the Saxon and Helvetian churches as to doctrine, this sort of garments should never make a separation: for though they should not approve of them, yet they would bear them. Therefore he allowed that Grindal might use that attire, either when he preached or administered the sacraments; yet so as to continue to speak and teach against the use of them. But he added, that he could never advise, that when he preached or administered the Lord's Supper, he should have the image of the crucifix upon the table.

Of the surplice and episcopal garments.

Grindal also desired to know this great Divine's judgment as to the State's dealing with obnoxious Papists; and what he advised as to the inflicting punishment upon them, in respect of the many advantages that might be taken against them for their irregular and lawless doings in the last reign. Likewise whether he thought adviseable, that Popish Priests should be continued in their places, or that such should be admitted to livings. But Peter Martyr piously counselled, that for peace sake matters past should be forgotten; remembering that punishments in the Church have sometimes been intermitted, and sometimes a total pardon granted; and that heretics have been received with the continuance of their former honours and degrees, they subscribing to

Of the Popish Priests.

BOOK I. sound religion. But he advised withal, that care should be taken, that for the time to come nothing should be admitted

Anno 1569. which was contrary to the religion now entertained. And as for such as should hereafter be presented from patrons to the bishops for spiritual livings, that they should not be by them instituted, unless they should subscribe to the religion established.

Of the sacramental bread.
Wafer.

Our elect consulted also with the afore-mentioned learned man about the sacramental bread, whether it were necessary it should be unleavened; that is, wafer. To which he told him, he knew it himself, that all the churches abroad did not make any contention about it; nay, that they every where used it.

Of Bishops' attire.

Grindal also gave Martyr to understand how offended many were with the episcopal habits, and those *sacred* garments, as they called them. But the Divine told him, they might escape all blame, if they also declared in their sermons that those garments displeased them also, and that they would use their endeavour at one time or other to get them laid aside.

And of the perambulation.

At the same time also did the Lord elect advise with Martyr about going the perambulation in the rogation weeks; which seemed to have been derived from the ambulations or walkings of the heathen. Martyr made a stand here, what rightly to advise about them; but concluded, 32 that all superstition should be avoided: and if God only were prayed to in those perambulations, that for his mercy he would graciously grant them the new fruits of the earth, and the use of those good things, and together giving God thanks for the food of the year past, superstition should seem sufficiently avoided. Although both magistrates and people should be taught against such customs, and endeavours ought to be used to explode them as relics of the Amorites. And to conclude, he prayed God to persuade him of these things, or to suggest better: adding, lastly, that in all this he had consulted Bullinger, who assented, and heartily saluted him.

We will mention one act of our elect in consort with the

Archbishop elect, and the three other elects; which was, CHAP. III.
 that he and they had the honesty and courage to prefer to Anno 1569.
 the Queen a secret address for her granting of several things His address to the
 of great benefit and use to the Church and ministers of it: Queen a-
 as, to stay the exchanges of bishops' lands for great tithes bout ex-
 and impropriations in the Crown, so much to the detriment change.
 of the episcopal sees, and to the disabling of her Majesty's
 bishops to encourage learning, and to exercise that hospi-
 tality that was expected from them; offering her an equiva-
 lent, viz. a thousand marks a year during their lives. In
 the same address they requested divers other very needful
 things, as in behalf of the small bishoprics, and of the infe-
 rior clergy; as may be seen in the Annals of the Reforma- Annal. of
 tion. The excellent letter itself will be found in the Life Reforma-
 and Acts of Archbishop Parker. But however godly and tion, p. 98.
 pious the intention of this our elect was, yet little was ef-
 fected thereby. But hereby he and his fellow bishops dis-
 charged their consciences.

In the beginning of January, Grindal (who was now con- Grindal
 secrated Bishop of London) wrote again to Martyr. And writes again
 by this letter it appeared, that he and the rest of the pious to Martyr.
 bishops and ministers were at this time under great fears,
 perhaps about the success of religion, and it may be, some-
 what jealous of the Queen's purposes. Martyr and the rest
 of the brethren at Zurick assured him, that they heartily
 condoled with them, and that they had, and would not
 cease to pray to God to avert the troubles and feared evils
 from them.

Peter Martyr, in a former letter, had shewed a great dis- Consults
 like at having the crucifix placed upon the table at the ad- with him
 ministration of the Sacrament, which the Queen retained in about re-
 her chapel; whereupon Grindal now asked his judgment, taining the
 whether he did not hold this among the things that were crucifix.
 indifferent. To which that learned man replied in the ne-
 gative; and that he should not advise any to distribute the
 Communion with that rite: but he prudently added, that he
 that was in the very midst of the battle must not expect
 counsel so far off, he being at such a distance from them,

BOOK I. who were taking their consultations about it on the very spot: a calling, said he, is not rashly to be cast away, nor
 Anno 1559. yet to be taken up with the injury of truth. The sum is, as he went on, the worship of images is by no means to be tolerated: that neither Bullinger nor he esteemed such matters among the *ἀδιάφορα*, i. e. things indifferent, but rejected them as forbidden. Yet he exhorted him by no means to refuse the ministry which was voluntarily offered him, unless he were driven and compelled to these things.

33 In fine, the good Bishop prayed him to use his interest with the Queen, and to write a letter, to dissuade her against setting up or continuing the crucifix. But Martyr excused himself, and pleaded his extraordinary business; adding, that he thought his letters had not much weight with her; since he had writ twice before to her, both publicly and privately, and knew not yet whether what he writ was received; so little notice was taken, as he judged, of him: especially seeing, as it was said, the English were now consulting about embracing the Augustan Confession, and of entering into league with the German Protestants, who all had the crucifix in their churches. He gave him leave to consider then what little place his letter, or the letters of those of his rank, were like to find. Grindal also prayed him to put Bernardin Ochin and Bullinger upon writing to her. He did so, and Bernardin promised he would; but Bullinger declined it also.

And that
 he would
 write to the
 Queen a-
 gainst it.

CHAP. IV.

Made Bishop. Arms granted him. His Officers. Some of his first cares in his high function. Ordains Ministers. Perambulation in Rogation Week reformed. Preaches at Dr. May's funeral. The Lessons and Calendar reformed. Commissions.

HAVING thus related at large the correspondence between that learned foreign Professor and our Divine, for the

better pacifying of his conscience, and the directing of him CHAP. IV.
 in certain matters, wherein he must be concerned, if he were
 bishop, I shall now go on to shew him entering upon his Anno 1559.
 episcopal honour and office.

He, together with the other first four elects, in a private The elects labour to stop the exchange of bishops' lands.
 address to the Queen, offered her a pension of a thousand
 marks a year, for themselves and for the rest of the province
 of Canterbury, (which they undertook for,) to stop the ex-
 changing of bishops' lands, which the Parliament had em-
 powered her to do; and shewing her in humble manner,
 that the present alteration of lands, by exchange from her,
 having been lands of monasteries dissolved, parsonages, and
 such like, were very inconvenient; which they offered to
 describe at large to her in writing. But this commendable
 boldness of Grindal and his colleagues took not effect, nor
 would the annual pension be accepted, as was shewn before.

The consecration of Grindal, B. D. to the see of London, Grindal consecrated.
 was December 21, 1559, being forty years of age. And with
 him were consecrated Cox elect of Ely, Meric of Bangor,
 and Sandys of Worcester. The consecration was celebrated
 in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, by Archbishop
 Parker, assisted by Barlow, Scory, and Suffragan Hodgson:
 and a sermon was then preached by Alexander Nowell, the
 said Bishop of London's chaplain, upon that suitable text,
Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the
Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.

An exchange of lands was in hand between the Queen ³⁴
 and our Bishop, even before his consecration, but yet still The Queen's letter to empower him to exercise his jurisdiction.
 not fully finished; before the concluding whereof, he could
 not make an end of compounding for his first-fruits; the in-
 convenience of which was, that it laid a stop to him in the
 exercise of his episcopal office. For the taking this off, he
 required the Queen's authority for his acting as Bishop.
 Whereupon, the day after his consecration, she warranted
 him by this her letter:

"Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well- Ex Regist. Grind.
 beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we be informed,
 that now upon the confirmation of your election to the

BOOK I. "bishopric of London, and consecration, you stand in doubt
"to exercise any jurisdiction, which otherwise you might ;

Anno 1559. "for that you have not yet compounded for the first-fruits
"of the said bishopric; which thing cannot conveniently
"be done, until the exchange betwixt us and you be in
"order requisite finished: for avoiding of disorder and in-
"conveniences, which otherwise might grow among our
"people within the city and diocese of London, we have
"thought good to require you, all scruple of our laws in
"respect of such order in proceeding set apart, to use and
"exercise all such ecclesiastical jurisdiction as appertaineth
"to the Bishop of London, in as ample and large manner
"as ye were in full possession, and as ye had compounded
"with us for the first-fruits of the same. And these our
"letters shall be warrant sufficient for your discharge in
"that behalf. Given under our signet, at our palace of
"Westminster, the xxii. day of December, the second year
"of our reign."

Installed.
Grind. Re-
gist.

The next day, that is, December 23, was the day of his installation; which was performed in this manner. First, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, Thomas Young, Professor of Laws, produced his proxy for the Bishop before William May, LL.D. Dean of the church, and the Canons greater and less, and other members of that church, and took the oath of supremacy, *in animâ ipsius Episcopi*; and also swore the Bishop's residence according to the custom, unless dispensed with, and to observe the rights and privileges of the church of St. Paul's. Then was the said Dr. Young enthronized, or installed, in proxy for the Bishop; the Dean of Paul's, and John Molins, Archdeacon of London, conducting him from the chapter-house, the Dean on the right hand, and the Archdeacon on the left, to the great west door of the choir; and thence through the middle of the said choir unto the Bishop's seat between the said choir and the place of the high altar, the other greater and less Canons going before; and there they seated him. Then *Te Deum* was sung; and the Dean made this prayer in English.

“ O Lord, Almighty God, we beseech thee to grant to CHAP.
 “ thy servant EDMUND our Bishop, that by preaching IV.
 “ and doing those things which be godly, he may both in- Anno 1559.
 “ struct the minds of the diocesans with true faith and ex- Dean of St.
 “ ample of good works, and finally receive of the most Paul's
 “ merciful Pastor the reward of eternal life; who liveth prayer for
 “ with thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. 35 the new
 “ *Amen.*” These things were done, together with other ac- Bishop.
 “ customed usages.

Now did Sir Gilbert Dethick, alias Garter, Knt. principal Garter
 king of arms, honour the Bishop with a blazon of arms, to grants him
 be made use of in all his sealed letters and instruments. arms.
 The patent whereof ran in this tenor:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus has presentes literas visuris, le- Offic. Ar-
cturis vel audituris, GILBERTUS DETHIKE, alias Garter, mor. Sheld.
Miles, Principalis Rex Armorum Anglicorum, salutem, Books, No.
cum debita et humili commendatione. 162. p. 15.

*Æquitas vult, et ratio postulat, quod homines virtuosus,
 et laudabilis dispositionis et vitæ honorabilis, sint per co-
 rum merita honorati et remunerati in suis personis, ex-
 istentes in hac vitâ mortali tam brevi et transitoriâ, et in
 quolibet loco honoris præ cæteris exaltati, demonstrando
 signa et exempla virtutis ac etiam humanitatis, viz. scutum
 cum insigniis honoris: eâ intentione, ut per eorum exempla
 alii magis concitentur eorum vitam in bonis operibus et factis
 clarissimis exercere. Et ideo ego prædictus Garter Rex
 Armorum ut supra, non solum ex divulgatâ famâ, verùm
 etiam ex meo cæterorumque nobilium fide dignorum testi-
 monio, sim veraciter instructus et informatus, quod Re-
 verendus in Christo Pater D. EDMUNDUS GRINDAL Lon-
 dinen. Episcopus diu in virtute claruit, ac veri et Christiani
 Præsulis officio functus est et fungitur indies; adeo ut bene
 mereatur et dignus sit in omnibus locis honoris admitti, nu-
 merari et recipi in numerum et consortium aliorum vete-
 rum præclarorum ac illustrium virorum: quapropter ob
 memoriam ejus tantæ virtutis et humanitatis, autoritate ac
 potestate mihi officioque meo Garterii Regis Armorum per
 Sereniss. Dominam Reginam concessis et attributis, ordi-*

BOOK *nari et assignavi præfato Domino EDMUNDO Episcopo*
 I. *Londinen. ut suprà, scutum cum insignis honoris, sicut hic*
 Anno 1559. *Gallicè declarabitur, Ceste ascavoir, d'or et d'azure escar-*
telle, une croix escartelle d'hermines et d'or. Sur le pre-
miere une columbe d'azure, sur le seconde une altre d'argent,
ut latius in scuto hic depicto apparet: habendum et tenendum



eidem Domino EDMUNDO Epi-
scopo ut supra. Et ut ipse in
his ornatus sit ad ejus honorem
in perpetuum. In cujus rei te-
stimonium has patentes literas
manu meâ propriâ subscripsi, ac
sigillum meum ad arma unâ cum
sigillo officii mei Regis Armorum
præsentibus apposui. Dat. Lon-
donii anno regni Elizabethæ Dei
gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hi-
bernæ Reginæ, Fidei Defenso-
ris, secundo, die vero vicesimo
quinto mensis Decembris.

36 And now we shall first shew his officers, whose assistance
 His officers. he made use of, for the better discharge of this his weighty
 function, that was fallen upon him. December 22, he granted
 to Thomas Huick, LL. D. to be his Vicar General in spi-
 rituals, and issued out a commission of the same date to
 him, to exercise jurisdiction within the deanery of Middle-
 sex and Barking. And Thomas Cole, M. A. he made his
 Commissary within the archdeaconry of Essex and Col-
 chester, the commission bearing date Feb. 20, 1559. And
 a like commission was issued forth from him to Tho. Don-
 nel, B. D. and to Edward Stevens, Vicar of Dunmow, clerk,
 for the consistory of Stortford, dated May 7, 1560. A like
 commission he granted to David Kemp, clerk, to exercise
 jurisdiction within the deanery of St. Alban's. And John
 Mullins, M. A. was his Archdeacon of London. These
 were the ecclesiastical officers which the Bishop constituted
 under him. And sometime after, Tho. Watts became his
 Archdeacon for Middlesex.

January 8, the Bishop preached his first sermon at St. Paul's after his consecration.

CHAP.
IV.

The good Bishop now, above all, thought it highly need-
ful to provide ministers to supply the vacancies, and to fur-
nish the Church with men of learning, honesty, and good
religion, in the room of such priests as had either volun-
tarily relinquished their places, or were put out. Therefore
the Bishop, soon after his own consecration, proceeded to
the ordination of ministers, of whom he ordained consider-
able numbers; consisting in a great measure, as it seems, of
such young persons as had left the Universities in the late
reign, and studied abroad at Zurick, Strasburgh, and other
places. The first ordination was held December 28, on a
Thursday; the persons ordained having the day before un-
dergone their examination by Mullins, Archdeacon of Lon-
don; who assisted also at the ordination, which was per-
formed in the chapel of the palace in London. The Dea-
cons now ordained were, Tho. Jeffreys, M. A. Fellow of Clare
hall, Cambridge; Tho. Page, Scholar of Magdalen college,
Cambridge; and Nic. Hewitt, Scholar of Queen's college,
Cambridge. The Priests were these, Tho. Lance, Fellow
of Bene't, Cambridge; Henry Beane, Scholar of Queen's,
Cambridge; Rich. Bromel, Scholar of Pembroke hall, Cam-
bridge; J. Holland, of Chelmsford; J. Twydale, M. A. Fel-
low of Queen's college, Cambridge; Edw. Harnes, B. L. Fel-
low of Queen's college, Cambridge; J. Mayer, B. A. of Jesus
college, Cambridge; J. Price, B. A. Fellow of Catharine
hall, Cambridge.

Anno 1559.
Preaches at
Paul's.
Ordains
ministers.

Ex Offic.
Registrar.

The next ordination was little above a fortnight after, viz.
January 14, in the chapel belonging to his palace in Lon-
don; Molins, Archdeacon of London, examining also, and
assisting as before. The persons ordained Deacons were as
follow: Richard Cham, of Henley upon Thames, aged 47;
Robert Broke, aged 29; John Mantyl, aged 29; Thomas
Brodestrete; John Brainford; John Gowgh; Thomas Spen-
cer; Adam Halladay; William Howel; George Hull, Fel-
low of St. John's college, Cambridge, B. A.; John Champion;
John Monger; Thomas Harvey; John Person; Edward

- BOOK 1. Watsmouth; Thomas Brasbrigg, B. A.; Tho. Oxforth, A.B. of Bene't college, Cambridge; William Bradforth, A.B. of Clare hall, Cambridge; Richard Hedge; James Calfhill, born at Edinburgh in Scotland, aged 30; Rob. Buckberd; Tho. Pyrrye; Steven Britain; Edward Hales; Tho. Renyger; Michael Goodyere; Thomas Pegge; Thomas Wilson, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, M. A.; William Pett; Thomas Serelby; Simon William; Thomas Jenkinson, B.A.; Nicholas Hunt; Henry Wright, A.B. of St. John's, Cambridge; John Scarlet; Robert Harrington; Thomas Willyat; William Baldwin; and William Overton, M. A. of Magdalen, Oxon, aged 33, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; in all thirty-nine.

The Priests were William Wood; Francis Cocks; George Bacon; John Hooper, of the diocese of Gloucester, aged 40; Thomas Pegge, ut supra; William Porrage; Roger Kelk, B.D. Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, aged 36; William Austin, aged 40; in all eight. In all this ordination none were ordained that were under twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, but most were upward of thirty. Some of the Deacons were no scholars, or of any University, but men of sober conversation, and that could read English well; who, nevertheless, in this present necessity were ordained, that they might be readers in the churches, to read the Common Prayers and Homilies.

About ten days after, viz. on the 25th day, being the festival of St. Paul, was another ordination celebrated; when these Deacons were made: Percival Wyborn, M.A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, aged 26; Richard Tremain, M.A. Fellow of Exon, Oxon; Theodore Newton, M.A.; Peter Morving, of Magdalen college, B.A.; John Philpot, of London; Thomas Bawden; Robert Shryff; Henry Mors; John Carter; Richard Cotton; Thomas Clement; Augustin Styleman; Henry Standen; William Hewes; William Loker; Richard Flint, of Magdalen hall, Oxon; Rich. Aderton; Maurice Newel; John Dane; William Lesley; Roger Matthew; Edmund Bestian; Rich. Bosom; John Westbroke; Tho. Smith; Tho. Mowe; Tho. Dawks, Scholar

of Pembroke hall, Cambridge; John Gifford; Henry Baker; John Bonton; Mr. Ehner; Lancelot Priestland; Mr. John Markham, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke hall; Tho. Cattell; in all thirty-four. The Priests were these: John Pilkington, of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, M.A. born in Lancashire; John Blake; Pyrry; Harrington; Brasbrig; these, and three and twenty more, that had been made Deacons, and mentioned before. To these are added, Francis Barlow, (who is said to be *dioc. Leodiensis*, i. e. of the diocese of Liege,) and Mr. Fox; [undoubtedly John Fox, the Martyrologist, who had been ordained Deacon by Bishop Ridley, in King Edward's reign:] in all thirty.

CHAP.
IV.

Anno 1559.

To which (that I may lay the ordinations of this year together) I add one ordination more, which next happened; and that was on Sunday, March 24, being performed also in the Bishop's chapel. The Deacons were, William Day, M.A.; Nicholas Wilson, M.A.; John Bedens, in Grammaticis Magister. Priests, John Smith, and Tho. Watts, B.A. (afterwards Archdeacon of Middlesex.)

March 3, our Bishop preached again at Paul's Cross in his habit, i. e. in his rochet and chimere; and so continued to wear them as often as he preached. There was then a mighty audience; for the people were greedy to hear the Gospel. And sermon being ended, a Psalm was set, and sung by all the congregation (for now it became commonly practised in churches) with the organ.

Preaches at
Paul's.
MSS. D. Jo-
han. Episc.
Elien.

The Rogation time drawing on, when many superstitious processions were wont to be used in London and other places, the Bishop took care, as to allow of the ancient useful practice of perambulations for the asserting the bounds of each parish, so to check and restrain the superstitions thereof: therefore he prescribed this order to the Archdeacons, to be by them communicated through the diocese; which was as followeth.

Anno 1560.
His order
for the Ro-
gation time.

" For the avoiding superstitious behaviour, and for uniformity to be had in the Rogation-week, now at hand;
" these shall be to require you to give notice and commandment within your archdeaconry, that the ministers make

Ex Registr.
Grind.

BOOK I. "it not a procession, but a perambulation; and also that

Anno 1560. "they suffer no banners, nor other like monument of superstition to be carried abroad; neither to have multitude of
 "young light folks with them; but the substantial of the
 "parish, according to the injunctions: the Ministers to
 "go without surplices and lights; and to use no drinkings,
 "except the distance of the place do require some necessary
 "relief; and to use at one or two convenient places the
 "form and order of prayers and thanksgiving appointed by
 "the Queen's Majesty's injunctions. Thus fare ye well.
 "From my house in London, the xiii. of May, 1560.

"To Mr. Cole, Archdeacon of Essex: this be
 "delivered with speed."

But though our Bishop took this care of his diocese, yet I find in many places of the realm this year, *gang-week*, as they called it, was observed. And in divers places, of Bucks and Cornwall especially, the people went in procession with banners, and had good cheer after the old custom.

The Bishop preaches.
 Preaches at the funeral of May, Dean of Paul's.

The Bishop again preached above in Paul's, June 2.

Alex. Nowell made Dean.

In August 1560 happened the death of Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, a pious and learned man; of whom great use had been made in ecclesiastical matters under King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. and was in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth nominated to the Archbishopric of York; but deceased before his consecration. He was buried in St. Paul's church; and Bishop Grindal preached in his rochet his funeral sermon. Alexander Nowell, M. A. that had been an exile, the Bishop's chaplain, and Archdeacon of the archdeaconry of Middlesex, succeeded in the said deanery, after it had been void some months. The Queen's letters to the Chapter of St. Paul's, to choose him, bore date November 11, using these expressions concerning him: "As well for
 "his godly zeal and special good learning, and other singular gifts and virtues; we thought good to commend
 "him unto you, as one, whom we, of a singular good will
 "and hearty affection towards that church, would have
 "preferred unto the Deanery thereof." December 1, the

Bishop sent his letter to Dr. Huick, his Vicar General, for the process of his confirmation and installation. CHAP. IV.

Our Bishop was made one of the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners. For a commission of that nature had lately been enacted by the Parliament, to inspect into the manners of the Clergy, and regulate all matters of the Church. Anno 1560.
The Bishop made one of the ecclesiastical commission :

And in this year 1560 he was also appointed, by the Queen's special letters, to be one of her Commissioners (Par-³⁹ker, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Bill, her Almoner; Dr. Haddon, Master of Requests, being the other) for the changing of certain chapters used for lessons, and some other things appointed to be read, (not so convenient,) for other chapters more edifying to the common people; and for the making of a new calendar for the Book of Common Prayer; and for the taking some good orders for the keeping clean and adorning of chancels, which were in these times very much neglected and profaned; altogether unbecoming the houses of God, and the places where the holy Supper was administered; and, lastly, for the prescribing some good order for the collegiate churches, that by the Queen's permission used the Common Prayer in Latin, as should be most convenient to be used in respect of their companies, or of resort of the laity thither; that this liberty of the Queen's, granting the prayers in Latin, might not be corrupted and abused. And of the commission for changing certain lessons, &c.

In the afore-mentioned year, viz. 1560, came these pre-^{A mandate to him from the Archbishop.}scriptions and mandates from the Archbishop to our Bishop. An inhibition to him (as also to the other provincial Bishops) to forbear visiting his diocese for some time, because of the great poverty of the clergy; having been so oppressed before, by frequent visitations and procurations, "that to the exceeding scandal of their state and ministry (as the letters of the Archbishop ran) they had scarce wherewith to buy food and raiment."

In July, an order was prescribed him by the said Arch-^{Another order from him.}bishop, to be used in Common Prayer thrice a week, for seasonable weather; and good success of the common affairs of the realm; meet to be used (as the injunction ran) at

BOOK this present, and also hereafter, when like occasion should
I. arise, by the discretion of the Ordinary within the province
Anno 1560. of Canterbury.

Several or- I will now recount all the ordinations of Ministers that
dinations of happened since the last year hitherto, celebrated by our Bi-
Ministers. shop, or by some other Bishop by him deputed; that you
 may see what care was taken by our Bishop for furnishing
 the Church with ministers not tainted with Popery.

March 27, were Rob. Joyner and Rich. Langhern, B.A.
 ordained Deacons and these six made Priests; Will. Bar-
 ker, (who had received Deacon's orders in the time of Bi-
 shop Bonner,) Brian Barton, Percival Wyborn, Gilbert Ge-
 nyns, Edm. Johnson, William Margets. All these received
 their orders from Rich. Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph, who
 performed the ordination in the name and by the order of
 the reverend father, Bishop Grindal.

Ultim. Martii, another ordination was celebrated, by the
 said Bishop of St. Asaph, in the Bishop of London's chapel.
 Deacons: Hugh Jervys, B.A. of Clare hall, and Hugh
 Brommel, Scholar of St. John's, Cambridge. Priests: Tho.
 Horton, M.A. of Pembroke, Cambridge; Rich. Proud; and
 Wil. Day, (afterwards Bishop of Winton.)

- 40 April 25, the Bishop of London held an ordination in
 his chapel in the palace at London; wherein these following
 were made Deacons: Will. Betts, of Hadley in Suffolk;
 Tho. Upchere; Peter Foreman; Tho. Nokes; Christopher
 Knight; Richard Clive, B.A.; Christopher Booke; Henry
 Basset; James Blacket; John Amerye; Tho. Spicer; Tho.
 Coper, born at Bewdley, Wigorn, aged 60;.....
; — Hawgh,
alias Halgh; Greg. Metcalf; John Wolton, born at Wha-
 ley in Cheshire, aged 23; (he was afterwards Bishop of
 Exeter;) Will. Painter; Martin Adam; Rich. Wilmot; Will.
 Atkinson; Tho. Brice; Humphrey Walwyn; Will. Lion;
 Walter Bedel, B.A.; Rich. Lee; John Valey; Dominicus
 Jackson; Nich. Hunt; Alex. Smelley; Rich. Weston, aged
 38. And these Priests: Francis Serle; Walter Richardson;
 John Aman; John Brewer; James Blacket; Will. Dartnel;

Nich. Humphrey; Tho. Cook; Gilbert Hazzard; John Sta-
 lon; Francis Banister; Will. Davis; Will. Green; Will. CHAP.
IV.
 Fletcher; Walter Kelle; Nich. Wilson, M. A. Fellow of Anno 1560.
 Magdalen college, Oxon; Roger White; Rich. Allen; Wal-
 ter Davies, aged 41; Will. Atherton; Rob. Joyner; Rich.
 Langhern; Rob. Smith; Will. Overton; and six more, lately
 ordained Deacons, and mentioned before.

The next ordination was held May 1. Then was ordained
 only Rob. Pownal, an exile, born at Barwick in Dorsetshire,
 [it should be Somersetshire,] aged 40, and more.

The next was June 4, Archdeacon Mullins assisting the
 Bishop, as he had done in all the ordinations before. The
 Deacons were, Rob. Rogers, M. A. and Fellow of Christ's
 college, Oxon; Bernard Sudbury; Tho. Lylyot, M. A. and
 Fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge; Rob. Frazier, a Scot;
 Tho. Pett; John Stevens; Henry Brown; Anthony Gaton-
 bye; Will. Lyon, aged 43; Anthony White; Arthedox
 [perhaps for Orthodox] Rogers, M. A. The Priests were,
 Rich. Cliff, B. A.; John Wotton, [Wolton,] B. A.; Rich.
 Wyllmothe; Tho. Bryce, and nine more ordained Dea-
 cons before; Will. Osborn; and Barn. Sudbury.

June 9, Basset, Gatonbye, and Calfil, M. A. three Dea-
 cons, were made Priests. And one Deacon ordained, viz.
 Robert Rowles, B. A. Fellow of New College, Oxon.

July 25, Thursday, being St. James's day, still Mullins
 the Archdeacon assisting, were ordained Deacons, Nich.
 Slater; John After, aged 50, born in Calais; John Garret,
 aged 41; Rich. Simons, aged 31; Dominic Jaxon. Priests,
 Rich. Lee, and Will. Lyon.

July 28, were Will. Hardiman and Nich. Slater made
 Priests. \Those ordained, that were more elderly, (whose
 ages I have set down,) were such, I suppose, as being grave
 and sober persons, though no scholars, but perhaps trades-
 men before, were thought convenient to be admitted into
 orders, to supply the present necessity of the Church: but
 this it seems gave offence. And therefore

The next month an order came, directed to the Bishop
 from the Metropolitan, to forbear ordaining any more ar-
 tificers.

Another
 order to
 ordain no
 more arti-
 ficers.

BOOK officers, and others that had been of secular occupations,
I. that were unlearned; which they, the Bishops, had been
Anno 1560. forced to do at first, if they were qualified with sobriety and
 good religion, and skill in reading, for the supply of the va-
 cant churches: and that all, henceforth, should be excluded
 from taking holy orders, but such as had good testimonials
 41 of their conversation, were exercised in learning, or at least
 had spent some time in teaching school. And because the
 Bishop, as the Archbishop's Chancellor, was to communicate
 this order to the rest of the Suffragan Bishops, he did it
 with this letter of his own.

The Bi-
shop's let-
ter to other
bishops for
that intent.

“ After my very hearty commendations, these are to sig-
 nify unto your Lordship, that I have received a letter, di-
 rected me, from my Lord of Canterbury, containing an
 advertisement, to be communicated unto you, and the
 other of our brethren within his Grace's province: and
 for that intent, I have caused the copy of the said letters
 to be inserted, and inclosed herein: the which I do now
 send by this bearer unto you; not doubting, but that
 your Lordship will consider the same, and have such re-
 gard thereunto, as appertaineth. And thus wishing
 unto your Lordship prosperous health and felicity, to the
 pleasure of Almighty God, I bid you most heartily farewell.
 From my house at Fulham, the 17th of August, 1560.

“ By your loving brother,

“ Edmund London.”

The Arch-
bishop
sends to
our Bishop
for a list of
the names
of his cler-
gy.

In November following, the Archbishop sent a letter
 to the Bishop of London, for certain considerations condu-
 cive to the general reformation of the clergy, to certify him,
 the said Archbishop, of the names and surnames of all
 the Deans, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Chanters, and others,
 having any dignity in his cathedral church, and of all the
 Prebendaries of the same; and all and singular Parsons,
 Vicars, Curates, &c.

He and two
Bishops
more write
to the
Queen to
marry.

He was one of the three Bishops (the Archbishop of
 Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely being the other two)

that this year took upon them the courage and the honesty to write a secret letter to the Queen, to persuade her to marry; shewing her how the safety and welfare of the Church and kingdom depended upon issue of her royal body: concluding, "that till they should see that fortunate day, they should never repose themselves to minister in their offices comfortably, in perfect joy, and quiet of heart."

CHAP.
IV.

Anno 1560.

CHAP. V.

The Bishop superintendent of the foreigners' churches in London. His dealings with some members thereof. Anabaptists. The Spaniards desire a church. More ordinations.

THE Bishop of London had the care and inspection of all the foreigners' churches in the said city, as namely, both the Dutch and French; under which were comprised the Spanish and Italian congregations; and he was their superintendent, and so termed. The chief was the Dutch or German church, settled first by King Edward VI. and 42 the church formerly belonging to the Augustin friars was by that Prince given to Alasco, their first minister, and his congregation, who had then removed themselves hither from Embden: and upon the access of Queen Mary to the crown, after many tossings abroad, retreated thither again; and thence replanted themselves here again under Queen Elizabeth.

He inspects
the for-
eigners'
churches.

For the year last past, this congregation had petitioned the Queen to have their church restored them, and their charter renewed. And herein Bishop Grindal was their great advocate and friend at Court, as they acknowledged themselves, in some records remaining in their said Church. Their church they accordingly enjoyed; and command was given to the Queen's Purveyor, that it should be

The
church in
St. Austin
Friars re-
stored to
them.

MSS. Eccl.
Londino-
Belgic.

BOOK I. cleansed, and discharged of the stores put in there in the last reign, in order to their assembling there for the public worship of God. To which I will add here, that it appears by the same papers, that a sentence was given, in the year 1567, by this Bishop, and other of the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, ratifying and confirming this church and its constitution.

Their ministers.

Their chief elder about this time was Johannes Utenhovius, a man of noble rank and quality, and formerly assistant to Alasco in this church. Their ministers were, Peter de Loene, Gotofridus Wyngius, and Hadrianus Hamstedius. There were at this time other learned foreigners belonging to this church; one whereof was Jacobus Acontius, who, with Hamstedius, was touched with Anabaptistical and Arian principles, and had divers followers, shrowding themselves under the wings of this church; which cost our Bishop some trouble, as we shall learn by and by.

A supplication sent him from some strangers, for exercise of their religion.

In the month of September 1560, a supplication was brought him in Dutch, as it seems, from a sort of men of the Low Countries, for the free exercise of their religion; shewing themselves exiles for religion, though in some points differing from the doctrine received in this church. But this petition had no names subscribed to it; so that the Bishop could not tell to whom to give his answer, nor where to send it; but he took a copy of this supplication turned into Latin, which he kept, and sent the original to the Dutch minister de Loene, and Utenhovius, to keep safely. For having received this supplication, he acquainted them with it, and with his conjectures; viz. that the petitioners were Anabaptists, and that Hadrian Hamsted was the drawer of it up; for that he had been heard to say, that he would draw up a supplication to the Bishop, in behalf of the Anabaptists. The Bishop therefore signified to them, that he was minded in his answer to direct himself to Adrian in the name of all the Anabaptists; but that he would do nothing without first acquainting them with it, who knew, he said, the depth of the sect better than he, by reason of their daily experience of them. And the church sending certain of their members

to the Bishop at this time, to consult with him upon some business, and to receive his answer, he took the occasion to make them the bearers of the aforesaid supplication, and of his letter, importing what was related before : which letter I had rather the reader should peruse in his own words.

Salutem in Christo. Mitto exemplar supplicationis cujusdam ad me missæ per quosdam (uti apparet) Anabaptistas, sed anonymos. Curavi Latine vertendam. Archetypum ad vos misi, quod diligenter uti asservetis, oro. Non dum respondi, quia nescio quibus responderem. Sunt qui Adrianum authorem existimant. Is enim (uti audio) quodam tempore quibusdam audientibus dixit, se velle Anabaptistarum nomine supplicem libellum ad me conscribere. Itaque puto compendio me facturum, si ad ipsum Adrianum responsionem meam destinarem, ut is fratribus illis anonymis tradendam curaret. Sed tamen decrevi nullo illos responso dignari, nisi prius communicato cum vobis consilio, qui hujus sectæ profunditates melius novistis quam ego propter diuturnam experientiam. De cæteris, fratres quos ad me misistis, certiores vos reddent. Opto vos in Domino quam optime valere. Fulhamiæ, 4. Septembr. 1560.

Vester in Christo,

Edmundus Grindallus, Lond. Ep.

Domino Petro de Læno et Domino Joanni

Utenhovio, fratribus et amicis in Domino charissimis, Londini.

For the fuller understanding of the matter aforementioned, it must be known, that one of the great doctrines of this sect was, that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin Mary, but brought it down from heaven; a doctrine that undermined the mediatorship of our Saviour. But being otherwise outwardly sober and quiet, and pretending zealously to believe and worship Christ, and to expect salvation by him; the abovesaid Adrian took their parts, and laboured much for their peaceable and quiet subsistence, and enjoyment of their opinion, till they were further enlightened. And he

CHAP.
V.

Annæ 1560.

The Bishop writes to De Loen about it. *Ex Biblioth. Eccles. Londono-German. p. 121. epist. MS.*

Hamstedius, one of the ministers, favours Dutch Anabaptists.

BOOK declared, how this gentle behaviour towards them was
1. the likeliest way to win them from their error. Hadrian

Anno 1560. himself was a sober and pious man ; and gave out himself to be no Anabaptist in his own judgment ; but firmly held, that Christ's taking flesh of the Virgin was a thing necessary to salvation. But he was for tolerating these men that held to the contrary ; and wrote a paper consisting of various arguments for the same ; wherein he ran out into many dangerous expressions, and vented divers unsound tenets : as for example ; whereas it was urged, that Anabaptists could not have Christ for a true mediator, since they were of opinion his flesh was not taken of the Virgin ; Hadrian argued, that though they did not believe it, yet considering they believed and invocated Christ, who suffered for us, and rose again, and by whom our sins are pardoned, they did not err from a true mediator. He said also, that the incarnation of Christ could not be proved by Scripture ; and that the assertion, that Christ partook of our nature, and was of the true seed of the woman, was not a foundation, but a circumstance only of the foundation. He said, he would not altogether condemn them, but commit them to God's judgment : and that children, and those that are distracted, have salvation without faith. For these

44 and the like expressions and assertions, Adrianus was convented before the Bishop ; and when he could not be revoked from what he had said, the Bishop exercised his episcopal authority, and censured him in the month of November.

Censured
by the
Bishop.

The stran-
gers write
to P. Mar-
tyr about
this matter.

After this censure, the church thought good to write to Peter Martyr, acquainting him with this matter. And the said reverend man wrote back a very large and learned answer to the church, strengthening that article of faith, and confuting Adrian's paper and arguments : which answer is among the printed letters of Peter Martyr. He shewed how very unseasonably Adrian had disturbed the church, by moving a controversy in it, of which they at Zurick had been consulted : that he was not to be approved in defending that opinion, whereby the people were rather destroyed, than edified in true orthodox doctrine ; for that he affirmed, that

His answer.

Int. Ep. p.
Martyr.

that perverse opinion of the flesh of Christ brought from heaven, and not taken of the blessed Virgin, deprived not those of salvation that believed it, and pertinaciously stuck to it; but that still they did belong both to Christ and to his Church. The learned man demanded, if this took not away both the weight and wickedness of that heresy, nay, and confirmed not that miserable people in their error, and made others less careful of avoiding it? Adrian had said, that those that were endued with the fear of God, would yield to such as shewed them how they were in a great and dangerous error; from which expression Martyr took occasion to observe, how he yielded them to be guilty of a great and dangerous error; and yet had before affirmed them to be members of Christ, and parts of his Church, and that such errors did not cut off from eternal life. But if, said he, Christ's faithful ministers, however they confuted this opinion by infallible testimonies of God's word, and roundly told them that held it, that they must perish, unless they repented, could not bring them to yield to truth, were they ever like to be restored by milder methods, as by telling them that their opinions, though false and contrary to the holy Scriptures, excluded them not from salvation, nor from Christ?

In fine, this grave and reverend Father advised this church to unite together, and to lay aside the dissensions that these errors had begot among them, holding fast the truth; and that they should seriously think of the great mercy of God, that had planted here in England a Dutch and a French church. This, he said, the Devil could not endure; and therefore had sown divisions and contentions among them about these things, that he might render the poor strangers more hateful to them among whom they were planted. He exhorted them to watch with the greatest care and diligence, lest Satan obtained his desire, and that the Church of Christ might not receive damage. And in respect of Adrian, who now lay under censure, he advised, that he who had lately been rebuked, should bear it with no less equal mind than Peter did, when he was reproved by

CHAP.
V.

Anno 1560.

Martyr's
grave ad-
vice to this
church.

BOOK Paul. And, on the other hand, that such of them that had
I. taken upon them the defence of the truth, should receive

Anno 1560. their brother, who had seemed to go aside from the right
45 way, not of malice, but rather of mistake; and to embrace
him still as their fellow-minister and beloved colleague,
in case he acquiesced in those that had admonished him.
And so he committed them to God, and beseeched them
to labour, according to their power, to keep peace among
themselves.

The Bishop censures another member of the Dutch church, viz. Jac. Acontius. But to proceed: the Bishop, as he had censured the
aforesaid Hadrian, he did the like to another learned man
of the same church, named Jacobus Acontius, a favourer
and adherer to this man and his opinions; being withheld
by the Bishop's sentence from receiving the holy Sacrament,
forbidding both the Dutch or any other church to admit
him. For which he wrote a long expostulatory letter to the
said Dutch church, which is extant in the library of the
said church of St. Augustin's.

The Bishop's dealings with other favourers of Hamstedius. And, that I may lay all this matter together, (though what
falls under another year,) Adrian, besides Acontius, had
other favourers and followers. These talked abroad, that
Adrian was not lawfully excommunicated; who, in the
beginning of the year 1561, were convented before the
Bishop; to whom two conditions were offered to prevent
further punishment, and to clear themselves: 1. Publicly
before the church to confess, that the doctrine of Adrian,
asserting, that "it was not a fundamental article of faith,
"that Christ came of the seed of the Virgin, but a circum-
"stance," was erroneous and antichristian. 2. That they
who publicly spread these rumours, and so disturbed the
Church, should publicly confess, that therein they did
amiss.

Some of these, refusing these conditions, were to be
excommunicated by order of the Bishop in April 1561;
but giving some signification of a better mind, before the
minister and elders, their excommunication was appointed to
be deferred for fifteen days. This was ordered by the said
Bishop of London, with the consent of the ministers of both

churches; the Bishop of Durham present, and consenting CHAP. V.
also, April 29, 1561.

Thus stood things with this church in the year 1561. Anno 1560.
The next year the Bishop seemed to have brought Adrian The Bishop offers a re-
to be sensible of his faults, after he had stood a year and vocation to
upwards excommunicated. And he drew up a form for him Hamste-
to pronounce and acknowledge in order to his absolution; dus.
which bore this title, and was to this tenor :

*Brevis quædam formula Revocationis Hadriano Hamstedi-
dio per reverendum Episcopum Londinens. oblata ultimo
Julii, 1562.*

Ego Adrianus Hamstedius, &c. The original may be
read in the Appendix. Thus in English: Num. II.

“ I Hadrian Hamsted, by reason of certain assertions The form thereof.
“ and doctrines of mine, contrary to the word of God,
“ while I acted here as minister in the Dutch church,
“ London, being deposed, and excommunicate from my 46
“ ministry, by the decree of the Bishop of London; now Ex Bib-
“ after an year and half, or thereabouts, weighing things lioth. Eccl.
“ better, and examining them by the rule of God’s word, do Belgic.
“ think otherwise, and from my heart acknowledge my Lond. and
“ fault, and am sorry that I have given so great offences Paper Of-
“ and scandals. fice.

“ And these are the articles, or assertions, in which,
“ I confess, I have erred :

“ I. In a certain writing of mine, I asserted, against
“ the word of God, and used these words, viz. That Jesus
“ Christ was born of the seed of the woman, and made
“ partaker of our nature, was not a foundation, but a cer-
“ tain circumstance of the foundation, even boys, that
“ begin first to learn their letters, will acknowledge : there-
“ fore, he that denieth Christ to be born of the seed of the
“ woman, he doth not deny a foundation, but one of the
“ circumstances of the foundation.

“ II. That the Anabaptists, denying Christ to be the true
“ seed of the woman, if they do not accuse and condemn us,
“ I have, in some of my writings and discourses, acknow-

BOOK "ledged them for my brethren, and weaker members of the
 I. "body of Christ; and by consequence have ascribed to them
 Anno 1560. "the salvation of eternal life.

1 John iv.
 and Epist.
 ii.

" III. I have asserted, those that deny the incarnation of
 " Christ by the Virgin, to be founded in Christ the Lord,
 " the only foundation, calling their errors of this sort,
 " wood, stubble, hay, built upon the foundation; notwith-
 " standing which, they come to be saved, as through fire :
 " of whom I testified, that I hoped well, as of all other my
 " dear brethren founded in Christ. When nevertheless the
 " Holy Ghost, by John the Apostle, affirmeth, that those
 " that deny Christ came in the flesh, (speaking of that flesh
 " which was assumed of the seed of Abraham and of the
 " seed of David,) are seducers, nay Antichrists, and have not
 " God.

" IV. Also in this, I confess, I have greatly erred, that
 " I have constantly asserted, that those that deny Christ to
 " be the true seed of the woman, do not from thence,
 " necessarily and by consequence, deny him to be our
 " Immanuel, mediator, priest, brother; nor therefore deny
 " him to be true man, nor his resurrection from the dead.
 " For those that deny the consequence, Christ is the true
 " seed of the woman, I do plainly acknowledge, by the
 " same act, they do deny Christ to be our Immanuel,
 " mediator, &c. and not less than that which St. Paul speaks,
 " 1 Cor. xv. *If there be no resurrection of the dead, neither*
 " *is Christ risen; and if Christ be not risen, our preaching*
 " *is vain, and your faith is vain.*

" V. That sometimes in my sermon, straying from the
 " duty of a pious minister, I have used arguments, persua-
 " sions, similitudes, and jests, to convince the people of these
 " assertions; viz. by a similitude, It is no matter what
 " colour the King's robe is of; and comparing those that
 " contended concerning the flesh of Christ, to the soldiers
 " that cast dice upon Christ's garment; and others of the
 " like nature: all which tend to this, to extenuate this
 " principal article of our faith; and that the hope of faith
 47 " might not be taken away from them that deny it. For I

“ acknowledge, that it is of great concern, whether Christ
 “ took our flesh, or it were some other celestial or ethereal
 “ matter ; since he could not satisfy the justice of God, but
 “ in our flesh, and be a sacrifice acceptable to God for our
 “ sins. CHAP.
V.
Anno 1560.

“ VI. I acknowledge also my fault, in that in my ser-
 “ mons I have affirmed, that it is free to every one in the
 “ reformed Church, to reserve his child for some years
 “ without baptism : nor could the conscience of any to be
 “ baptized be restrained to any certain time.

“ Lastly, that I have contemned the ministers of both
 “ churches, admonishing me of these errors above written,
 “ and even the Reverend the Bishop of London himself,
 “ superintendent of both the churches of the strangers.
 “ Yea, rather contemning all admonition, I appealed to the
 “ law ; whereby nevertheless being convicted by lawful
 “ testimonies, and worthy of credit, I refused to acknowledge
 “ my fault. And I accused all the foresaid ministers of the
 “ churches, and others that admonished me, as well in word
 “ as writing, and letters in London, and in parts beyond sea,
 “ as though I were not orderly, justly, and lawfully ejected
 “ and excommunicated. For I acknowledge I have very just-
 “ ly deserved this, and that the Bishop of London hath dealt
 “ orderly with me.” But after this form of revocation
 drawn up, Hamstedius refused to subscribe it.

All this care had our Bishop with the foreigners’ churches;
 and still some business or other he had with them, as we
 may relate in the progress of our discourse. Something
 more happened concerning some of them in this present
 year 1560, which I shall proceed to shew.

Divers of other nations had now removed themselves into England, under the Queen’s favour and protection,
 for the sake of true religion, and the free exercise of it. The Span-
ish preach-
er desires a
church for
his congre-
gation.
 Some of these were Spaniards ; many whercof traded as
 merchants into Spain, and other the King of Spain’s do-
 minions. The preacher to these was named Cassiodorus.
 Upon their first coming, they were advised by the Bishop,
 and the Secretary of State, for some prudential reasons,

BOOK I. to exercise their religious worship privately in an house, rather than in a church. But having done this hitherto, it
Anno 1560. being now the year 1560, they were induced, for certain causes, to meet together rather in a church for the future; and many ministers in the city of London had voluntarily offered them the use of theirs: therefore they put up a supplication to the Bishop and the said Secretary, for their leave more publicly to serve God, together with their reasons for this their request.

His petition.

As first, because while they met in a private house, they found by experience it was an hindrance to the kingdom of Christ; while many withdrew themselves from the assembly, and others were afraid to meet there, lest they might create a danger to themselves and their affairs in Spain, where they held a commerce; for that they who joined themselves with this congregation were easily observed by their adversaries, men very sharp-sighted in this behalf: whereas no such notice would be taken of them, when they should assemble in some public place, where any might come.

- 48 Again, that by their meeting so long together in a private house, especially in a city that, by the grace of God, was free for all Christian assemblies, they gave occasion to the adversaries more foully to traduce them and their doctrine, than before; for indeed they openly said, that these Spaniards did cherish among them monstrous doctrines, hated even by Lutherans themselves; since in a city so much Lutheran, they thought it not safe to appear publicly: and Cassiodorus made no doubt, that as they did, so calumniate them here, they did the like in Spain by their letters; and by these specious pretences procured them great hatred, not only from their adversaries, but even their friends and brethren. He desired therefore of the Bishop and Secretary, that regard might be had to the Gospel of Christ by them sincerely preached; which undoubtedly suffered this scandal, by occasion of these private meetings of theirs.

Nor, if this liberty of a church were granted them, would

there be any reason to fear giving greater occasion of CHAP.
 enmity with the King of Spain; for as soon as ever they V.
 should perceive any such thing, they would be willing Anno 1560.
 to depart out of England, rather than disturbances should
 arise among princes for their cause, what danger soever
 followed thereby to themselves.

And where it was feared the Spanish Ambassador might
 interpose himself, if this were granted, Cassiodorus thought
 not, because this congregation had been now here above a
 year; and that he knew they had assemblies under the title
 of the Spanish church, and had forbid any of his to be
 present there, and had not since any way further concerned
 himself; and that it was not twelve days ago, that the said
 Ambassador ingenuously confessed, that he never to that time
 had been an enemy to them, nor, if they were minded to
 constitute a church, would he be their hindrance, having
 nothing of that nature in his instructions, and that he never
 had any envy at all against them; besides other good words.

This is the sum of the address the Spanish preacher
 made to our Bishop; what issue it had I cannot tell, any
 further than that a Spanish church remained some years
 after in London, and one Antonius Corranus was their Corranus,
 preacher; under whom it received some eclipse, he having Spanish
 been accused of Pelagianism. Of whom we shall hear more preacher.
 hereafter.

Bishop Grindal this Lent, March 9, preached before the The Bishop
 Queen: in which good time, divers others of the chief preaches be-
 exile Divines performed the like office at Court; as Mr. fore the
 Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's; Skamler, Bishop of Peterborough;
 Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; Horn of Winchester, Cox of
 Ely, and Dr. Sampson; which last preached twice at Court
 this Lent; and so did also Bishop Pilkington.

Our Bishop being one of the Queen's Commissioners, Orders
 deputed and assigned for deciding ecclesiastical causes under from the
 her letters patents, according to the tenor of a statute made Abp. for the
 in Parliament in the first year of her reign, (whereby they Lessons,
 were empowered to make decrees and ordinances, interpreta- &c.
 tions, or reformation,) he, with the Archbishop of Canterbury

BOOK and some others, sitting this winter, reformed the calendar
 I. of the Common Prayer Book, by putting out less proper
 Anno 1660. Lessons, and appointing others to be henceforth used in Divine

49 Service: and also ordered, that the Ten Commandments
 in English should be set upon the east wall throughout all
 the churches of the kingdom. And for the putting this
 legally in actual execution, in February a mandate came
 Vid. p. 57. from the Archbishop to our Bishop, that since these ordi-
 nances, corrections, interpretations, &c. were imprinted, to see
 them observed in his cathedral church of St. Paul's, and in
 the churches of London, and throughout his diocese; and
 further, with all speed, to signify the same to all the Bishops
 of the province, to be used in their respective dioceses.

Ordina-
 tions.

For the conclusion of our Bishop's doings this year, I
 shall set down here the names of all the persons on whom
 he conferred holy orders, since the last ordination before
 mentioned, which may be observed not to be so many as
 formerly: the reason whereof probably was, because of the
 late mandate from the Archbishop, not to admit mecha-
 nics.

Episc.
 London.
 Registrar.

August 24, being St. Bartholomew's day, was one Deacon
 ordained, named John Cheake, born at Croydon, and
 charactered to be *liberæ conditionis et laudabilis commenda-
 tionis*; and one Priest, John Ashton, M. A. Fellow of Tri-
 nity college, Cambridge.

Sept. 21, being the festival of St. Matthew, John Orvyse,
 John Webster, Will. Sedom, John Lancaster, born in the
 parish of Knaysborough, Yorkshire, aged 36, by letter dimis-
 sory from Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, were made
 Deacons. Thomas Spicer, Hugh Barber, John Green,
 John Amery, John Webster, were made Priests.

Octob. 18, being St. Luke's day, these persons were ad-
 mitted into the order of Deacons; Thomas Cost, Richard
 Lymborn, John Whiting, Will. Austin, Sebastian Roccar-
 talica of the diocese of Winchester, born in Genoa in Italy,
 aged 80, James Renyger, John Woolward, Rob. Street,
 Rich. Peers: and into the order of Priesthood, Rich. Pake-
 man, John Ireland, John Althen, John Whiting, Hamletus

Tayler, Thomas Pet, John Stevens, Sebastian Roccartar-
liaca, [so written here,] John Woolward. CHAP.
V.

Octob. 21, Thomas Goddal alone was ordained, and Anno 1560.
made Deacon and Priest.

Octob. 28, on Monday, being the festival of St. Simon and
St. Jude, James Renyger was ordained Priest.

Novemb. 10, Henry Willet took both orders of Deacon
and Priest.

Ult. Novemb. St. Andrew's day, were ordained Deacons,
Anthony Harleston, Leonard Stepney, Tho. Turpyn, Ro-
bert Clay, Hugh Brady, A. B.; and Priests, Robert Street,
Simon Williams, and William Scotman.

Decemb. 22, Richard Pyers [Peers] was made Priest.

Decemb. 27, Friday, Anthony Harleston was preferred to
the order of Priesthood.

Decemb. 28, were these Deacons ordained; David Smith,
Thomas Pemberton, and Will. Greenway: and these
Priests; John Cheak, of Yarley, in the county of Hertford
and diocese of Lincoln, aged 33, and David Smith.

Decemb. 29, Sunday, Thomas Hewton was made Priest. 50

January 2, Stephen Nevynson, Doctor of Civil Law, born
at Carlisle, was made Deacon; and Will. Austin, Richard
Lynborow, [the same with Lymborn above,] and Mr. Stephen
Nevynson, [the same that was made Deacon,] ordained Priests.

Jan. 6, Monday, the feast of the Epiphany, Thomas
Cost was made Priest.

Jan. 16, Ralph Skinner, M. A. [who soon after was
made Dean of Durham, or one of his name,] and Baptist
Willoughby, B. A. received the order of Deacon and Priest.

Jan. 26, were these made Deacons; Will. Barker, M. A.
Will. Farmer, Rich. Herry, Peter Isles, Thomas Addy,
Tho. Ackworth: and these Priests; Tho. Pemberton, Cook
alias Price, and Rob. Cod.

On Sunday the feast of Purification, Feb. 2, Herald
Fachet, fellow of Martin [or Merton] college, Oxon, was or-
dained Deacon.

Feb. 22, were these Deacons ordained; Robert Rowland,
John Beaumont of London, Henry Bradwater, and John

BOOK Bowden : and these Priests ; Walwen Farmer, Will. Barker,
1. John Orvyce, and Hugh Brady, B. A.

Anno 1561. March 9, Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, ordained these in the Bishop of London's oratory in London : Deacon ; Richard Longworth, M. A. Fellow of St. John's, aged 27, (afterwards master of the same,) born at Bolton in Cheahire : Priests ; Tho. Turpin, born in Calais, and Rich. Pedder.

March 14, Friday, John Hill was ordained Priest. And thus much for the ordinations of this year ; wherein perhaps a discerning eye may perceive some things not unworthy observation, concerning these first ordained ministers next after the Reformation. All the graduates and scholars of the University I have noted carefully ; who were very few in comparison. The Universities were now so much infected with the late Popish leaven, that but few came up from thence to receive Orders from the hands of Protestant Bishops.

CHAP. VI.

The Bishop writes to Frankfort in behalf of the Dutch church there. Unites St. Mary at Ax to St. Andrew Undershaft. St. Paul's burnt. The Queen's order for the repair. Proclamation against profanation of that church. The Bishop visits.

The Bishop intercedes for the Dutch congregation at Frankfort.

51 THE governors of the free town of Frankfort in Germany began now to stomach much a church of reformed Flemings among them, who, for seven years past, namely from their flight out of England upon King Edward's death, many of them, had remained in that place, and enjoyed peaceably the exercise of their religion and worship : but now set on by some zealous Lutherans, the government looking upon them to be little better than heretics, for their different sentiments about the holy Sacrament, and refusing the Augustan

Confession, intended to eject them out of their city. This CHAP. put this poor congregation to great trouble; and they VI. imparted their present condition to their brethren of the Dutch church here in London, which soon made known to the Bishop in what ill case those their brethren stood. The good Bishop heartily espoused their part; and having been formerly known unto those of Frankfort, when the English exiles were there, he wrote a very earnest letter to them in behalf of this church, and for the continuance of it still among them. And Gotofrid Wyng, one of the ministers of the Dutch church in London, being appointed to carry the letter, and be the messenger to those magistrates, the Bishop first gave them a character of the man, viz. Gotofrid Wyng carries the Bishop's letter.

“That he was a person that had been long under persecution in Flanders, and was a pious, moderate, and peaceable man.” And then, with many arguments, he beseeched them “not to eject this poor church, which had been so long harboured with them; and that although they perhaps disagreed in one controverted article of doctrine; yet if this church disturbed not peace, as he hoped, they had not hitherto done, nor should hereafter do, they would not descend to the extremest courses: but if they should, these poor men must necessarily fall into the butcherly hands of Antichrist; since there was no other place in Germany for their reception. In France things were in an unsettled condition, that neither might they retreat there; and before they could come into England, (where they should be received with both arms,) such a multitude must be incepted in the midway, and destroyed.” The Bishop forgot not, in this letter to those magistrates of Frankfort, to acknowledge, with all possible gratitude, their great charity and humanity in the hospitable entertainment the English exiles had lately found with them. The copy of this letter was kept in the archives of the Dutch church, London, being transcribed by Peter de Loene, their minister: nor do I think it any ways unworthy the memory of Bishop Grindal, to be here exemplified.

BOOK
I.

Anno 1561.
The letter
to the ma-
gistrates
of Frank-
fort. Ex
Biblioth.
Eccl. Belgic.
Lond.

Gratiam et pacem in Christo. Rogarunt me fratres Flandrenses, qui religionis nomine hic apud nos exulant, ut et Gotfridum Wingium, qui istas defert, et Ecclesiam Flandricam, quæ in urbe vestra collecta est, quæque jam per aliquos annos benignissimè apud vos hospitium invenit, vestræ amplitudini commendarem. Ego verò, clariss. et ampliss. viri, hanc scribendi occasionem libenter arripui, non solum, ut illis gratificarer, verùm etiam ut meo, atque adeo omnium Anglorum exulum nomine, vestræ amplitudini pro vestra summa erga nos, afflictissimis nostris temporibus, benignitate ac pietate gratias agerem. Nulla unquam dies hoc vestrum beneficium Anglorum animis eximet. Argentinensi, Tigurinae, Basiliensi, Wormaciensi, sed ante omnes vestræ inclytæ reip. debet Anglia, quod tot habeat Episcopos, 52 cæterisque verbi divini ministros, qui hodiè puram evangelii doctrinam annuntiant. Vos illos hospitio excepistis, exceptos summa humanitate complexi atque autoritate tutati estis. Et, si istam vestram pietatem gratis animis non agnoscere-mus et prædicaremus, essemus omnium mortalium ingra-tissimi.

De Gotfrido Wingio hoc habeo quod scribam, hominem esse doctum, pium, ingenio moderato ac pacifico, quique diu in Flandria sub cruce, et quasi perpetuo animam in manibus habens, Christi evangelium prædicavit. Quo nomine non dubito quin vestræ pietati erit acceptissimus. Oro etiam, idque visceribus Christi, ut Flandrensis Ecclesiæ jam inte-grum septennium apud vos agentis, nunc vero de ejectione nonnihil sollicitæ, tutelam et patrociniū perpetuetis. Va-leat in illos charitas vestra. Nihil enim vel apud homines gloriosius, vel apud Deum acceptius facere potestis, quam si tot membra Christi in pristino suo hospitio retineatis. Quamquam fortassis in uno articulo, jam per multos annos inter doctissimos alioqui viros controverso, cum quibusdam per omnia non consentiant; tamen si ecclesiarum vestra-rum pacem non perturbent, quod spero eos neque fecisse hactenus, neque postea fucturos, orandi estis nè ad extrema remedia descendatis; sed potius ut Christiana lenitate et

mansuetudine in suo sensu ipsos toleretis. Christi Dei præsentiam in sua sacra Cæna, eamque veram et salvificam omnes fatemur, de modo tantùm est disceptatio. Nos in nostris Ecclesiis, quanquam eandem cum Flandrensibus istis doctrinam, et apud vos professi sumus, et etiamnum hic profitemur, nunquam tamen aliquem qui cum Luthero sentiret, si pacificè se gereret, pro hæretico et nefario homine persecuti fuimus. Utinam conditionibus in Marpurgensi colloquio conclusis statum fuisset, ut pacem utraque pars coleret, donec utrisque Dominus aliud revelaret. Sed præterita facilius defleri possunt, quàm corrigi.

CHAP.
VI.

Anno 1561.

Si vos, fratres istos ejeceritis, necesse est in Antichristi carnificis manus eos incidere. Quò enim miseri fugient? In Germania, a vobis ejecti, nusquam recipiuntur. In Gallia nondum sunt res constitutæ. Si ad nos penetrare vellent, ubi obviis ulnis recipiuntur, mediâ in viâ tantam multitudinem intercipi necesse est. Nuper enim aliquot fratres Ecclesiæ nostræ Londino-Germanicæ in Flandriam quàm poterant occultè atque pacificè profecti, comprehensi sunt, atque incendio absumti.

Repræsentate animis vestris, clarissimi ac pientissimi viri, quàm triste esset spectaculum tot Christi membra omnium ætatum atque sexuum simul uno incendio conflagentia conspicere. Tale autem aliquid futurum sine dubio existimare poteritis, si illos portis vestris excluderitis. Sed hoc quàm longissimè à vestra pietate abfuturum certissimè mihi persuadeo.

Iterum igitur ad preces conversus, oro vestram pietatem, quàm possum demississimè, ut quorum patrocinium et tutelam tamdiu benignissimè suscepistis, quòsque et misera et crudeli Antichristi tyrannide salvos et incolumes Dei Opt. Max. beneficio conservastis, tantâque cum clementia et humanitate hactenus fovistis, pro vestro in Christum ejusque religionem sincero studio, retineatis, ac hospitio dâgnos, licèt non propter se, propter eundem tamen Christum, ducatis. Quo fiet, ut non solàm evangelicæ veritatis in gentem Flandricam propagandæ tanquam authores futuræ sitis gloriæ Christi, singularem in ea parte operam navaturi; verum etiam cum

BOOK *in hoc seculo benedictionem Domini quàm amplissimam omni*
 I. *bonorum genere locupletati (pietas enim, teste D. Paulo,*
 Anno 1561. *etiam præsentis vitæ promissionem habet) experiamini, tum*
 53 *in futuro à Christo Domino hospites, ut qui cum collegistis,*
et hospitio exceperitis, agnoscamini.

Hæc in Flandriæ gentis, quæ apud vos exultat, gratiam,
evangelii propagandi studio, ad vos (clarissimi viri) pietate
vestrâ fretus, scribere sustinui: non dubitans quin, pro vestrâ
in Christi afflicta membra humanitate et clementia, benigni-
tatem vestram in ipsos largiter effusam sentient. Siquæ
verò in re ego vobis aut reipub. vestræ operâ vel studio gra-
tificari, aut usui esse potero, diligentiam promptamque in ea
parte voluntatem vobis ipsi de me polliceri poteritis. Deus
amplitudinem vestram et civitatib. vestræ statum quàm flo-
rentissimam diutissimè conservet.

Londini, duodecimo Novembr. 1561.

Petrus Dathenus set his hand to this letter, in witness,
 that the original was delivered to the senate of Frankfort;
 December 17, 1561; wherein he also gave a testimonial of
 Wingius, called to the ministry of that church.

The Bishop
 unites two
 parishes.

This year did the Bishop unite the parish church of
 St. Mary at Ax, which was of the Queen's patronage, unto
 the church of St. Andrew Undershaft; the reason whereof
 was, that the inhabitants of this parish might resort to divine
 service, and have the benefit of a minister to officiate to
 them in their spiritual exigencies. They had been several
 years without an incumbent, because of the narrow revenue
 of the living; for whatsoever this church yielded to the
 parson in former times, which by reason of offerings and
 gifts might have amounted to some considerable matter,
 being dedicated to divers she-saints, as the blessed Virgin,
 and St. Ursula, with the eleven thousand virgins besides,
 (and so might well have been resorted to, by the rich,
 devout citizens' wives and daughters, and have partaken of
 their bounties,) yet now, as the instrument of the union
 imported, the church was so lessened of late time, and the
 former rents, incomes, and emoluments so decreased, that it

Grind.
 Regist.

could not suffice for the sustentation of any minister; nor was likely after, the fruits and rents not exceeding 5*l*. yearly: and therefore it was left desolate, and without any office performed in it for no small time; and the cure of souls was neglected. Upon these reasons the parishioners petitioned the Bishop, that they might be joined to the next parish, *viz.* St. Andrews, that lay near and convenient. And Edward Riley, the present incumbent of the said parish, and both parishes consenting, the Bishop complied, and signed an instrument to unite the said St. Mary's unto it.

On Wednesday the 4th day of June, this year, happened a most grievous disaster to the church of St. Paul, the Bishop's cathedral. For between one and two in the afternoon that day, a great and terrible lightning was seen to vibrate down from on high; and that presently followed by an huge and unusual crack out of the clouds; and that directly, as much as people's senses then could judge, just over the city; and in that moment of time, something of the battlements of St. Martin's steeple at Ludgate was broke down, and some square stones of a great bigness fell by a dreadful force and violence through the roof of the church, breaking through lead and timber, upon the pavement. Some persons being upon the Thames in boats, and others 54 in the neighbouring fields, while the storm lasted, did affirm, that they saw a long tract of flame like a dart, ending in a point, which seemed to pierce and break through St. Paul's steeple, stretching from east to west. And some also of the parish of St. Martin's at Ludgate, being at that time in the street, suddenly perceived a violent force of the moved air like a whirlwind, and a great smell together, not unlike to that of brimstone, blown from Paul's church; and in like manner they heard a crack of great stones falling from the steeple of St. Martin's into the church. Afterward, between four and five, a certain vapour and smoke was seen by some breaking out under the spire of Paul's steeple; and particularly by Peter Johnson, notary public, and the Bishop's Registrar, who immediately went and told the Bishop. The flame presently brake out on

CHAP.
VI.

Anno 1661.

St. Paul's
burnt.
The man-
ner of it.

BOOK every side, and in the manner of a crown compassed the
I. whole space on the top, to four cubits, as it seemed, under
Anno 1661. the globe of the same; and within a quarter of an hour, or
 little more, the brass eagle and cross which sustained it,
 and that glittering globe, which was before so often admired,
 falling down with the fire upon the roof, beginning on
 the south side, at length consumed all the vaulting of the
 church, with the lead and timber, and the bells of the
 steeple. The Lord Mayor came in this consternation in all
 speed, with the rest of the Aldermen of the city; who
 together with the Bishop and others consulted together of
 means to be used to quench the fire: but no ways could
 be found out to do it. Some advised, to preserve the
 rest of the steeple, that some great guns should be brought,
 and discharged at it: but that was disliked, because of
 further danger, as for fear of dispersing the fire, and the
 ruin of houses. Many courtiers of the greatest quality
 came, as the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Lord
 Treasurer; who, with the rest, encouraged the people to use
 all the means they could to quench the fire: and many of
 them put their own hands to the buckets, particularly Win-
 tour and Strangways, two great sea officers. But after all
 means used to no purpose, at length, about ten of the clock,
 the fire of itself abated.

Some at that time reported, that this fire came to pass by
 the carelessness of certain plumbers: but neither plumbers
 nor any other workmen had done any work there for six
 months before. Others suspected, that it happened by some
 fraudulent and wicked use of wild-fire, or gunpowder: but
 after a diligent search into that matter, no just or probable
 suspicion could be found, that might be fastened upon any.
 Others laid the blame upon witches and oonjurers; but no
 conjecture more uncertain than that. The next Sunday,
 being the 8th of June, the Bishop of Durham preached at
 St. Paul's, and there learnedly and profitably exhorted them,
 that heard him, to repentance, and especially to submission
 to the magistrates, and obedience, in this time especially
 much neglected and lessened; signifying, that the Queen's

The Bishop
 of Durham
 preaches at
 St. Paul's
 the next
 Sunday.

majesty would use severer laws against the stubborn and obstinate, as well in matters of religion, as in civil affairs. And this sermon was preached with great applause of the hearers.

CHAP.
VI.

Anno 1561.

In this sermon he particularly admonished his auditors, to 55 look upon this conflagration as a judgment from God, and a sign of imminent destruction of the whole nation to follow, and especially of London, unless a more reformed course of life in all sorts of men prevented it. He severely rebuked those who transferred the cause of this Divine anger upon any certain rank or condition of men, or that curiously pried into the lives of others, and winked at their own; praying every one to descend into himself, and to say with David, *I am he that have sinned*. He accused the profanation that had been used towards this temple of Paul's, before practised for so great a space of time, by walkings, meetings, talkings, chidings, fightings; and that especially in the time of sermons and divine worship. And by the way, the Right Reverend Bishop and Preacher took occasion to answer to the calumnies of some, who would have had this judgment to be God's revenge for the late changing of religion, or the amending of it rather: but he shewed out of commentaries, annals, and histories, that much greater calamities had heretofore fallen out in the world, and that, while superstition and idolatry reigned.

All this, and much more, was written in Latin, and entered into Bishop Grindal's Register, by his special command to Peter Johnson his Registrary, for a perpetual memory of this fire, and of so great a destruction.

The Queen was deeply affected with this misfortune of the chief church in her metropolis of England; and resolved therefore to have the damage speedily repaired: sending her letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated the 24th of June, that he, by her authority, would consult with other Bishops and the chief of the Clergy, to devise some expedient way to lay a contribution upon the Clergy of the province; yet neither prescribing what sum should be collected from them, nor in what manner he should proceed

The Queen
sends to
the Arch-
bishop for
contribu-
tion to be
made for
Paul's.

BOOK therein ; and upon any doubt, to have recourse unto her
1. Council. The very beginning of July following, the Arch-
Anno 1561. bishop dispatched his letters to the Bishop of London, that
 he, according to the Queen's commandment above mentioned,
 should confer with the Clergy of his diocese ; and likewise
 that the rest of the Bishops should have notice from him to
 confer with theirs, and to levy upon them a duty, according
 to their several estates and preferments, towards this good
 work : and particularly, that he thought it convenient, that
 the Clergy of London should contribute the twentieth part
 of their spiritual promotions, and the rest of the diocese the
 thirtieth ; and those that were in their first-fruits only the
 fortieth. And that others of the Clergy not beneficed,
 as Curates and Stipendiaries, should do according as their
 own good disposition directed them.

The Bishop The Bishop of London, answerable to this order from the
diligent Archbishop, was diligent to send his letters to the rest
therein. of the Bishops of the province, to deal with their respective
 Clergy in this affair.

The Arch- In the entrance into the month of September following,
bishop's the Archbishop wrote again to our Bishop, with some vari-
directions ation from his former letter ; intimating therein his former
herein. letter, and that he thought meet that all beneficed men
 56 within the diocese of London [as well as the City] should
 contribute the twentieth part ; because, of congruence and
 reason, the Clergy above others ought to shew their benevo-
 lence towards such a work of charity, St. Paul's being their
 cathedral and head church : and that every man that
 had any living by the church in the diocese especially,
 should according to his ability contribute in that behalf :
 and he thought the least rate that could be expected at their
 hands was two shillings and sixpence of every of them ;
 which would declare their good-will among the rest, to the
 furtherance of such a work. And so he prayed our Bishop
 with all speed to put it in execution.

The Bishop Accordingly the Bishop wrote again to his Archdeacons,
proportions that all his Clergy having benefices should pay the twentieth
the Clergy's part, excepting those in fruits, who should pay the thirtieth ;
charity.

and all Curates, two shillings and sixpence. And that they should use in his name all the persuasions they could to each of them, to extend their benevolence; that of their voluntary contributions they might rather exceed their several rates in so reasonable a work: whereof he hoped they would find a good number. And that they should make one or two good grave beneficed men in every deanery to be collectors of the contribution, and to deliver the same to them the Archdeacons, or their deputies, on this side the last of November. This he wrote from Fulham, Sept. 6.

CHAP.
VI.

Anno 1561.

The Queen went before in this good work by her own example, and gave, as our City historian relates, a thousand mark in gold, and a thousand load of timber. The City granted a benevolence, and the Clergy were directed to grant theirs, as above is mentioned: and how it was paid by them, we shall hear the next year.

The great and common concourse of people in these days, and before these days, was usually at Paul's, for the sake of walking and talking, and hearing and telling of news, and meeting upon assignation and business, and payment of money, and such like: which occasioned great routs and tumults and quarrels oftentimes, to the profaning of that place, set apart for devotion and the service of God. This, however it was allowed or winked at in the late Popish times, was now altogether disliked: and as the Bishop of Durham, in his sermon before mentioned, took liberty publicly to reprove it; so our Bishop seems to have made complaint of it, and had endeavoured to rectify it, but wanted greater authority than his own. Whence it came to pass, that the Queen set forth in October this seasonable proclamation; which I choose for the significant importance of it, and relating so near to our Bishop, to lay before the reader, without any abridging.

The concourse at Paul's disliked.

A Proclamation made for the reverend usage of all churches and churchyards.

“By the Queen.

“For avoiding of divers outrageous and unseemly beha-

The Queen's proclamation about it.

BOOK "viours used as well within and near the cathedral church
I. "of St. Paul in London, as in divers other churches of this

Anno 1561. "realm; and for the better and speedier reducing of the

57 "same churches to the godly uses for which the same were
"builded; the Queen's Majesty, of her godly and virtuous
"disposition, straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all
"laws and good ordinances, heretofore provided against
"fighting and quarrelling in churches and churchyards,
"shall be duly, and with all severity, executed, according
"to the tenor and true meaning of the said laws and ordi-
"nances. And further, her Majesty's pleasure is, 'that if
"any person shall make any fray, or draw or put out his
"hand to any weapon for that purpose, or shoot any hand-
"gun or dag within the cathedral church of St. Paul, or
"churchyard adjoining thereunto, or within the limits of
"the four chains compassing the same, or within any other
"church or churchyard, shall receive not only the punish-
"ment contained in the statutes for the same provided, but
"also being thereof convicted, either by the evidence of
"his fact, testimony of two honest and indifferent persons,
"or by their own confession, before her Highness's Coun-
"cil in the Star Chamber, or the Mayor for the time be-
"ing within the city of London; and in other places out
"of the same city, before two Justices of the Peace of that
"country or place, where any of the said offences shall be
"committed, shall suffer imprisonment by the space of two
"months without bail or mainprize; and further, pay such
"fine and forfeiture towards the reparation of the said
"church of St. Paul, or of other churches where the same
"offence shall be committed, as shall be assessed by the
"said Council, Mayor or Justices, before whom such con-
"viction shall be, as is aforesaid.

"And her Majesty further straitly chargeth and com-
"mandeth all and singular her subjects, that none of them,
"during the time of preaching within the said church of
"Paul's, or churchyard of the same, or of any divinity
"lecture, reading, or divine service in the same church, or
"in any other church or churchyard within the realm,

" shall walk up and down, or use any kind of disturbance, CHAP.
 " or spend the time in the same about any bargain or VI.
 " other profane causes, but shall resort unto the Common Anno 1561.
 " Prayer, preaching, or reading; and there quietly and
 " reverently behave themselves, as to the duty of Christian
 " men appertaineth; or else quietly to avoid out of the said
 " church or place, upon pain of imprisonment, and of such
 " further fine, as is aforesaid; the fine always to be con-
 " verted to the repair of the church where the offence shall
 " be committed.

" Her Majesty also straitly chargeth and commandeth,
 " that all persons do forbear to make from henceforth any
 " limitation or appointment, by writing or otherwise, for
 " the payment of any sum or sums of money within the
 " said church of St. Paul's, or in any other church or cha-
 " pel, where divine service is or shall be used, and the
 " word of God preached; or to carry or recarry any
 " burden, fardel, or other unseemly thing, through the said
 " churches, other than for the repairing, or other neces-
 " saries of the same churches, upon pain of imprisonment, 58
 " and further punishment by fine, as is aforesaid.

" Provided always, that it shall be lawful as well to any
 " persons which at this present stand bound by any former
 " covenant or bond, to make any payment of any sum or
 " sums of money, in any church or other place aforesaid,
 " to make tender and payment of the same; as also to
 " every such person and persons to whom the same is or
 " shall be due, to receive the same in such place where
 " it is limited to be tendered and paid; unless the parties
 " (which is trusted they will for good order sake) shall
 " otherwise agree, this proclamation to the contrary not-
 " withstanding.

" And for the better execution of this proclamation, her
 " Majesty's pleasure and express commandment is, that the
 " Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and other her officers, and
 " commons of her city of London, and every of them, do not
 " only aid and assist, and help the Bishop of the said see and
 " church of St. Paul's, for the time being, and other eccle-

BOOK " siastical officers and ministers of the same, from time to
I. " time, in the due execution of the premises, as need shall
Anno 1561. " require; but also, that the said Mayor of London shall
 " appoint, every Sunday and other holidays in the year,
 " during such time, and at every time they shall be thought
 " by the Bishop or Dean of the church requisite, one or
 " two of the Aldermen of the said city of London, accom-
 " panied with four or six. discreet commoners of the said
 " city, and attended upon with a convenient number of the
 " sergeants and officers of the said city, to repair unto the
 " said church of St. Paul, there to see the premises duly
 " executed in all points accordingly.

" And if they shall find any person disobedient or of-
 " fending in any thing, touching the premises, to appre-
 " hend and commit him forthwith to prison, there to re-
 " main without bail or mainprize, until further order be
 " taken with the said offenders, in form aforesaid. And
 " finally, her Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth
 " all and singular her Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs,
 " Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, Church-wardens, and
 " all other her Highness's officers, ministers, and subjects,
 " that they and every of them, from time to time, endea-
 " vour themselves, to the best of their powers, to cause and
 " see that this her Majesty's proclamation and express com-
 " mandment, within the limits of their jurisdictions and pa-
 " rishes, be put in due and full execution, according to the
 " form above mentioned; as they tender her Majesty's spe-
 " cial favour, and will avoid the contrary at their peril.
 " Given at St. James's the 30th of October, in the third
 " year of the reign of Elizabeth, &c. *Anno Dom. 1561.*"

The Bishop
 visits his
 diocese.

This year our Bishop entered upon his premier visitation
 of his church of St. Paul, and his whole diocese, beginning
 59 with London, and then proceeding to Essex, Hertfordshire,
 and Middlesex; which took him up this year, and part of
 the next.

St. Paul's
 visited.
 Regist.
 Grind.

On Thursday, April 17, he began his visitation with his
 cathedral church of St. Paul's. The form whereof was

thus: in the forenoon, Alexander Noel, the Dean; John Mullins, Archdeacon of London; David Kemp, Archdeacon of St. Alban's; John Watson, Chancellor of the said church, with William Whitbroke, Sub-Dean, and the lesser Canons and Vicars Choral, and others of the church, repaired to the great chamber of the Bishop's palace in their surplices; where they met the Bishop, and paid him their respects. After some discourse together, his Lordship being arrayed in his episcopal habit, viz. a rochet and a chimere, proceeded to the cathedral church, the rest following him, entering together by the west door. He was seated in the Dean's stall, and the ministers sang the Suffrages or Litany.

The names of the dignitaries of St. Paul at this visitation were, CHAP. VI.
Anno 1561.

Alex. Noel, the Dean, who appeared in person.

John Mullins, Archdeacon of London, in person.

John Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, who appeared by proxy.

Thomas Cole, Archdeacon of Essex, by proxy.

John Pulleyn, Archdeacon of Colchester, by proxy.

William Saxie, Treasurer, by proxy.

John Watson, Chancellor, in person.

Henry Harvey, Precentor, by proxy.

The names of the greater Canons were as follow:

Alexander Noel, Prebendary of the prebend of Wyld-
Lands.

John Mullins of the prebend of Cantlers, alias Kentish-Town, residentiary.

Thomas Watts of the prebend of Totenhall.

John Spendlowe of Finnesbury.

John Pilkington of Mapesbury.

Gabriel Goodman of Chiswick.

John Veron of the Moor.

Edmond Wymmesley. James Grindal. Thomas Cole. Thomas Penny. John Somers. Hugh Evans. William Saxie. John Standish. Peter Vannes. John Warner. Thomas Byam. Elizeus Ambrose. John Braban. David

BOOK Padye. — Fleming. Edmond Brygot. Ric. Smith.

I. David Kemp. John Weal: three Prebends being vacant.

Anno 1561. I omit the names of the lesser Canons, and of the Vicars

One Sebastian presented. Choral: the first whereof was Sebastian Wastcote, who was presented at this visitation, for refusing the Communion; and upon suspicion of adhering to Popish principles. The Bishop had patience with him, expecting his compliance, until July, anno 1563, when he excommunicated the said Sebastian, as we shall hear, when we come to that year.

After all these persons belonging to the church were called for, the Bishop pronounced and declared in English the causes of this visitation: and the schedule being read, the said Reverend Father pronounced those that were cited and summoned, and had not appeared, to be *contumacious*, and reserved the punishment of their contumacy until and as far as he should see convenient; and so departed. After 60 dinner, he returned to the church again, and sat judicially. And finally, the visitation was adjourned till the 29th of May following.

Wymmesly a Prebendary, warned to appear. At this session of the visitation, Edmund Wymmesly, Prebendary of Reculvesland, suspected of bastardy, was warned to appear before the Bishop, for most just causes, at his house: who appearing, was interrogated by the Bishop of his birth, name, habitation, and ability; and so dismissed him, if he would bring testimonials shewing his nativity, and the matrimony of his parents, and exhibit them before him; together with letters certificatory of the venerable men, Calfield, Bernard, and Rogers, Canons of the cathedral church of Oxford, concerning his progress, use, and exercise, as well in good letters as manners, &c. being, as it seems, a student of Christ's Church college, Oxon.

Lesser Canons cited about their marriage. At which time also appeared Whitbroke, Leke, Haywood, and Pen, Minor Canons. When discourse being had concerning such Canons as were married, after what manner they should be dealt with, it was found by ordinances

of the Dean formerly made, that married Canons should not be bound to be present at the common table in their college of petty Canons, but should be permitted to be by themselves with their families, and to have convenient victuals: and that beside in all dividends and common profits, the same account should be had of the married as of others. And of these orders the Bishop approved.

The further and fuller visitation of this church was adjourned till the visitation of the diocese were dispatched. The first session of the Bishop, for the visitation of the city of London, was at St. Bridget's, Monday, April 21. The second session was at St. Laurence in the Old Jewry the next day, *viz.* April the 22d. The third session was at St. Stephen Walbroke, on Wednesday, April the 23d. And the fourth session was kept at St. Magnus the Martyr, Thursday, April the 24th. And so he finished his visiting the Clergy of the City in four days.

Then he went into Essex. And the first and second sessions of his visitation there, were on Tuesday the last day but one of April, and Wednesday the last day, in the parish church of Southweald. The third session was at Chelmsford, Friday, May the 2d. The fourth session was at the church of All-Saints, Malden, Saturday, May the 3d. The fifth and sixth sessions were at the parish church of St. Mary's in Colchester, Monday, May the 5th, and Tuesday, May the 6th. Then returning to visit the other parts of Essex, his next session (which was the seventh) was held at the parish church of Braintree, on Wednesday, May the 7th. His eighth session at Dunmow, on Thursday the 8th of the said month. And then he proceeded to Bishops-Stortford, where he held two sessions, *viz.* Friday and Saturday, being the 9th and 10th days of May, to visit the Clergy of that part of Hertfordshire under his inspection. Middlesex came on last to be visited; which was done at two sessions at the parish church of St. Clement's, without the bars of the New Temple, on Tuesday and Wednesday, being May the 20th and 21st.

So that in sixteen sessions the diligent Bishop visited his

CHAP.
VI.

Anno 1561.

Visita London;

Essex;

Hertfordshire;
Middlesex.

BOOK whole diocese; and went out from London, travelling all
1. round (with mighty speed and no less toil) his great and
Anno 1561. comprehensive jurisdiction, and came back to London
 again, in the space of twelve days.

The Bishop The beginning of the next month, the Bishop entered
goes on again upon his visitation of his church, which he had before
with his (as was said) adjourned. And appearing at St. Paul's
visitation July 2, he there declared, that he was so hindered and de-
of St. tained in and about the necessary business of the reedify-
Paul's. ing and restoration of the said cathedral, that he was not at
Regist. leisure further to act in person in this his ordinary and
Grind. general visitation; and so left it to the management of Dr.
 Huyck, his Vicar in spirituals, to take cognizance and pro-
 ceed in the business of the said visitation.

Ambrose The visitation was continued to October 6, when Ellis
and Bra- Ambrose and John Brabam, Prebendaries, not appearing
bam, Pre- after they had been summoned and called for, were pro-
bendaries. nounced *contumaces*, and their punishment reserved to the
Wymmesly. 2d of December following. At this time Wymmesly, hav-
 ing been before warned to bring letters testimonial of his
 nativity, and now neither producing them nor appearing,
 he was pronounced *contumax*, and his punishment reserved
 also to the said 2d of December.

Injunctions The which second day being come, Dr. Huyck, the Bi-
to the mem- shop (as was said) having committed the visitation to him,
bers of the admonished all the Prebendaries, and the rest of the church;
Church. 1st, That every one of them, diligently and daily, should
 frequent the Divinity Lecture read in St. Paul's church.
 2dly, Personally to be present in the choir of the said
 church, in the time of the divine services, on the feast of
 the Nativity approaching; and to make provision, that their
 cures (if they had any) be served by others. 3dly, To pre-
 pare to communicate on this feast. 4thly, That the Vergers
 be diligent in observing the reformation in the said cathe-
 dral church in the time of divine service; and that they
 call for the Mayor of London for their aid.

The Sacris- Then was Alexander Smith, the Sacristan, for certain
tan sus- causes the said Dr. Huyck moving, and especially that he
pending.

consented not to the Declaration, and because he was noted **CHAP. VI.**
abligurire bona ecclesiæ, i. e. to purloin the goods of the church, suspended from any further execution of his office **Anno 1561.**
 in the said church, until it should seem otherwise convenient to him. **Vid. Annal. of Reformation, p. 211.**

The visitation still was in force, being continued to April — 1562, when the Bishop came personally into the chapter-house, and again committed it to his said Vicar General. This visitation continued on to October the same year. And at a session, October 5, the said Vicar General shewed the members of this church of St. Paul's certain injunctions in writing, concerning a certain conformity in the said cathedral church; and, against the next session, to consider them, and to give their thoughts of them. He exhibited likewise to them a Confession, established by public authority; to which then subscribed the Dean, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and divers other Prebendaries, and lesser Canons, except Whitbroke, Sub-Dean, and Mr. Richard Smith, whom the Vicar General permitted to inform themselves from their own consciences, whether they would subscribe or not to the said Confession some time on this side the next session. And so continued to the 16th of November next; and then the Bishop dissolved the visitation himself in person. **The visitation continued.**

Among other things done in this visitation, he appointed an order for sermons to be preached at Paul's Cross, and in the church, by the Dean, and Dignitaries, and Prebendaries, on all the Sundays and holidays of the year. **A Confession. Vid. Annal. of Reformation, p. 209.**

Dr. Philip Baker, a favourer of Popery, was now Rector of St. Andrew's near Bainard's Castle. This man refused to read and subscribe the abovesaid Confession, that was tendered to all the clergy at this visitation, for renouncing the Pope and his supremacy; and for his refusal, and divers other things, was deprived by the Bishop. But he had another very good post to retreat to, being Provost of King's college in Cambridge. And here he gave all favour to Papists, and proved an evil governor of the college; **Baker, Rector of St. Andrew's, deprived.**

BOOK whereby a visitation was occasioned anno 1565, by the vi-
I. sitor of the said college, the Bishop of Lincoln; and a few
Anno 1561. years after, a royal visitation, when he was discharged the
Provostship, and fled abroad, as we may hear in the pro-
cess of our history.

The Com-
missioners
for Queen's
college,
Oxon, ap-
ply to the
Bishop.

An application was made this year from the magistrates of the University of Oxon to our Bishop, against divers in Queen's college. The cause was this: The Queen had by her letters mandatory granted the headship of that college to one Francis, who had some time studied divinity, and afterwards physic, and became Public Professor of that science in that University. The Queen's letters were accompanied with those of the Archbishop of York, perhaps their visitor; who had appointed certain of the Heads to place the said Francis: but the collegians being Papistical, refused (on some colour) to obey the Queen's letters, and to receive their new Provost: for when the Heads appointed repaired to the college, (and a great concourse of people was gotten there together, to see the issue of this business,) they were so unworthily and proudly handled by the Fellows, that all tended to tumult and force. Their words, countenance, gait, state, motion, and acclamations, were all far from modesty and respect: and there appeared all the signs of turbulent citizens, as well as impudent youth. In fine, it was evident they had no mind any remedy should be applied to their inveterate disease. But however, after all, Francis was seated in his place conferred on him. This at large the Commissioners, by letters of Marbeck's inditing, then the University Orator, signified to the Bishop of London, praying him, that when nothing else seemed by those men to be intended, than the diminishing of the Archbishop's authority, contemning the Queen's Majesty, and hindering the course of godliness, he would afford them his help and advice what to do, to restrain their mad and enraged motions; lest, by their impunity and example, others might be incited to attempt the like or greater mat-
63 ters. They chose, I suppose, thus to apply themselves to

Grindal, both as he was one of the chief of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and also was a native of those parts, that furnished this house with students.

CHAP.
VII.

Anno 1562.

CHAP. VII.

The Bishop's proceedings in the repair of St. Paul's. A Synod. Certifies the state of his diocese. Appoints prayers and fasting in London for the plague.

THE Bishop had his mind bent upon the reedifying of St. Paul's since the late lamentable misfortune that befell it; and no question was much called upon by others to do it, lying so obvious and sad a spectacle to the eyes of all. It being now the year 1562, by this time some of the Bishops and of the richer churchmen had sent in their contributions; and among the rest, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Horn Bishop of Winchester. But others were not so forward; whose backwardness offended the Queen and Council. One of these that was thus behindhand, was Cox Bishop of Ely, a man, who as his bishopric was wealthy, so not commonly backward in any worthy things. Our Bishop wrote his letter to him, exciting him to hasten, and letting him withal understand, how offended the Honourable Council was with him and others. But that Bishop soon sent his answer, excusing himself by signifying his ignorance that any had yet sent up their contributions till he [the Bishop of London] had better informed him; and withal he sent forty pounds for himself.

As to the repair of Paul's the next year, 1563, (that I may lay things of the same nature together, though falling within another year,) there being an old church in St. Bartholomew's, that was run much into decay, the Bishop endeavoured to get leave to take a heavy coat of lead that was upon it, and to clothe the mother church of Paul's with it.

Contributions sent
in for
Paul's.

The Bishop
moves to
take the
lead of St.
Bartholomew's for
Paul's.

BOOK With this his purpose he acquainted the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Cecil, in the month of July, that they

Anno 1562. would use their interest, and forward this business at Court, if occasion should be. He dealt also with the parishioners for their consent; the chief whereof were the Lord Rich, whose house adjoined to the said church, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Walter Mildmay. The good-will of the first he had obtained. To use his interest with the two latter he desired the Secretary, in case they should prove unwilling. He added, that if he had their consents, he doubted not of the consent of the whole parish; and that if he should think it convenient to move the Queen, (as the Lord Keeper thought not amiss,) he prayed him for his help that way also. And for the supply of another church for the parishioners, he shewed him how there was an house adjoining, which was (as they termed it) the *Fratric*, a very fair and large house, and that needed nothing but purging, and the name of a church, 64 being well built of freestone, garnished within round about with marble pillars, large windows, and covered with good slate; and withal assuring the Secretary without partiality, if it were drest up, it would be far more beautiful and more convenient than the other. If he might have the lead, he would compound with the Lord Rich for converting the said *Fratry* (whose it was) into a church: he would supply all imperfections of the same, and not desire the parish to remove till the other should be fit and convenient to go to.

His plea
for it.

“And methinks,” as he added to the rest, “the matter is very reasonable: for what is more reasonable than that the children should clothe their naked parents. Our church,” said he, “is *matrix ecclesia*, as the Canon termeth such churches; which is all one with *mater*.”

For the further promoting of this business, as he had sent the above-said letter to the Secretary, so he intended to resort shortly himself to him, either at the Court, or at Richmond, or to some other convenient place. But it seems this his design received some opposition, as the Secretary

soon after signified to him; to wit, that some concerned in this business, whether the forementioned Lord Chief Justice, Sir Walter Mildmay, or some other, tender of demolishing churches, (which had been too much practised before,) had signified their unwillingness to have St. Bartholomew's pulled down. But the Bishop in some haste replied, "That he meant not to pull down, but to change a church more commodious than the other: unless," said he, "some strange opinion should arise, that prayer were more acceptable under lead than under slate." What this came to, I cannot tell, but believe the Bishop could not compass his end; some perhaps concerned, minding rather to convert both church, stones, timber, lead, and all, to their own use, as occasion served: for it was pulled down, as we learn from Stow, upon pretence of repairing with the materials an old steeple adjoining; which yet was not done therewith. However, at length, by the Bishop's care, and the Clergy's contribution, and the City's subsidy voluntarily granted, and the benevolence of other well-disposed persons, the church of St. Paul's was covered, and recovered from the damages it had sustained.

Excepting the spire, which remained a great while after in the same condition the fire had left it. In so much that in the year 1576, in the month of June, the Queen was very urgent about the rebuilding thereof, and had given some order to the Lord Treasurer and others of her Council, to deal with the Mayor of London thereupon. And soon after she demanded of the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain, what was done with the Mayor about the steeple. And when he replied, that the Lords of her Council were so busied in a greater matter, relating to her subsidy, that they had no time that day to deal in that matter; but that the Lord Treasurer and Lord Keeper did intend speedily to send for the Mayor, and to declare plainly to him her pleasure, and make report thereof themselves at their coming to Court: she then willed the Lord Chamberlain to remember the Treasurer thereof again; saying, that if she were not satisfied, she would have the

CHAP.
VII.

Anno 1562.

The spire
remains un-
finished.

BOOK Mayor and six of the best of his brethren before herself
I. upon the very next Sunday following, though she were then
Anno 1562. in a progress, and some distance from London. This the
 Lord Chamberlain from Court signified in a letter to the
 Lord Treasurer, and added, that her Majesty was very
 earnest in that affair. And therefore he prayed him to let
 her Majesty understand, as soon as he might, what was done
 therein; for he thought she meant to have them before
 her, and stayed the sending for them only till she received
 an answer from him. But however, after all, greater state
 matters, and the charge, obstructed and deterred from this
 undertaking: and so it lay neglected ever after.

**An evil sur-
mise of the
Bishop.
Stow.** There was indeed a report went, that the monies collected
 for that use were collected and brought into the hands of
 this our Bishop of London. And so Stow writes in his
 first edition; which seeming to have an odious surmise
 of him, as though he had embezzled it, or converted it to
 his own use, it was left out in the after editions. This
 probably was invented by some of his ill-willers. But there
 is no question, but that a man of his integrity and virtue
 was a good and faithful steward of whatsoever came into his
 hands in trust for this work.

**The Bishop
ordered to
have the
Queen's re-
covery de-
clared at
St. Paul's
Cross.** Having said all this concerning the condition of St.
 Paul's, I shall now go back again to the year 1562. In the
 month of October the Queen had been sick; in which
 time rumours had been spread abroad in the City, either of
 her death, or her imminent danger thereof. What tumults
 might arise hence was suspected and feared: therefore,
 the Queen indeed being now well recovered, October 17,
 the Lords of the Council required the Bishop to take care
 for the publishing of her Majesty's recovery and health;
 and that by his order it might be declared at St. Paul's
 Cross the next day, and thanks returned to God for it.
 The tenor of the letter was this:

**Grind.
Regist.** "After our harty commendations to your Lordship.
 "Where the Queen's Majesty is at this present, God
 "be thanked, after some extremity of sickness, very well

" recovered, because it may happen that some vain bruits CHAP.
VII.
 " may be spred abroad of this matter, especially in the city
 " of London; we have thought good to signify these joyful Anno 1562.
 " tidings unto your Lordship, and to pray you to take order,
 " that the same may be published to-morrow at St. Paul's
 " Cros; and there thanks to be given to Almighty God for
 " this her Majesty's good recovery, and humbly to pray his
 " blessed goodnes to continue the same. And thus we bid
 " your Lordship hartily farewell. From Hampton Court,
 " the 17th of Octob. 1562.

" Your good Lordship's loving friends,

" N. Bacon, C. S. W. Winchester. H. Arundel. F. Bedford.
 " E. Clynton. W. Haward. F. Knollys. W. Cecyl.
 Amb. Cave. Jo. Mason."

Johannes Utenhovius, a chief member, and the first elder 66
 of the German church in London, of honourable birth, A Count of
 and of repute abroad as well as at home, about August this Oldenburgh
 year signified to our Bishop, that a certain German Count, offers his
 out of his love to religion, would be ready to serve the service to
 Queen with such a force of soldiers as should be agreed the Queen
 upon between them. It was Christopher, Count of Olden- by our Bi-
 burgh, brother to the widow, Countess of East Frisia. Uten- shop.
 hovius gave also this further account of him, that he was
totus in re Eucharistica noster; meaning that he was
 no Lutheran; a great man with Frederic, Elector Palatine
 of the Rhine, a military man many years, and a leader Pap. Offic.
int. chartas
Ecclesiastic.
 well exercised in war: his age near sixty; his dwelling
 between Embden and Breme. The learned man desired
 the Bishop's judgment, whether this offer of his, if it were
 made, might be accepted. Hereupon he incloses Utenho-
 vius's letter in his own to the Secretary, requesting to
 know of him what answer he should return; shewing him
 that Utenhovius, a man both honest and wise, had moved
 the matter to him, that the said Grave or Count could be
 very willing to offer his service to the Queen in her wars,

BOOK I. especially in any quarrel of religion; and that he was reported to be well able to levy a convenient number of soldiers *juxta formulam pacti*. Grindal conjectured by what he knew of his sister, that his religion was good: he added, that Westphalia, that bordered upon him, brought forth good hardy soldiers, and that it was near our seas for transportation; which things considered, he thought it not amiss to signify thus much to him, (the Secretary,) that he would consider by his wisdom, whether the said nobleman's service might be acceptable. And that he would in three words shew him what he should answer to the motioner hereof.

The Bishop looks after private masses in London.

Hitherto, among the Protestants of the realm, none refused to be present at the public service of God, celebrated according to the order of the Common Prayer lately established; and all gladly and thankfully served God in that form, except some Papists, who though they generally came to church, yet could they not take their leave of the old mass. In London were some persons, at whose houses were these secret meetings, where the said private mass, with its superstitions, was used. Now also collections were made by those that were present at mass, for certain priests and others that were fled out of the kingdom, and were known enemies of the Queen, and settled at Louvain, and other places. One or two of these places where these doings were, coming to the Council's ears; to break this off, they sent their letters, dated March 11, both to the Bishop of London, and Alderman Bond, one of the Sheriffs, that they should consult together for the better expediting this affair; and that the Sheriff should take his opportunity to repair to certain houses where these meetings were, and to seize the persons of all such as they should find present at mass; and likewise all letters, papers, and mass books; and to commit the said persons, in order to their further examinations. The Bishop was required also to speak to the Solicitor General, Mr. Osborn of the Exchequer, and Mr. H. Knolles, to join with the Sheriff, and others also whom the Bishop should think convenient: praying him lastly, to take the

like course, if he should know of other places so used. CHAP. VII.
 The minutes of this letter may be read in the Appendix.

This year was that famous synod to be called, wherein Anno 1562. Numb. III.
 divers weighty matters of religion were to be discussed, and The Bishop gives notice of a synod.
 the orders and usages of the Church corrected and purged,
 and a worship settled according to the prescript of the
 Gospel, and an uniformity in all prescribed. In this our
 Bishop was much employed, for the giving notice thereof to
 all the Bishops of the province, and for the summoning of
 all that had a right to sit there, to meet at St. Paul's for
 that purpose on the 12th day of January. But this was the
 least matter he had to do in relation to this synod; for he His influence therein.
 was one of those select learned men appointed to prepare
 and adjust matters for to lay before the synod, against
 the time they should sit. I have seen his hand in many of
 the papers drawn up to be debated in that notable convoca-
 tion; he being together with Archbishop Parker, Bishop
 Sandys, Bishop Cox, and some few more, all along from
 the Queen's first access to the crown hitherto, employed in
 consultation for the reformation of religion.

The Bishop had now a special summons from the Queen The Bishop summoned to Parliament.
 to appear at Westminster with the other Prelates, when the
 Parliament sat next, having need, as the summons ran,
 of his counsel, to advise about certain weighty matters
 concerning the good estate of the kingdom and religion;
 with commandment that he should cite the Dean of St.
 Paul's, and his Archdeacons, to appear in their own per-
 sons, and the Chapter to appear by one Proctor, and the
 Clergy of his diocese by two; to consent to such things as
 should there be concluded on by the common advice of the
 kingdom. The writ to the Bishop was in this tenor:

Elizabethe Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ The Queen's summons for a convocation.
Regina, fidei defensor, &c. Reverendo in Christo patri
Edmundo Episcopo, Londinen. salut. Quia de avisamento
et assensu consilii nostri pro quibusdam arduis et urgenti-
bus negotiis, statum et defensionem regni nostri Angliæ et
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concernentibus, nos, quoddam Parla-
Grind. Regist.

BOOK I. *mentum nostrum apud civitatem nostram Westmonasterii undecimo die Januarii proximè futuri teneri ordinavimus, et ibidem vobiscum et cum cæteris prælatis, magnatibus et proceribus dicti regni nostri (colloquium habere, et tractatum, vobis in fide et dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod consideratis dictorum negotiorum arduitate et periculis imminetibus, cessante excusatione quacunque, dictis die et loco personaliter intersitis nobiscum, et cum prælatis, magnatibus et proceribus prædict. super dictis negotiis tractatum, vestrumque ; consilium impensum : et hoc, sicut nos et honorem nostrum ac salvationem et defensionem regni et ecclesiæ prædictorum expeditionemque dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omitatis. Præmonentes Decanum et Capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ Londinen. ac Archidiaconos totumque Clerum vestræ dioc. quod iidem Decanus et Archidiaconus in propriis personis suis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idemque Clerus per duos procuratores idoneos, plenamque et sufficientem potestatem ab ipsis Capitulis et Clero divisim habentes prædict. die et loco personaliter intersint, ad consentiendum his quæ tunc ibidem de communi consilio dict. regni nostri (divina favente clementia) continget ordinari. Teste meipsa apud Westmonast. x. die Novembr. anno reg. nostri quarto.*

68 The like writ, I suppose, was directed to all the Bishops.

A precept from the Bishop to cite the Clergy.

But besides this command to the Bishop, to cite his Clergy to the Parliament, soon after a precept came from the Archbishop to him, viz. to summon the whole Clergy of the province to the convocation before spoken of, on the 11th day of January : wherein accordingly the respective Clergy convened and framed the Thirty-nine Articles, and debated divers other weighty matters of religion and discipline. The just history whereof is of too prolix a nature to be here related : but some account thereof hath been already given in another history.

Annals of Reformat.

Rights of Convocation, p. 409.

By some specimen of the acts of this synod first published to the world by the Reverend Dr. Atterbury, (as after the whole acts were, in the *Synodus Anglicana*;) we see in

part what business now lay upon our Bishop; who, together with some other of his brethren, were elected Jan. 29, *ad excogitanda quædam capitula de disciplina in Ecclesia habenda*; i. e. to devise some chapters concerning discipline to be observed in the Church. Which work being done by him and the rest in committee with him, was sent down to the Lower House; through which it passed, they adding some chapters, and offering it to the Bishops by their prolocutor.

CHAP.
VII.

Anno 1562.

We are arrived now at the fourth year of Bishop Grindal's consecration. The Queen now thought fit to take a particular view of the state and condition of her Clergy; and more especially of the diocese of London. In pursuance of which, a letter came in the month of July to the Bishop from the Privy Council, to this tenor:

Anno 1563.

The Queen requires an account of the Clergy of his diocese.

“After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. The Queen's Majesty, certain good considerations moving her to understand in some part the state of your diocese, hath commanded us to write unto your Lordship, with all speed possible, and thereby to require the same to make answer, by writing distinctly to us all these articles following.

Grind.
Regist.

“I. How many shires or counties your diocese doth contain; or into how many it doth extend.

“II. Into what manner of regiment the same is divided: whether the same be into archdeaconries, deaneries, or such like; and how many the same be, with their distinct names. Who occupieth those rooms at this present, and where they are, to your understanding.

“III. What exempt or peculiar places are within the circuit of your diocese, where you have not full jurisdiction as ordinary: and what the names thereof be; and who hath the ordinary jurisdiction thereof at this present.

“IV. How many churches are within every such archdeaconry, deanery, or other regiment, which be parochial, have Parsons, Vicars, or Curates: and whereas the parishes are so large, as they have divers chapels of ease, which

BOOK " have or ought to have Curates or Ministers in them ;
 I. " to certify how many be of that sort in every such parish ;
 Anno 1568. " with the names of the towns or hamlets where the same
 " churches or chapels are so situate.

" V. How many households are within every parish,
 " or within any such member of any parish that hath such
 " churches or chapels of ease.

" VI. Wheresoever any exempt places be within the
 " circuit of your diocese, wherein you have no such jurisdic-
 " tion as ye can presently make sufficient answer to these
 " former articles, her Majesty would, that ye should in
 " writing copy out so much of the substance of these
 " five former articles as shall seem convenient for the pur-
 " pose, and with speed to send [them] to such persons as
 " have the jurisdiction of those exempt places, or their
 " deputies residing next unto you ; willing and commanding
 " them in her Majesty's name forthwith to send distinct
 " answers thereunto : to be sent either to yourself, or by
 " them to be sent unto us.

" And because the greater part of these former Articles is
 " such as we doubt not but ye are by means of your visita-
 " tion able to cause sufficient certificates to be made unto us
 " with speed ; we require your Lordship to use therein that
 " you can, and not to defer any time therein ; but either
 " by this messenger, or within two or three days at the
 " furthest, to return us answer. And for some such part
 " thereof as speedily you cannot certify without conference
 " had with your Chancellor, Commissary, Archdeacons,
 " Deans, or other inferior officers ; our like request is, that
 " you do procure information thereof without delay of time ;
 " and to command in her Majesty's name the like to be
 " done by all others, having, as above is said, any exempt
 " jurisdiction ; as her Majesty be amply and certainly
 " satisfied herein. And so fare your good Lordship right
 " heartily well. From Greenwich the 9th of July, 1568.

" Your good Lordship's assured loving friends,

" Pembroke. Norfolk. R. Duddely. W. Cecyll."

In obedience whereunto, the Bishop soon after returned unto the Council a certificate according unto the import of the letter.

CHAP.
VII.

Anno 1563.

First, declaring his diocese to contain the city of London, the counties of Middlesex and Essex, and part of Hertfordshire. To the second article he answered, that in the same diocese were divers regiments; first, the cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, and certain churches, as well in the city as in the country, subject to the same, were of the peculiar regiment of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's: that certain churches, as well in the city as in the country, were wholly under the peculiar regiment of the Archbishop of Canterbury: that the college of Westminster, and certain churches subject to the same, were under the Dean and Chapter of Westminster: that the hospitals of St. Katherine and the Savoy were under the several masters of the same: and that the rest of the diocese was whole only of the Bishop's jurisdiction; and was divided into five archdeacons: shewing the present Archdeacons thereof, and their residences; *viz.*

He returns
a certificate
thereof.

Biblioth.
Hon. Ro.
Harleii
Armig. et
Registr.
Grind.

John Mullins, Archdeacon of London, then at Theydon Garnon, twelve miles from London; and for the most part lived at London.

Archdea-
cons.

Thomas Cole, Archdeacon of Essex, Rector of High Ongar, then at East Ham, about four miles from London.

John Pullan, or Pulleyn, Archdeacon of Colchester; who then lay at Thurring, six miles from Colchester.

Thomas Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex; then at Fulham; but for the most part remained at London.

David Kemp, Archdeacon of St. Albans; and lay at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, sixteen miles from London, being parcel of the said jurisdiction of St. Albans.

That of these archdeacons, three were divided into deaneries by name: but thereof had been no Deans within the memory of man: whereof the archdeaconry of Essex was divided into seven deaneries. The two remaining not divided into deaneries, were London and St. Albans.

Besides these ecclesiastical officers, was the Bishop's Chan-

The Bi-
shop's
Chancellor.

BOOK I. cellor; whose jurisdiction was general over the whole diocese. There were also in Essex two Commissaries, whose jurisdiction was in some points above the Archdeacons, and in some points equal with theirs.

Anno 1563.
His Commissaries.

After this, in the said certificate, followed the names of all the incumbents in the parishes of London, in the county of Essex, and throughout the whole diocese; too long to be here inserted, but may be read in the Register.

Prayers enjoined by the Bishop for the plague.

The English nation being in war with France, had, by means of the French Protestants, gotten into their hands New-Haven, an important seaport town in France, lying near Boulogne; which place might have been to England instead of Calais, lost in the last reign. And the English were resolved to maintain it against all the strength of France. But it pleased God that the plague got in among the English army there, and prevailed very much, to the great weakening of the Queen's forces; so that she was fain to make terms with France, and to surrender the place. Her soldiers being transported hither, brought the plague into England; first spreading itself in Kent, where they landed, and proceeded as far as the metropolitical city, where it raged this year, and in other places of the realm. These unsuccesses were justly looked upon to proceed from the punishing hand of Heaven; and therefore as the Archbishop for the city of Canterbury, so our Bishop for London, framed certain suitable prayers to be used on certain days of the week, besides Sundays and festivals. The Bishop of London sent his precept to his Archdeacon, that the
71 people of every parish should be exhorted not only to meet on those days, religiously to pray, and implore God's compassion and pardon; but also at home in their own houses with their families, to use fasting and abstinence. And this he ordered prudentially as well as piously; that so in those resorts to the parochial churches the assemblies might not be crowded, nor too numerous; which might occasion the contagion to spread the more. But this was prevented by the frequency of these assemblies, and the liberty and counsel of serving God at home as well as in public.

And for the making this the more known to all, the Bishop wrote to his Archdeacon Molins in this tenor: CHAP. VII.

Anno 1563.

“Salutem in Christo. Forasmuch as it hath pleased The Bishop to his Archdeacon.
 “God to visit divers parts of the city of London with the
 “sickness of the plague; considering the frequent and Grind. Regist.
 “great assemblies of people for public prayer and preach-
 “ings (which in common calamities and afflictions have
 “been most commendably used) in this contagious time,
 “might be occasion to spread the infection of the disease:
 “these are therefore to require you to give order to all Pas-
 “tors, Curates, and Ministers within the city and suburbs
 “of London, being under your jurisdiction, that they on
 “Sunday next earnestly exhort their parochians diligent-
 “ly to frequent the common prayer in their several pa-
 “rish churches, during this time of God’s visitation; and
 “that not only on Sundays and holidays, but also on
 “Wednesdays and Fridays: and further to exhort them in
 “their private houses and families to use private prayer,
 “fasting and abstinence, with other the fruits of faith and
 “true repentance: most earnestly praying to Almighty
 “God, that it may please him to remember us in his mercy,
 “and to turn away from us, if it be his blessed will, this
 “his plague and punishment, most justly poured upon us
 “for our sins and unthankfulness. I commend you to God.
 “From Fulham the 22d of July, 1563.

“Yours in Christ,

“Edm. London.”

Upon this the notification following was sent to the The Archdeacon’s notification.
 respective Curates: “For avoiding peril of infection, which
 “might grow, if in this time great assemblies of people Grind.
 “should be made at Christ’s Church for general prayer, Regist.
 “as hath been accustomed in time of unseasonable weather,
 “&c. and yet for the exciting of people to repentance and
 “godly prayer in this time of God’s visitation; it is ordered
 “by the Bishop of London, that all Curates, &c. shall on
 “Sunday next monish and exhort their parochians diligently

BOOK "to frequent common prayer in their parish churches on all

I. "Sundays and holidays, and also on Wednesdays and Fri-

Anno 1663. "days: and beside, to be diligent in private prayer in their
 "private houses, joined with fasting and abstinence; praying
 "most instantly to Almighty God for the ceasing of this in-
 "fection: which God grant, if it be his holy will. Amen."

72 In this very juncture came a letter from Sir Will. Cecil

the Secretary, to our Bishop, for this very thing, viz. to
 consult concerning a fast for the judgment of the plague
 then lying upon the nation: to whom he answered, that it
 was in his thoughts to provide some common prayer for
 that occasion, before his letter came; and that he had sent
 to the Dean of Paul's, to compose an homily meet for
 the time; which the said Dean had accordingly done:
 yet the Bishop signified, that he meant it but for his
 own cure. But upon the Secretary's letter, wherein he
 admonishes him to get a form of prayer to be used through-
 out England, he proceeded further by the help of Mr.
 Dean, and soon sent the Secretary a copy of what he had
 done, desiring, after he had perused it, to convey it to the
 Archbishop then at Canterbury; and so to return it after
 his review, to the print. Then he propounded these things
 to be considered by the Secretary. 1. In what form the
 fast was to be authorized, whether by proclamation, or by
 way of injunction, or otherwise; because it must needs pass
 from the Queen. 2. Whether any penalty is to be pre-
 scribed to the violators thereof, or no. 3. Whether to
 have it general throughout the realm, or but in this pro-
 vince. 4. To add, diminish, or amend the form and cir-
 cumstances of the fast, as they are there devised.

And con-
 cerning the
 fast. He signified moreover to the said Secretary, that because
 it was not safe for great assemblies now to meet, lest it
 might spread the infection, therefore he had ordered the
 fast to be on certain days of the week, when the parishioners
 should assemble in their respective parishes: and that he
 had sent orders to London to the Ministers, to exhort
 their people to come diligently to their parish churches on
 these days; and also for private prayer and abstinence.

Some he found were offended, that he had not appointed general assemblies, as were used, it seems, in the late time of unseasonable weather; which he thought not meet; for fear of spreading the infection: and therefore he put it to the Secretary, in the drawing up the Queen's order for the fast, that an admonition should be annexed, that in towns and places infected, general concourses be forborne; and moderate assemblies, as of those that be of one parish, to meet at their parish churches, to be more commendable. And whereas by this fasting, which was to be enjoined on the appointed prayer days, *viz.* Mondays and Wednesdays, there would be considerable quantities of provision spared, he advised that a good portion thereof should be weekly bestowed in the back lanes and alleys of London, and among the poor strangers, who were the sorest visited.

The form being finished, and some suitable sentences of Scripture, or a psalm added by the Secretary's advice, and passed the review of the Archbishop, it was soon printed by Jugg, the Queen's Printer, and entitled, "A Book of Prayers to be used for the Plague, and War, and other Calamities:" and it began in August to be used in London on Wednesday, and so continued Mondays and Wednesdays, till some abatement of the plague, and till by God's goodness it ended in a thanksgiving for peace and health. And the same day it began at London, the Bishop provided it to begin at Fulham also, where he now was.

Grindal pressed much the religious exercise of fasting; the great neglect whereof he blamed Protestants for: and that it might be matter, wherewith the adversaries the Papists might reproach us; saying, "Surely my opinion hath been long, that in no one thing the adversary hath more advantage against us, than in the matter of fast; which we utterly neglect: they have the shadow." This caused him to put in those words into the said office; "For some beginning of order herein," [that is, in the business of fasting,] "a command was now issued from her Majesty for observing a fast to accompany the days of prayer, during the continuance of it." And by the Queen's order it was

CHAP.
VII.

Anno 1562.

72

Urges the
duty of fast-
ing.

BOOK enjoined throughout the whole province. And the Archbi-
I. shop sent his mandate to our Bishop, to notify the Queen's
Anno 1668. pleasure herein to the rest of the Bishops; which was done
 accordingly.

Causes the This book of prayers Sir William Cecil thought fit to be
prayers to printed, for the use of private persons and families, in form
be printed of a manual, which he signified to our Bishop; who before
in form of a was of the very same mind, and had talked with Jugg the
manual. printer about it; and it was now in a good forwardness.
 He also had delivered to the printer a short meditation, (*viz.*
 of the shortness and uncertainty of human life, and of the
 great sins of the nation calling down God's judgments,) proper to be used in private houses.

Consults Finally, he consulted with the Secretary, whether he held
what assem- it convenient, notwithstanding the infection, that he should
blies were send to the Lord Mayor to have common assemblies twice or
convenient. once a week, with his brethren and liveries in London,
 whereat he would see sermons made accordingly; or that he
 thought it better to be used in every parish church pri-
 vately, and no common assemblies at all. And this question
 he asked, because, as he said, it was a matter mixed with
 religion and policy. But what the advice was from the
 Court hereupon, I know not.

Concerned But the distemper increasing much this summer, the Bi-
for the shop was much concerned for the Queen's safety, and urged
Queen's to the Secretary her removal; she being not yet gone, and
safety. the air now in July very hot, and more infectious. And he
 put the said Secretary in mind of a proverb, which he had
 learned in Germany, for direction in time of a plague; *viz.*
citò, procul, serò: expounding the *ænigma* thus, *citò fuge,*
procul fuge, serò revertere; *i. e.* fly soon, fly afar off, return
 at leisure.

Comforts The nation now was in ill case, by reason of this sweeping
the Secre- plague; as also of the late miscarriage at New-Haven, and
tary. the war with a powerful neighbour kingdom, and the
 jealousy of Scotland. These things stuck close to the
 heart of the careful Secretary, and created him much dis-
 couragement of mind, which was in danger of having an

influence upon his body, as indeed it had at this time. But CHAP. VII.
 Grindal perceiving this, seasonably and piously exhorted Anne 1563.
 him, “praying him not to hurt his health with too much co-
 “gitations of evil successes of things, which were in God’s
 “hand, and without our compass: and that he knew how 74
 “to direct them to the best end.”

CHAP. VIII.

The Bishop's charitable mediations. Zanchy, Professor at Strasburgh, consults with him. His letter to the Lord Robert Dudley about his excommunicating of one Sebastian. His advice to the Secretary concerning his disease. Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, applies to him. Office for the plague abated.

I SHALL mention a few remarks more concerning our Bishop, which fell out within the compass of this year.

Remarkable was his gratitude and care of innocency, in a matter that now fell out. There was one Leache, a Scotch-man, who had in the former reign lived in good credit at Spires in Germany, and was Grindal's host when he once came as a traveller there, to whom he gave very kind reception; and the same being a good Protestant, joyfully returned home with the exiles. This man's occasions led him to Ireland; where this year were great and dangerous matters laid to his charge, as though he had spoken treason against the Queen. For this he was laid up in prison, and in danger of his life; being prosecuted and sworn against by some Irish, whether out of some private grudge or hatred to him for his good-will to the reformed religion, or no, I cannot tell. This matter came to Grindal's ears, who was very much affected with it, and the rather because he knew this Leache to have been a hearty lover of the Queen, and one that rejoiced at her access to the crown.

Interposes in the case of an honest man imprisoned in Ireland.

BOOK The poor man had made a shift to get a letter sent into
 .1. England, wrote by him to some friend relating his condition:
Anno 1563. which letter, coming to the Bishop's hand, he sent inclosed
 to the Secretary in one of his; compassionately and season-
 ably thus interposing for him:

"That he could affirm nothing of his case. But this
 "he could say, he knew the man well, and that he was his
 "host at Spire in Germany: that he was of good religion,
 "honest, and one that ever wished to live to see the Queen's
 "Majesty come to the crown; and that for declaration of
 "his affection herein, he forsook Germany, where he was
 "in good estimation, and good case to live, and came
 "over amongst them, exiles. That he could not believe he
 "would speak any dishonour of the Queen's Majesty; and
 "therefore, if I should die this hour," said the Bishop, "I
 "think he is wrongfully accused. I pray you therefore be
 "good to him, and help that the matter be not hastily
 "judged, but may be thoroughly examined. I fear me it is
 "too easy a matter, either in Ireland or in Wales, to get
 75 "false witnesses to swear, &c. I pray you be good to the
 "poor man, and obtain him at least some time. God will
 "reveal the truth, I doubt not. God keep you. Ult.
 "July, 1563.

"Yours in Christ,

"Edm. London."

Nor was this letter all the intercession he made for Leache,
 but soon after he sent to one Quintin, the Secretary's ser-
 vant, to remember him of that poor man's case.

Intercedes
 for some
 French re-
 fugees.

Yet again about the same time the good Bishop found it
 necessary to use his interest in the behalf of distressed inno-
 cence. The persecution being very hot in France, many
 poor Protestants fled thence daily hither, and planted them-
 selves with their goods and effects at London. And there
 having been hot war this year between England and France,
 many Englishmen's goods and merchandizes had been
 seized by the French. Whereupon certain proclamations

were issued out in like manner to seize Frenchmen's goods, and to make them prizes. Some evil disposed men took occasion hence to take several poor French Protestants who were coming hither for sanctuary from their own country, and made them prizes, as they now were at London. Grindal looked upon their condition as his own, (for he remembered himself an exile for religion not long ago,) and therefore like a good Christian made earnest application to Sir William Cecil in their behalf; "praying him, that among his weighty affairs (as he might) he would remember to give the Lord Mayor, and some other godly, honest persons, order for those poor, afflicted French, exiled for religion, that they might not be taken as prizes, (as they then were at London,) by virtue of the late proclamations, wilfully wrong understood. *And let that be,*" said he, *"one mean to mitigate God's ire."*

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1562.

In the very beginning of August, I find the Bishop, having left the book of prayers for the plague in some readiness, and appointing the printer to wait upon the Secretary with it, went to Farnham, and took Dean Nowell along with him; taking harbour there for a time with the Bishop of Winchester, his fellow exile, the better to avoid the pestilence. But he returned in ten or twelve days.

Goes to
Farnham.

Hierom Zanchy, an Italian by birth, was now public Reader of Divinity at Strasburgh: with him Grindal was acquainted ever since himself lived there; and since his departure kept a correspondence with him. This year letters happened between them upon this occasion. The Augustan Confession about this time began to be pressed vigorously, and particularly in the said town of Strasburgh, upon all the reformed there, or no abiding for them. This was the cause of great contests and debates between the learned Lutherans in the school there, and Zanchy, who in the matter of the Sacrament, and predestination, and some other things, could not accord with their Confession. But at last; for peace sake, this year the difference was composed, and he did subscribe (yet with some exceptions and conditions) in these words, *Hanc doctrinæ formulam, ut piam agnosco: ita etiam recipio ego HIERONYMUS ZANCHIUS.*

Zanchy
writes to
our Bishop
for his judgment in a
certain matter.

BOOK This being so large a concession to the Lutheran doctrine,
 I. he saw, might justly make the reformed in other parts to

Anno 1568. wonder at his subscription. And therefore in an epistle he

76 at large declared the reason of what he had done, to our Bishop, adding, that he had also the opinion of Calvin therein. And he believed, he said, that Grindal, such was his piety and prudence, would have done no otherwise than he had done, had he been in the like circumstances. Yet herein he desired to know the Bishop's thoughts, and so, recommending himself to him, and likewise to Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knolles, and Heton, persons of eminence, formerly exiles at Strasburgh, and his acquaintance, praying the Bishop to communicate his case to them, and to have their judgment of it, he concluded.

His answer; and discreet judgment.

Grindal answered Zanchy's letter in one dated in August from Fulham: wherein he signified, that the gentlemen his friends mentioned by him were absent at that time from London, being dispersed by reason of the plague. "But as for his own part, he attributed so much to Zanchy's piety and prudence, that he had a good opinion of all his actions; especially since he had the opinion of such a learned man as Calvin in what he had done: this," the Bishop said, "much confirmed him; being apt to attribute much to his judgment. That he feared only one thing, that his adversaries, [*viz.* the rigid Lutherans,] unless he imposed a silence upon himself in those controversies, (which at that time it would be hard to do, when the truth was repugned by certain books newly set forth,) would make a way by that composition of Zanchy to raise new disturbances, and urge his simple subscription, which they would produce under his hand; and in the mean time take no notice at all of those exceptions and protestations, which were made by him only *viva voce*, and not written. But a judgment," he said, "of future things was uncertain. And therefore these matters he commended to the Lord, who he doubted not would give him a mouth and wisdom, which the adversaries of the truth could not resist." We shall find by and by, Grindal's conjecture of the inconveniences of this subscription to be

true, and of the quarrel that notwithstanding happened be-
tween Zanchy and the Lutherans, which made the place
too hot to hold him.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1563.

Now did one Sebastian [his surname was Westcote] create A petty
some disturbances to our Bishop. He belonged to the choir Canon of
of St. Paul's, being the first Minor Canon, and master of St. Paul's
the choristers there; but being a Papist, came not to the excommu-
Communion, and held transubstantiation, and perhaps not nicated
without other faults: and persisting therein after divers by the Bi-
complaints, the Bishop had excommunicated him. But it shop.
seems he was favoured by the Lord Robert Dudley, a great
courtier and favourite, who wrote an earnest letter to the
Bishop in his behalf, shewing that he was not obstinate, and
that what he did was out of zeal; and that haste in such
cases might be hurtful. The Bishop well knew what a man
he had to deal with, being very haughty and impatient of
denial, and apt to resent. And therefore he composed an
answer at good length, which might seem rather an apology 77
than a letter. And besides, that he might have another
friend at Court to represent him aright in case of any com-
plaint to the Queen against him, he sent a copy of his said
answer to the Secretary; which it may not be amiss here
to set down, viz.

" Please it your good Lordship. Being at Farnham The reasons
" with my Lord of Winton, I received your Lordship's whereof he
" letters for Sebastian, who at this present standeth ex- writes to
" communicate. I will open to your Lordship some cir- the Earl of
" cumstances of the matter, and then I doubt not but Leicester.
" your Lordship will well approve my doings therein. Se-
" bastian was complained of in my visitation, now more
" than two years past; and that not by one or two, but by
" a good number of the best learned of my church, that he
" utterly abstained from the Communion. The said Sebas-
" tian being examined by me, confessed the same, and al-
" leged, partly that his conscience was not fully satisfied,
" but chiefly, that he was not in charity, because of certain
" actions of debt and suretiship between him and Sir Wil-

BOOK I. liam Garret, &c. I answered, that the latter allegation

Anno 1563. "was merely frivolous, as it was indeed. The first was
"worthy of consideration: and therefore I gave him a
"good long day for the better instructing of his con-
"science; willing him in the mean space to frequent ser-
"mons, and to confer with Mr. Dean, and others of the
"church, offering also mine own labour therein.

"When his day appointed came, I found him as far off
"as at the first. That notwithstanding, I gave him a
"longer day: and so from day to day till July last past. I
"also one day conferred with him myself: and perceiving
"that he stuck much at the matter of transubstantiation,
"I shewed him testimonies not only of the Scriptures, but
"also of the old Fathers, most evidently against that er-
"ror; and gave him then time to think upon the matter.
"But all in vain. And therefore I was at length compelled
"to pronounce him excommunicate, who afore in doings
"had excommunicated himself. And these were the causes
"that moved me so to do:

"First, The discharge of mine own duty and office, to
"whom not only the word of exhortation, but also the
"sword of excommunication is committed: whereof nei-
"ther can be omitted in his time and place, without offence
"against God.

"Secondly, I seek herein his reformation: for excom-
"munication in such disobedient persons is the ordinary
"mean taught by the Holy Ghost, to reduce men to God.
"Therefore, saith St. Paul, *Tradatur Sathanæ ad in-
"teritum carnis, ut spiritus saluus sit in die Domini*
"*Jesu.*

"Thirdly, He hath been of long time very offensive, not
"only to the godly of my church, but also to all other well-
"affected persons frequenting common prayer there; see-
78. "ing such an one joined with us in common prayer, which
"refused to join with us in the Lord's Supper, as one ac-
"counting our form of administration heretical and schis-
"matical. Whereas communion of prayer and sacraments
"ought to be one, saith Chrysostom.

“ Fourthly, (which is a matter of great moment,) There CHAP.
 “ is committed unto him the education of the choristers, or VIII.
 “ singing children: he remaining therefore in the mind he Anno 1563.
 “ doth, with what conscience can I commit youth to his in-
 “ struction ?

“ Your Lordship thinketh him not to be obstinate; but I
 “ pray you remember, that obstinacy is better known by
 “ doings than by sayings. Ye think also he doth it of zeal.
 “ Admit it be so, he is not therefore excusable, especially
 “ after so long toleration. Though not communicating
 “ with God’s Church in Christ’s institution, ceaseth not to
 “ be a grievous sin against God, although it do proceed
 “ from an erroneous zeal. And yet I assure your Lord-
 “ ship I doubt much of his zeal: for now after so long
 “ trial, and good observation of his proceedings herein, I
 “ begin to fear, lest his humility in words be a counterfeit
 “ humility, and his tears crocodile tears, although I myself
 “ was much moved with them at the first.

“ Last of all, where your Lordship thinketh, that haste
 “ in such cases might be hurtful, and time might win him,
 “ it may please your Lordship to understand what time he
 “ hath had already, and how long I have borne with him;
 “ which is no less than all the time since my first entry,
 “ being now almost four years: and therefore I am afraid
 “ I have rather been too slow than too hasty; and that I
 “ have an account to give to God for all those corrupt les-
 “ sons of false religion, which he the space of two or three
 “ years hath instilled into the ears and minds of those chil-
 “ dren committed unto him. Wherein, no doubt, he hath
 “ been too diligent, as hath appeared by his fruits.

“ If Sebastian will acknowledge his fault and amend, I
 “ am ready most willingly to receive him. If no, I dare not
 “ absolve an impenitent sinner; for that were to loose him
 “ whom God bindeth, and to abuse the keys of the Church.
 “ I am content, because your Lordship writeth so earnestly
 “ for him, to forbear prosecuting the penalties of the laws
 “ against him, till after Michaelmas, or Hallowentide;
 “ that he may yet have more time to search and to under-

BOOK "stand, praying God in the mean time to open his eyes.

I.

"Thus being bold to trouble your Lordship with a long
Anno 1568. "letter, because I wish your Lordship should be fully sa-
"tisfied in this matter, I commit the same, &c." In this
letter he shewed the piety, the meekness, and yet the reso-
lution of a Bishop.

Watson,
late Bishop,
removed
from the
Bishop.

Dr. Watson, late Bishop of Lincoln, was one of those
that were appointed to dispute some points of religion in
controversy in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign;
and for his morose behaviour at that time was committed
to the Tower: whence after a while he was removed to
our Bishop's house, where he lived conveniently and easily.
Now in the month of October, the Bishop got himself re-
79 leased of him: and by order of the Council he was sent to
the Bishop of Ely, who received him favourably, and said
he was welcome for their sakes that sent him, otherwise not
for his own: and for very good reason, being naturally a
sour and churlish man. Our Bishop had not yet conferred
His dis- course with him. much with Dr. Watson, having otherwise been hitherto
much taken up partly in his visitation, partly in the synod,
and other matters relating to the reformation of religion:
but he told him now, that if he had tarried with him, he
would have been willing to confer with him in divers points.
But he answered, that he would not enter into conference
with any man: and his reason was, because he would not
incur the penalties of laws. But our Bishop replied, that
there was but one law penal, [which was that of denying
the Queen's supremacy,] and that might be forborne. But
he persisted in his opinion.

Fecknam,
and an-
other, at
the Dean of
Westmin-
ster's.

The Dean of Westminster, Dr. Goodman, had with him
at this time Dr. Fecknam late Abbot of Westminster, and a
Popish Bishop besides. Bishop Grindal now interposed
with the Secretary, that the Dean might be released of
them, as he himself now was of Watson. And particularly,
that Fecknam might be sent to Horn, Bishop of Winton:
and the rather because he heard that Bishop, being lately
at his house, say, that if he should have any, he could best

deal with Fecknam; having in King Edward's days taken some pains with him in the Tower, and brought him to subscribe to all things, saving the presence, and one or two articles more. Our Bishop therefore thought it would do very well (in his opinion) to ease the poor Dean, as he out of pity styled him; and to send the other also to some other Bishop, as Sarum, or Chichester: adding, that it was more reason that the Bishops should be troubled with them than he.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1563.

Fecknam, according to Grindal's advice, was trans-
planted to the Bishop of Winton's. But however that Bi-
shop chose him before any other Popish guest, yet it was not
long but he became weary of his Abbot; finding him in his
conferences with him, not answering his opinion of him:
which occasioned a falling out. And Fecknam dispersed a
paper, giving a partial account of some discourses between
himself and that Bishop; who thereupon was fain to vindicate
himself at large in print.

The former
removed to
the Bishop
of Winton.

Secretary Cecil was in October fallen sick: and though
at length his disease diminished, yet it hung long about
him. It was a sore pain in his back. This was the begin-
ning of a severe gout, which by fits afterwards bore him
company as long as he lived. Cecil, about a year ago or
better, upon some heat in his back, fearing the stone,
caused his doublet to be cut and voided in the back, and so
went abroad, and rid very cool. Whence at length he
might have contracted too much cold in those parts, and
that might give occasion to his present pains. And to this
cause Grindal conjectured this distemper to be imputed;
he himself having now and then a great indisposition in his
back, which he caught by the same course; and therefore
made use of a contrary means, to cure the said disease,
keeping himself always warm. This he thought convenient
to acquaint the Secretary with, thinking his own experience
might be of some service to him. And therefore thus he
wrote to him from Fulham, October 15.

Advise the
Secretary
concerning
his sickness.

"It is said your pain is in your back. I will be bold to

His letter
to the Se-

BOOK I. "communicate unto you my conjecture of the cause there-

Anno 1569.
cretary, ad-
vising him
about his
health.
MSS, Ceci-
lian.

"of, and of the means to avoid the like hereafter; not by
"any art of physic, but upon some experience of mine own
"body in the like case. When I came first from beyond
"seas, I felt great heat in my back, and feared the stone:
"I cut my doublets, my petticoats [that is, which we call
"waistcoats] in the back: I went ungirt; I could not
"abide to sit on a cushion, &c. In continuance, I strived
"so to cool my back, that I fell into the contrary: so that
"a small cold taken on that part by going single, and espe-
"cially by riding single, to this day casteth me into a
"stitch; which beginneth under the point of one shoulder
"or both, and suddenly claspeth on the small of my back,
"and there remaineth fifteen or twenty days. I do re-
"member one morning, a year and more ago, ye shewed
"me your doublets cut and voided in the back; and that
"ye feared the stone. I am surely persuaded, that by re-
"sisting heat, (which might come then by some accident,)
"ye have cooled your back too much; ridden and gone
"single; and so have brought those parts to great imbe-
"cility. Surely, I think the only way to avoid it hereafter,
"is to go warm, and namely on your back: but specially
"when ye ride, though it be in the midst of summer. I
"begin every day to like better and better Sir Richard
"Sackville's physic, with store of clothes and furs. *Frigus*
"*nunquam sensi*, was a piece of his physic, that said, *Cen-*
"*tum annis vixi*.

"I have sent you herewith a glass sealed, *sigillo Her-*
"*metis*, of Thomas Gybson's balsam. It is to be used
"outwardly, as an ointment. I dare not advise you to use
"it without the counsel of the physicians, for it is very
"hot; but it may stand by you. It is very good in aches
"that come of cold causes. I have seen the proof of it.
"Thus much of physic; whereof all sick men love to hear,
"be it never so slender."

The Dean
of Christ
Church ap-

In this interim, viz. in the month of November, Samp-
son the Dean of Christ Church, Oxon, came up. His

church as yet had no fixed statutes: the want of which created great disorders there, and occasioned too much liberty to such as were Popishly affected in that college. Which was so well foreseen, that by the Queen's orders before now, the Archbishop, our Bishop, and some other Civilians of the ecclesiastical commission, were appointed to frame statutes for the said church: wherein he and they had made some good progress: but the Archbishop being gone the last year to his diocese in visitation, and other businesses intervening, the work was not gone through with. In the mean time the Lord Keeper, in the Queen's name, sent them certain injunctions to be observed: but some there took exceptions against them, as not being of sufficient authority, because they came not directly from the Queen. Of this Sampson acquainted our Bishop, and sent him a copy of the said injunctions: who found them to be very good; and in effect but an epitome of the best and most necessary orders, which the Archbishop and he, with the rest, had (as for the first view) allowed in their book of statutes. And Sampson intending ere long to apply himself to the Secretary about this matter, Grindal incited the said Secretary to help him, that he might with sufficient authority from the Queen, (or otherwise as to his wisdom seemed good,) put the injunctions in execution: whereby he would do a very good act: adding, that when the Archbishop and the rest came up to London, they should soon finish their book of statutes, which already was in a good forwardness. Thus did the good Bishop spend his studies and thoughts, to render himself useful for the reformation of the Church and University.

The year being now slidden as far as to the month of December, by this time the plague being abated, Grindal composed another psalm and prayer, upon occasion of the diminution of it; and sent them to the Secretary to peruse, judging it convenient, if he thought good, to have them set forth, and to be used in the churches: being minded also to cause another psalm and prayer to be drawn up, which might be used, when it should please God to send more

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1568.

plies to the
Bishop
about their
statutes.

81

Composes a
prayer and
psalm upon
the abating
of the
plague.

BOOK health and deliverance from this sickness; (to wit, when the
I. number should be under an hundred a week of those that

Anno 1563. died;) and at that time to have a suitable sermon preached, and some solemn assembly of the companies at St. Paul's on a Wednesday, to give God thanks: and so to end *jejunium nuper edictum*, i. e. the fast on that day appointed, as was shewn before. This day, otherwise not so proper for a thanksgiving, the Bishop chose, because it had been the ordinary day observed before for the plague: that on that very same day on which the people had humbled themselves for God's judgments, they might render him their thanks for the removal thereof. The psalms aforesaid were nothing else but certain suitable sentences or verses gathered out of the book of the Psalms, and put together, with some small variation, and digested into a psalm, which was commonly used to be done in framing these occasional forms of prayer, and to make up a part of the service.

Upon the Bishop's sending the Secretary this his design of composing prayers for the decrease of the plague, he put the Bishop in mind of inserting into the psalm some acknowledgments of thanks for sparing the Queen, and of God's goodness to the nation in preserving her. To which he answered, that he had inserted the said thanksgiving into the collect, which was an apter place, in his opinion, than in the psalm: and so had committed the prayer to the print; and thought to proceed at London to the publication thereof the Wednesday following; which was the seventh day of January.

82 The psalm composed for this occasion, and which was sent by the Bishop to the Secretary for his allowance, (that we may preserve as much as we can these originals,) may be found in the Appendix.

The psalm for this occasion.
Num. IV.
He is preparing a thanksgiving office.

Grindal was now also, in the beginning of January, providing for the form of the solemn thanksgiving to be used in St. Paul's, when the plague should sink under an hundred a week, as was hinted before. And that it might be composed with the maturest deliberation, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely, being in commission for ecclesiasti-

cal matters, were consulted with. The Archbishop sent his judgment in writing, and advised, that seeing it was an eucharistic office, to have the holy Eucharist then celebrated, that those of the church, the magistrates of the city, that were then to be present, and other well-disposed persons, might receive the Communion. But to this Grindal did not agree, because, as he told the Archbishop, if it were at that time administered, it would be done so tumultuously and gazingly, by means of the infinite multitude that would resort thither to see, that the rest of the action would be disregarded. And he thought it good to remain in suspense till they talked with more of them.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1563.

Calfhil, a Prebendary of St. Paul's, (entitled the Penitentiary,) either the Bishop's Chaplain, or much about him, received now in February a letter from the Secretary, advising that some politic orders should be devised by the Bishop and others, for the prevention of the infection breaking out again. This he communicated to the Bishop; who thought it very necessary, and accordingly promised the Secretary to do his endeavour, both by exhortation and otherwise; having been ready before this admonition, to have craved his help for that purpose, as being not unmindful of the peril. But he thought one thing especially ought to be remedied: to prevent great flocks of people meeting together; and likewise one thing especially, as he confessed, because he liked not the thing itself, and that was interludes. The players he called, *an idle sort of people*, which had been infamous in all good commonwealths. These men did then daily, but especially on holy-days, set up bills inviting to their plays; and the youth resorted excessively to them, and there took infection. He complained to the Secretary, that God's word was profaned by their impure mouths, and turned into scoffs. And by search, he perceived there was no one thing of late more like to have renewed the infection, there being such vast resort thither. And therefore he advised, for the remedy hereof, that Cecil would be the means of a proclamation to inhibit all plays for one whole year. And if it were for

Takes care
against the
breaking
out of the
plague
again.

The dan-
ger of in-
terludes.

BOOK ever, added he, it were not amiss: that is, within the city,
I. or three miles compass, upon pains, as well to the player, as
Anno 1568. to the owners of the houses where they played their lewd
 interludes.

Two things
 required of
 him by let-
 ters from
 the Coun-
 cil.

And it being now the beginning of March, the Lords of the Council also sent their letter to the Bishop and the Lord Mayor; wherein he took notice of two things that concerned his office. The one was, for restraining of preachers, 83 who were said to have persuaded the people to break the orders set forth against the spreading of the infection; as keeping within doors, not consorting in great companies, and the like. Whereupon he demanded of the Mayor, if he knew any such persons; who answered, No. Since which he called all the preachers before him, and they all denied, that either they had done it heretofore, thinking it a matter very unfit, or that they intended to do it hereafter. One indeed there was that spake something last summer against the fires then commanded to be made in the streets: but he had been sick ever since of the plague, and had three or four plague sores one after another. "So that God," said the Bishop, "hath sufficiently corrected him." The second thing required of him by the Lords was, that he should set forth an Admonition to be read in all churches of the city and suburbs, by the Pastors and Ministers, to keep the good order made by the Lord Mayor, for avoiding danger of infection; and that the sick should not come into company with the well, nor the well with the sick, and to use convenient means to keep themselves from infection. The Bishop in obedience hereunto soon drew up an Admonition, and caused it to be printed, and read in all the churches: which was to this tenor.

The Bi-
 shop's Ad-
 monition,
 to be read
 by Min-
 isters to
 their
 people.

"According to a certain order sent of late from the
 "Queen's Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, to
 "the Reverend Father in God the Bishop of London, our
 "Ordinary; I am by the said Bishop willed to exhort and
 "admonish you that be of this parish, diligently to observe,
 "and obediently to keep those good orders which lately have

“ been set forth by the Lord Mayor of this city, for avoid-
 “ ing the danger of the infection of this contagious sickness,
 “ wherewith God hath of late visited this city, and which CHAP. VIII.
 “ as yet is not clearly taken away. And further, on the be- Anno 1563.
 “ half aforesaid, I do most earnestly exhort and beseech
 “ those, whom it hath pleased God to visit with this sick-
 “ ness, and are in the way of recovery, to forbear to com-
 “ pany with the whole, for such convenient time, as is by
 “ order of the said Lord Mayor appointed in this behalf,
 “ or longer, if need so require; that thereof no infection
 “ increase to others by their occasion; considering that
 “ even by the rule of charity all men are bound in con-
 “ science not to do any thing that by common judgment
 “ and experience may bring a manifest peril and danger to
 “ their brethren, or neighbours, as may well appear by the
 “ law of God, in separating the leprous persons from the Levit. xiii.
 “ clean; wherein Ozias being a king was not spared; the 2 Paral. xxvi.
 “ disease of leprosy being nothing so dangerous for infection
 “ as this is.

“ And likewise I exhort, as afore, those that be whole to
 “ use convenient means and helps, being not against God’s
 “ word, to keep themselves from infection, and not to resort
 “ to places infected, whereunto by their duty and vocation
 “ they are not bound to resort; lest, by rash and wilful
 “ entering into companies or places of danger, they tempt
 “ God, casting themselves into unnecessary perils, which is
 “ against his express commandment: *and by loving peril*
 “ (as the Wise Man saith) *perish in the same.*

“ This thing therefore being both so charitable and 84
 “ godly, and also very like to be profitable for this afflicted
 “ city, I trust all godly men will gladly embrace and re-
 “ ceive, the rather for that it may be easily observed, the
 “ number of the sick (thanks be to God) being now but
 “ small: and for that also by the godly order now set forth
 “ by the said Lord Mayor, those that be not of hability are
 “ sufficiently provided for in this case.

“ 4 die Martii an. Dom. 1563.”

BOOK
I.

Anno 1563.
Composes
an office
upon the
plague's
ceasing.

Num. V.

Moves the
keeping of
the term
at West-
minster.

His care
for the
Queen.

2 Kings
xviii.

The Bishop had now finished an office of thanksgiving for the ceasing of the plague, according to his purpose mentioned before; and about the 7th of March sent both the psalm and the collect composed for this purpose to the Secretary, who in some places added his own corrections to the said collect. And because it may be acceptable to some to read the manner of the devotions in those days, I shall here insert them in the Appendix, as I did the psalm used upon the abating of the infection.

By what hath been above said, we easily observe how the Secretary, out of his great care of the public, was much concerned about this infection of the plague: and now being greatly decreased, all means were used that it might not increase again with the coming on of the spring. He accordingly sent many messages to our Bishop for this purpose; and now once again in March, he sent to him to confer with the Dean of Westminster about it: and the Bishop promised on his part, that all diligence should be used, thanking God that the peril was past for that time. And withal, like a careful father of the people's temporal, as well as spiritual welfare, moved the said Secretary, that the next term might not be kept but at Westminster only, (whence it had been of late removed,) and that he would procure a proclamation to be issued out to that purpose: which he said would be a great comfort to many poor men.

And when the Secretary had expressed his fears of the Queen's safety, as an impediment to the keeping of the term according to the Bishop's desire; and prayed him to take care against the spreading of the plague now in so fair a way of ceasing; he signified back again, that he did his diligence for avoiding the peril of infection: that he trusted that week's certificate had much diminished the fear of the Court. For the Queen's person, he was of opinion, as David's subjects were in the war against Absalom, it was good her Highness were in some place, by human judgment, free from peril. But for the Law, he did not see why it should remove for the next term, (it was now about March

the 11th,) the time of the year, the small number dying in so great a city, and other circumstances considered.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1563.

CHAP. IX.

85

His Christian concern for his own country. Uses his interest for the Bishop of Carlisle. Forwards the settling our merchants at Embden. His gratitude to Germany. Barton of Abchurch. Coverdale. Velsius, a sectary. Nowel's Catechism.

TO proceed now to some other matters relating to our Bishop, happening within the compass of this year.

Grindal's care for his own country appeared upon every turn. Best, the Bishop of Carlisle, had often complained to him for want of preachers in his diocese, and that he had no help at all of his cathedral church: that the Dean, Sir Thomas Smith, was busied in the Queen's Majesty's affairs, and so was necessarily absent; and all the Prebendaries were ignorant Priests, or old unlearned Monks, put in at the dissolution of monasteries, except one Sewel only, who was discredited by reason of his inconstancy, [having probably been a complier under the late religion.] One of the said unlearned Prebendaries was lately departed: fled abroad perhaps to Louvain, or some other place, as many of the Papists now did. The said Bishop of Carlisle therefore wrote to Grindal, to help as he might one Scot to this place, being that countryman born, well learned, and of good zeal and sincerity, as he [Grindal] knew partly by his own experience. Our Bishop was ready enough of himself to further such things, so behoveful both to religion and to his own country: and therefore he soon applied himself to the Secretary, as he told him he used to be bold with him in such cases; entreating him to help the said Scot to this preferment, thinking this man should do much good in his country; and so commended his case to him, which, as he said, was indeed God's cause. He added, that he knew the

Interposes
for the
church of
Carlisle;

BOOK nature of his country, believed that horse-flesh had not
 1. been spared for prevention: but that if it might be stayed
 Anno 1569. for Scot, he believed he would do most good. Our Bishop
 stopped not here, but commended him also to the Lord
 Keeper, doubting whether the presentation pertained to his
 office, being a Prebend of the new erection, and in value
 just twenty pounds, as he was informed. And applying
 again to Cecil, he prayed him, that as he doubted not that
 the Lord Keeper would be good, if it passed from him, so he
 would put to his helping hand, if it passed from the Queen.

And for the
 Bishop.

It was but the month after, viz. in January, he inter-
 ceded with the Secretary in behalf of the same Bishop
 of Carlisle, who, since he had been Bishop, had met with
 very ill dealings in that country, replenished with Papists,
 and such like: which perhaps was the cause that Bernard
 Gilpin prudently declined this bishoprick. So that this Bi-
 shop was forced to come up, and make his complaint above.
 And there were two especially of whom he complained.
 Grindal thought that if these were touched by the author-
 86 ity of the Lords, it would be a terror to the rest: for, as he
 said, "there were marvellous practices to deface that Bishop
 "in his lawless country, and by him, the cause:" meaning,
 that by defacing him, they intended to deface the *cause* of
 the reformed religion itself. This business by the pious di-
 ligence of our Bishop came at length to this effect, that in
 March he obtained a commission for the church of Car-
 lisle; wherein he was appointed the chief, if not only, com-
 missioner: but he sent to Smith (*i. e.* Sir Thomas Smith,
 the Dean, I suppose) to solicit the Secretary, that he might
 have two or three more joined in commission with him. And
 this commission, I make no doubt, our Bishop managed
 with the most earnest application, to do service to his super-
 stitious country, and to give a countenance and authority to
 the godly Bishop there, in the promoting of good religion.

The Bishop
 assists the
 English
 merchants
 oppressed
 by King
 Philip.

Something happened about the latter end of the year, re-
 lating to the English merchants trading in the Low Coun-
 tries, wherein the Bishop being solicited to give his assist-
 ance, shewed both his gratitude to them who had of late in

Queen Mary's reign been very helpful and charitable to the poor exiles, and somewhat also of his policy in state affairs. These merchants, provoked by many unjust and rigorous dealings and exactions of the Spaniard upon them in Antwerp and other places of his dominions, thought upon removing themselves and their effects out of his territories elsewhere, where they might have more liberty of religion, and fairer usage in their trade. And they esteemed no place for this purpose so convenient for them as Embden in East Frizeland. The Countess of East Frizeland, with her son the Earl, was to be dealt withal in this affair; who was not at all unwilling, knowing well the benefit that would accrue to her country by this English trade. The merchants had dispatched a messenger thither to treat: and that the business might succeed the better with the Queen here at home, they made the Bishop their friend; who presently espoused their cause, and was their mediator with the Secretary. Utenhovius, the chief member of the Dutch church, London, (whom we have had occasion to mention before,) well known to the Countess, and of good esteem with her, being a person of quality by birth, was concerned in this business from the first. The Bishop and he were good acquaintance; therefore the merchants entreated the Bishop to bring them together.

On the 10th of February, I find the governor of the merchants, Heton, one of the chief, (who had been a great reliever of the English exiles,) and some others, dining with the Bishop; and took that occasion to acquaint him with the particulars of their affairs, praying him to send for Utenhovius, that they might presently confer with him, and obtain his counsel and aid. But at this time he was not well, but the Bishop encouraged them to repair in his name to his house, and to talk with him there. And the same day the Bishop dispatched a letter to Utenhovius, giving him to understand, that he had advised the said merchants to come to him, and prayed him to forward them as much as he could by his counsel, pains, and favour; suggesting withal how well that society had de-

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.

Recommends them
to Utenhovius.

BOOK served of the Church, and how much was owing to them
I. privately from good men : he meant in respect of the exiles

Anno 1563. that had been harboured by them, or had taken up money
87 of them in their necessities. Utenhovius indeed was a pro-

per person to be applied unto in this matter ; for the Earl of Frizeland, and the Countess his mother, approving this motion of the merchants, had employed him as their agent, to solicit the Queen about it the last year, who had accordingly acquainted the Bishop of London therewith ; and he the Secretary.

Terms of
the English
merchants
settling at
Embden.

In fine, the terms insisted on were, that the English should have the liberty of their ports ; that there should be a league of friendship between both parties, and that Count John, who was the chief contrahent, should have a pension of a thousand pounds, who in consideration thereof was obliged to find so many arms and ships for the use and service of the Queen. The Countess-mother now governed the country : she had three sons, Edzard the eldest, Christopher the second, who was lame, and lived by pensions and prebends of the church : John was the youngest, who by transaction was to succeed Edzard.

The Bi-
shop's en-
deavours to
bring it to
pass.

Bishop Grindal was very desirous this business might take effect ; and he was of opinion, that the opportunity of this place (*viz.* Embden) was better for England than any over-sea port that he knew of, and for intercourse of merchandise more : that upon abstinence from Antwerp questions might grow ; and if the merchants should go to any other places thereabouts, their goods could not be conveyed into High Germany, but through West Frizeland, or the borders of Holland by water, which were King Philip's countries ; and so would run a hazard ; which would be prevented, if the settlement were made at Embden. These things were transacted in December.

He declares
his judg-
ment fur-
ther con-
cerning the
business of
Frisia.

It was now March, and Sir William Cecil the Secretary writing to our Bishop to know his mind further concerning this matter of Frisia, he gave him this answer. " I confess unto you, that I am of no experience in these cases ; notwithstanding, in my poor opinion, to go through with

“ it upon convenient conditions, will be both honourable
 “ and profitable to the Queen’s Majesty. It is honour-
 “ able for her Highness to be sued unto by such per-
 “ sonages, the said suit being so benignly heard, and so li-
 “ berally considered. Profitable it may be for divers re-
 “ spects. I have read in Livy, that oftentimes *famâ bella*
 “ *conficiuntur*: so that fame, and probability of aid at
 “ hand, breeds sometimes as much terror to the enemy as
 “ the aid itself. But besides, that this contract may admin-
 “ ister great opportunities and commodities indeed: foras-
 “ much as Frisia having good ports, is the nearest unto us
 “ of all the imperial countries on that side, and so openeth
 “ a very ready way to receive aids, not only out of Frisia
 “ itself, but also out of Westphalia and Hassia, *in recta*
 “ *linea*, and so from any the Queen’s Majesty’s allies in
 “ High Germany; and out of Saxony and Cleveland, being
 “ collateral parts to Westphalia. The pension of a 1000*l*.
 “ is very honourable, and will be thankfully received, as I
 “ perceive by Utenhovius: and yet the charge thereof is
 “ not much to be weighed. The Queen’s Majesty most 88
 “ prudently cutteth off many superfluous charges, which her
 “ predecessors have used to burden themselves withal. Mo-
 “ ney in these cases may be better spent than spared.”

There was one thing more our Bishop thought worthy
 to be had in remembrance, and accordingly reminded the
 Secretary of; namely, that considering Count John, the
 party contrahent, was but the third brother, however the
 second in succession, it was adviseable that both the Coun-
 tess and Edzard should enter into some assurance for per-
 forming the pacts on the part of the said Count John. And
 it was thought they would do this most willingly.

Utenhovius was often with Grindal, who had stayed him
 till this time, until he might hear from Cecil; which the
 Bishop prayed might be with expedition. And though the
 Queen were now almost at the point of adjusting the affair
 in the Netherlands, on the behalf of the merchants, yet the
 Bishop advised that this matter of Frizeland, as to Count
 John’s pension, might go on: and he trusted the conclu-

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.
His letter
to the Se-
cretary.

Advises a
pension to
be settled
upon Count
John of
Frisia.

BOOK 1. aion of the other great matter would not hinder this, which might be profitable *in omnem eventum*. That the

Anno 1563. pension was no great matter in the Queen's coffers, and that the strait surveying of one or two evil officers' accounts might peradventure yearly discharge that matter.

The advantage thereof to the Queen, shewed by the Bishop.

There happened a mistake in the management of this affair, which gave it some stop: for the Secretary, by an error, dealt with the Queen expressly for the pension to be allowed to the eldest brother Edzard, instead of the youngest, which put him to a perplexity; thinking that the Queen, when she understood her pension was to be bestowed upon him, would make a demur at it. But Bishop Grindal endeavoured to remove this, by shewing the Secretary, that there would be no manner of prejudice come to the Queen by her settling the said pension upon Count John, though the youngest: for, as he proceeded in his discourse with the Secretary, the case was not in his opinion altered the value of a farthing, in regard of the Queen's and realm's service; and that this gentleman, though he were the younger, yet was he of better credit both in Frisia and High Almain, than his elder brother. Besides, that the said John was more wise, more personable, more martial, more dear unto his mother, who had still the chief government there. That to this might be added, that the confirmation and assurance both of the mother and elder brother would be offered for performance of the articles which should be agreed upon; and that there were evident reasons to induce them thereunto. As first, the natural affection of the mother and brother towards the preferment of the said Count; secondly, that his elder brother might be eased in charge, if his brother should be thus provided for. So that in fine his opinion was, that proceeding this way, the Queen should have the same, or rather more assurance, by contracting with the younger brother than the elder; and her service executed by a man of more skilfulness and sagacity, and in all points be answered both for ships, soldiers, and the commodities of the havens, &c. He added, that he knew Count John himself

at Strasburgh, and that he was then a goodly young gentleman; and, as was known in Germany, the younger brother used always to serve, and not the elder.

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.

Grindal still hung upon this matter, being earnestly desirous it might take place; and fearing the disappointment thereof, thus he reasoned with the Secretary.

89

And urges
it to the
Secretary.

“ I suppose still this offer would not be neglected; and
“ the rather, considering these times, and the practices of
“ the Cardinal of Arras: and I think the Queen’s Majesty,
“ upon the assurance aforesaid, would not mislike the mat-
“ ter, being one in substance with the first motion. And see-
“ ing it is gone so far, (I pray you pardon me, if I talk un-
“ skilfully in things that are besides my book,) I suppose it
“ were better to try the sequel for a couple of years, seeing
“ the Queen’s Majesty by the articles is at liberty upon
“ six months’ warning, than thus to break off *ex abrupto*;
“ which might diminish a great deal of good affection to-
“ wards us in that country. And if our merchants speed
“ well in traffic there, they were better be contributory to
“ the pension, than that so good an amity should not take
“ place.”

I cannot give a complete relation what followed upon all this intercession of our Bishop, but it is certain the English merchants removed to Embden, by means of Granvel, the Cardinal of Arras mentioned above, who hated the English for their religion, had practised to blow the coals between the Low Countries and them, to spoil their ancient commerce, by fomenting jealousies and complaints one against another. And the Duchess of Parma, governess of the said Low Countries, being of the same disaffection towards the English nation, at length forbade all English cloths to be imported: whereat the English, partly resenting this dealing, and partly out of fear of the inquisition now brought in, departed with their effects to Embden. But an ambassador sent from Spain to the Queen, of a more grave and wise

BOOK I. head, moderated these differences soon after, and set the trade on foot again between both people.

Anno 1563.
His respect
to the Duke
of Wirten-
burgh's
agent.

In truth, the remembrance of the former kindnesses received by him and the rest of the exiles in Germany, under Queen Mary, stuck close upon his grateful mind; and he thought he could not sufficiently express it upon all occasions; which he shewed again towards another German prince, viz. the Duke of Wirtenburgh, who about this time had sent his gentleman into England to the Queen. This Duke had been very kind unto the English exiles, having at one time bestowed among them at Strasburgh four or five hundred dollars, besides more given to them at Frankfort. This gentleman being to wait upon the Queen, the Bishop put the Secretary in mind to move the Queen (if he thought it convenient) to make some signification to him, that she had heard thereof; that it might appear the said Duke's liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion, or else at least that some remembrance of it might pass from the Secretary's mouth; which he said might do good. As for the gentleman himself, the Bishop shewed him all respect at his
90 own house; having been student of the Civil Law in Strasburgh, when he was there, and now recommended also to him by some friends of his in Germany: and being a learned and ingenious man, he liked his company very well, and entertained him as became him, and entered into friendly communication with him; and particularly they talked of Brentius's *ubiquity*, which he held and approved, but so did not the Bishop: but this without heat; and they were contented to hear one another's arguments, and each to suffer other to abound in his own sense. And when he departed, the Bishop gave him favourable letters to Sir William Cecil.

Brentius.

Severe to-
wards a
scandalous
minister.

Barton of
Abchurch.

Towards the latter end of the year I find our Bishop much concerned about two clergymen in London, the one a very bad man, and the other a very good one; earnest for the preferring of the one, and as desirous of deposing the other. This latter was one Barton, Parson of Abchurch,

who had been guilty of some gross misdemeanor, and of so foul a nature, that the Bishop was resolved to punish him, either by deprivation, or a long suspension: but intercession was made by a friend of this Barton's to Sir William Cecil in his behalf, and he got a supplication presented into his hand by that friend, signifying to the said Cecil, that the Bishop did not sufficiently understand his case. But the Bishop let Cecil know, that he understood it, but too well, and that though the act was not finished, yet the circumstances, he said, were so vile, that severity must be used, or else God would be offended, and the mouths of the adversaries opened. This was in July; and in December following, Cecil seems to have mentioned Barton's case to the Bishop with favour: but his fault was such, that he could obtain no favour at his hands; telling the Secretary, that Barton was *dedecus nostri ordinis*, i. e. the disgrace of the order, and slanderous to all good men, that knew his vile doings. And to Lock, his friend that stirred for him, he said, that he being of the Secretary esteemed an honest man, should not have been so importunate for a man not honest.

His crime in truth was foul, as I find elsewhere: for this man having solicited a certain woman to have his pleasure of her, and tempting her with money, she pretended at length to comply with his suit, and a place in Distaff-lane was appointed, where they both met. But she had made her friends privy to it, who according to appointment stood in a secret place at hand: and when the unclean leacher had made himself unready, put off his gown and jacket, his hose being about his legs, they brake in on a sudden upon him in this shameful posture; took him and carried him away to Bridewell, with an hundred people at his heels. And, which aggravated the rest, he was a preacher, and had a wife: but because the act was not done, he found, it seems, some friends, who had interest enough with the Secretary himself, to prevail with him to intercede for some favour to be shewed to this scandalous man. But the circumstances being so heinous, and the crime so open, and re-

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.

His crime.
Cotton Li-
brary. Vol.
Vitellius
F. 5.

BOOK flecting upon the whole body of the Clergy, the Bishop
I. would not be persuaded to remit any thing of the severest
 Anno 1568. censure.

91 Old Miles Coverdale, D. D. formerly Bishop of Exon,
 His favour and an exile, famous for translating the Bible into English
 to Cover- in the reign of King Henry VIII. and other good services
 dale. to religion, had been hitherto without any place or pre-
 ferment, living privately in and about London, and often
 preaching in the churches there. For this very reverend
 man, that had so well deserved of religion, our Bishop had
 a great concern: and it troubled him much to see such an
 one as it were cast by, without that notice taken of him
 that was due: and once cried out about it, "I cannot ex-
 cuse us Bishops:" but somewhat, he said, he had to speak
 for himself, that he had offered him divers things, which
 nevertheless he thought not meet for him to accept of.
 This man, notwithstanding his great years, had gotten the
 plague this year, and recovered; as though God had some
 more work for him to do in the Church before his death.
 Grindal acquaints the Secretary herewith; telling him,
 that surely it was not well, that Father Coverdale, as he
 styled him, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*, i. e. "who
 "was in Christ before us all," should be now in his
 age without stay of living. And therefore Landaff being
 void, he recommended him to the Secretary for that see, if
 any competency of living might be made of it, after it had
 been so spoiled and stripped by the last incumbent; put-
 ting him in mind here, that it would be well, if any means
 might be found, that things wickedly alienated from that
 see might be restored. But I suppose Coverdale cared not
 now to enter upon the charge of a bishopric, considering
 his own age, and his want of strength and activity required
 to execute such an office. But in fine, in the month of Fe-
 Collated to bruary, our Bishop collated Coverdale to the parish of St.
 St. Magnus. Magnus, at the Bridge-foot; and withal sued to the Secre-
 tary to obtain the favour of the Queen to release him his
 first-fruits, which came to sixty pounds and upwards. And
 the venerable man pleaded himself for this favour to be

shewn him, for these reasons; viz. that he had been destitute ever since his bishopric had been taken away from him, (which was upon the death of King Edward,) and that he never had pension, annuity, or stipend of it, for ten years now past: and that he was unable either to pay the first-fruits, or long to enjoy the same living; not able to live over a year, and going upon his grave. And lastly, adding these words, "That if *poor Old Miles* might be thus provided " for, he should think this enough to be as good as a feast." And he enjoyed his request.

There was now in January, and after, one Justus Velsius, of the Hague in Holland, appearing in London, and making some disturbance about religion. He was a learned man, but hot-headed, and enthusiastical, and held peculiar opinions, and had some followers and admirers: and being very forward to discover himself, he drew up a certain summary of his religion under this title, *Christiani Hominis Norma*, &c. that is, "The Rule of a Christian Man, according to which every one ought continually to try himself." It was composed by way of question and answer. The first question was, "What is a Christian?" To which the answer he framed was, "One who by participation and " grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which Christ was, and is, of himself, and by nature." The next demand being, "What Christ was and is of himself, and by " nature," it is answered, "God in man, and afterwards " Man-God." He writ also in this *Norma*, that "while " the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, he brought " down God from heaven to us, joined and united him " to our passible nature. And that by his glorious resurrection the flesh was made the Word, and dwelt in " God, and lifted up man to God." He spake of a double regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external. And that the one made Christians *God in man* in this world; and the other made them *Men-Gods* in the world to come: and divers other such kind of odd and blasphemous expressions did his writing contain. And in the conclusion he affirmed, "That he knew no other rule

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.

Velsius, a
sectary,
arises.His sum-
mary of
religion.

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BOOK " for a Christian man but this; and that he, and all that
I.

Anno 1563. " would not deceive themselves, were to examine and try
" themselves by. And that because out of true affection
" and charity he endeavoured to bring men to this rule, he
" was served as the Psalmist speaks of himself, *They re-*
" *quited him evil for good, and hatred for his love.* But
" his beloved in Christ [some particular persons of his own
" sect and party] he diligently warned and exhorted, that
" they never put away this *rule* from the eyes of their
" minds, but to try and direct their whole life by it: for so
" alone they could be saved." And to this he subscribed
his name. You shall find this paper of Velsius in the Ap-

Num. VIII. pendix.

The Bishop
confutes his
book.

The Bishop of London was concerned with this man, both as he was of the Dutch congregation, and had made disturbance there, over which our Bishop was superintendent; as also because his opinions came as far as the ears of the Court: for he presumed in the month of March to write bold letters to the Secretary, nay to the Queen herself, superscribing to the Queen, *Ad proprias manus*, sending withal this his book to them; which he did also two months before to the Bishop. And he avowed it to be by him conceived and writ from the enlightening of the Spirit of Christ. The Bishop therefore thought very fit, and that upon the Secretary's advice also, to write shortly some animadversions upon it. Therein he observed, first, that he set forth no confession of faith, as he ought, but prescribed a rule, according to which he would have all consciences to be tried: nor was there any mention of *faith*: and that he craftily passed over *justification* by *faith*; and also, what he thought of the powers in man and *free will*; and what concerning *works*. That in those things it was most certain, he had in foreign parts desperately erred, and disquieted men's consciences, and taught matters contrary to orthodox doctrine; and that there were witnesses then in England of it. He shewed moreover, that his definition of a Christian contained the greatest absurdity, and most wide from our faith, *viz.* that a Christian is he, who by grace is

made that which Christ is of himself, and of his own nature: subjoining, that Christ of himself, and of his own nature, is God in man, and Man-God. What follows hence, that a Christian is *God* in man, and Man-God? But the Scripture, said our Bishop, speaks not so: for those things that properly and only agree to Christ our head, cannot be attributed to the members, without sacrilege and blasphemy. Therefore no Christian ought to be called *God in man*, or *Man-God*: for Christ alone is Immanuel, alone Redeemer, alone Mediator. Nor doth he communicate this dignity, these offices to his members. *I will not give my glory to another*, saith God. To the members indeed are distributed the efficacy and fruits which they partake of by faith. Thus they are the children of God, the temple of God, and the Holy Ghost dwelleth in them: but by no means to be called *Gods in men*, nor *Men-Gods*. That where he styles Christ the *initiator* of a Christian, he derogates much from his majesty and power: for by this he only attributes to Christ, that he introduceth us, and as it were teacheth us the elements; and that we, after this entrance, may make to perfection by our own strength. Again, that whereas he makes regeneration twofold, one of the internal, and the other of the external man; he had it not from Scripture; which commands the whole man to be renewed. In that he saith, that the regeneration of the inward man constitutes *Gods in men*, it is quite different from the manner of speaking used in Scripture: for it is no where said, that we are made Gods by regeneration, either in this world or in the next. But that hence it appeared, why he had said before, we are that which Christ is, and the Christians are rendered *Gods in men*; because he had a mind to affirm *perfection*, which he feigned to be in a Christian, and that all Christians were Gods, that is, free of all spot and fault: which arrogance, how detestable it is, there is no pious man but sees. That it was not less strange and impious, that he saith a Christian shall be God in the world to come: for Christ saith not, ye shall be Gods, but ye shall be happy, ye shall be blessed, ye shall live, ye shall

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.

93

Velsius asserted perfection.

BOOK have eternal life. That in saying, he acknowledged no
1. other rule of Christian religion, therein above all he be-
Anno 1663. trayed himself: for he could not more openly reject the
 doctrine of faith, and remission of sins; and so set up a new
 Gospel. These sober and learned animadversions of the
 Bishop, (together with Velsius's book,) I found in the Paper
 Office. The Bishop's paper is set down at length in the
Num. IX. Appendix.

Velsius
 comes be-
 fore the
 commis-
 sion.

But to give a little further account of this foreigner. He
 fancied himself endued with the spirit of prophecy, and
 that Christ dwelt in him. By this authority he took upon
 him to denounce judgment upon persons and places; and
 particularly upon the Queen and the kingdom, (and that in
 his letter to her,) unless she and her people received his doc-
 trine. He solemnly, by a writing, excommunicated Peter
 Deloene, Minister of the Dutch congregation, and delivered
 him up to Satan, because he would not allow of a challenge
 to a public disputation which he made to one Nicolas, a
 preacher there. This man was cited before the ecclesiastical
 commission; where the Bishop of London and Winchester,
 and the Dean of St. Paul's, conferred roundly with him, ex-
 posing the errors of his book before mentioned; which he
 stubbornly endeavouring to vindicate, they at last charged
 94 him in the Queen's name to depart the kingdom. This he
 complained of with very rude words to the Queen; telling
 her that their order he could not obey, pretending some
 miracle from God to confirm his doctrine. And further I
 cannot go in this story.

Nowell's
 Catechism
 finished.

Now was finished that notable Catechism compiled by
 Alexander Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's, in elegant and
 pure Latin. Which having been carefully examined, re-
 viewed, and corrected by the Bishops and Clergy in the
 Convocation last year, and subscribed by the Lower House,
 was designed to be set forth, as by them allowed, and re-
 commended as their own; serving as a brief tract, contain-
 ing the sum of the religion lately reformed in the English
 Church. And this not only for the standing use of this
 Church, but to put to silence its enemies abroad, who hi-

therto had objected to the Protestants here, that nothing touching religion was with any authority or consent of any number of the learned here set forth: but that a few private persons taught and writ their opinions without any authority at all. But being dedicated by Nowell to the Secretary in manuscript, and the keeping it the longer in his hands, the better to consider it, and to consult with other learned men about it, that it might be very exact before it came forth, it remained partly in his, and partly in the author's hands a great while after, till the year 1570, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Grindal, then Archbishop of York, called upon the Dean to publish it. And so it was: but the dedication altered. Which then ran, *To the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm.*

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1563.

CHAP. X.

The Bishop takes the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Zanchy presents a book to the Bishop. Declares his case to him. His proceedings with such as neglected the habits. Preaches at the Emperor's funerals at St. Paul's. Lays the Strand to the Savoy. Bonner writes to the Queen.

IT was not before the year 1564, that our Bishop was created Doctor in Divinity, who had contented himself hitherto with the degree of Bachelor in that faculty. He now supplicated the University of Cambridge (whereof formerly he had been a member) for the said degree: setting forth that he had studied twelve years after his said degree of Bachelor taken in the said faculty, and had preached two sermons, one *ad Clerum*, and the other at St. Paul's Cross, within a year after his admission; and praying that it might suffice for him to begin in sacred theology; and that he might be admitted by the Vice-Chancellor, or some other Doctor in that faculty substituted by him. Accordingly, Edward Hawford, S. T. P. and Vice-Chancellor, 95

Anno 1564.
Supplicates
the Univer-
sity for the
degree of
Doctor.

Ac-Admitted.

BOOK gave power and authority to Miles Coverdale, Professor of
I. Divinity in the said University, to admit him the said

Anno 1564. reverend father, having first taken the oath of supremacy to her Majesty, and the oath for the preservation of the privileges of the University. The instrument of this was dated at Cambridge, Apr. 10, 1564. The copy whereof Matthew Stokes, the University Registrar and Public Notary, transcribed and attested, as is entered into the Bishop's Registry.

Registrar. And in the University Registry it is thus entered; *Re-*
Acad. Can- *verendus in Christo Pater Edmundus London. Episcopus*
tabr. Rev. *admissus, S. T. D. in palatio suo London. per Doctorem*
Tho. Baker. *Coverdale, April. 15, an. 1564. a Domino Procancellario*
Dr Joh. *substitutum item, concionatus est ad Clerum 4. Julii, die co-*
Soc. *mitiorum, per Magistrum Johan. Young Capellanum suum.*

A new church con- At Woodham Waters in Essex, Thomas Radcliff, the
secrated. right noble Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, (whose seat was at Newhall,) having built a new church there, whereof he was patron, and desiring to have it consecrated, the Bishop gave commission to the Archdeacon of Essex to perform the consecration; which was accordingly done, and certified by the said Archdeacon, Apr. ult.

Recom- Having an honest servant, a German by birth, who could
mends a not well understand English, the Bishop by a letter to
servant of Utenhovius recommended him to be received into their
his to the congregation, upon his said servant's desire: writing thus
Dutch con-
gregation. unto him:

"*Sal. D.* Martin, my servant, desireth to be received into
 "your Church, as not well enough understanding our lan-
 "guage, being a man of Coleyn. What he understandeth
 "of the principles of our religion, you may easily know by
 "examination. As to his life and manners, indeed he hath
 "now lived with me almost a whole year honestly and
 "soberly: so that neither I nor mine have ever seen any
 "crime in him. I pray therefore that he may be received
 "into your congregation. Farewel. From my house at
 "Paul's. Mar. 25. 1564.

"Edm. London tuus."

Zanchy, (of whom we heard somewhat before) lately CHAP. X.
 Public Reader of Divinity at Strasburgh, now minister of Anno 1564.
 the Church of Clavenna, (lying in the entrance out of Ger- Zanchy sends the Bishop his book; with the cause of his leaving Strasburgh.
 many into Italy,) did now in August send a treatise of
 his unto our Bishop, by the hands of Henry Knolles, his former acquaintance, whom he called his compere, now agent, as it seems, in those parts from the Queen. The book was called, *Zanchii Judicium de Dissidio Ecclesiarum in Cæna Domini*. A piece which the truly learned John Sturmius, and others, urged him to publish. This he presented the Bishop with, as a testimony of his observance towards him; promising him hereafter a writing, as he hoped, of more value; and likewise another tract, shewing the reasons of his departure from Strasburgh. In short, he could not subscribe to the Augustan Confession any otherwise than he had done before, that is, with some protestation and reservation. And that was the reason also that 96
 the French Church there brake up; for which our good Bishop had so heartily interceded, as was shewn before. For the Senators of the town were now come to that resolution, that they would not allow any to profess divinity privately, nor to preach there, unless he subscribed that Confession, and would agree with their preachers without any dispute, in all things and by all things, as to the understanding of that Confession, and as to the interpretation of the Scriptures.

There was some one busy man, who was the author of all this stir, and whom the Bishop well knew, as Zanchy told him. And so in a deep concern, he prayed God to have mercy on that town. And that for his part he did every thing he could to keep his station, only for this cause, that he might retain at the schools the ancient doctrine of that Church which he knew to be Christian. But, as he concluded, "what should one do, when the Lord will "punish any people for their iniquity?"

Zanchy at the same time recommended a certain business of a relation of his, viz. Laurence Limacius, to the Bishop's care.

BOOK I. It was not long after the Bishop kindly answered Zanchy, thanking him for his book, and sending him a present; commending him for his constancy which God had endued him with, in defending a good cause.

Anno 1564.
The Bishop's answer.

Zanchy writes again to the Bishop, concerning the stir for Lutheranism.

The same learned Professor and Confessor wrote yet again unto our Bishop, explaining to him more at large the cause of his departure from Strasburgh, and relinquishing his Professorship; and that it was the tumult of some Lutheran Ministers, by whose authority and talk the ignorant and unlearned people were possessed with much displeasure against him. For these Ministers raised calumnies, both publicly and privately upon him as they pleased, and easily persuaded the vulgar sort thereof; especially he being a foreigner, and ignorant of their language, and having little or no sway among them. "Yet this in the mean time," he said, "comforted him, that truth is wont ever to overcome: " that the Senate was just, and would do nothing rashly: " and that Sturmius, the chief head of that school, and the " visitors, and the rest of the Professors and colleagues of the " Chapter, defended his cause, as far as they could, knowing " it to be good, and joined themselves with Zanchy himself " in the maintaining thereof: that the Bishop nor none " of his friends would imagine, how much Satan for two " years past had vexed and weakened the church and school " there; all the ancient men being dead, excepting two " that remained, whom the younger sort could not endure." Thus the learned man unfolded his case to Grindal, who having formerly lived there himself, knew well the constitution and condition of that church and school.

The Bishop required to press uniformity;

Hitherto a due agreement and uniformity among the Clergy, in wearing the same habits, and using the same rites in divine service, was neglected, and especially in London; not a few rejecting the orders of the Book. And the plague of late spreading itself in London, and other places, the Bishops could not take that cognizance, and exercise the discipline requisite for this purpose. But this year, towards the latter end of it, by a peremptory command from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, uniformity in the habits

and ceremonies was required of the Clergy: whereas many hitherto, she said, had taken a liberty of varying from her injunctions in this regard. The Archbishop therefore, having received this commandment, forthwith dispatched his letter to our Bishop, to signify the Queen's mind and resolution to the rest of the Bishops of the province; and that they should see the laws and ordinances, already established, set forth and complied with every where; and to send up those of their Clergy that were incontinent. The greatest difficulty was to correct these neglects in London, where were not a few that wore neither surplice, tippet, nor square cap, and did not use the other ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. And this work lay upon our Bishop, whom it cost a great deal of labour and pains to redress these matters among the city Ministers; after whose examples the Clergy in the other parts of the nation would be apt to govern themselves. So that through this and some of the next year, Bishop Grindal frequently sat in ecclesiastical commission with the Archbishop and other Commissioners, for the regulating the city Clergy, and trying by all fair means to convince and bring them to conformity. Many the Bishop reduced to compliance; but some were deprived. A work in truth this was, the Bishop went tenderly about, knowing the scarcity of Ministers at that time; and therefore used all gentleness and meekness with them: but afterwards observing the ignorance and obstinacy of some, and the dangerous principles of others, striking at the very ecclesiastical order itself, he proceeded with more resolution.

In the beginning of this work the Archbishop of Canterbury thought convenient to excite and quicken our Bishop now and then, to set diligently upon reforming his London Clergy especially; otherwise slow in his proceedings against them: and by the Secretary's means the said Archbishop procured a special letter from the Queen to him, to look particularly after uniformity in those under his charge in London. Which accordingly, seeing the necessity thereof, he did.

In the month of January (the plague slackening) Arch-

CHAP.
X.

Anno 1564.

By the
Queen's letter.

The city
Clergy.

Sits often in
commission
for this
purpose.

The Queen
writes to
him to see
to uniformity.

In a visitation,
uniformity
urged.

BOOK I. deacon Mullins, by the Bishop's commission, visited at St. Sepulchre's church. Whither the Ministers being cited and

Anno 1564. appearing, he signified to them the Queen's pleasure, which was, that all in orders should wear the square cap, surplice, and gown. And that there came lately a special order from the Privy Council, charging the Archbishops and Bishops for that intent, to quiet those stirrings and contentions that

In Biblioth. D. Johan. Episc. Eli-en. then were among the parochial Ministers. They were therefore prayed in a gentle manner to take on them the cap, with the tippet to wear about their necks, and the gown; (which Earl, one of these Ministers, incumbent of St. Mildred's, Bread-street, in a journal of his yet extant, describes to be a Turkey gown with a falling cape;) and to wear in the ministry of the church the surplice only. And lastly, they were also required to subscribe their hands, that they

The success. would observe it. Accordingly an hundred and one, all 98 Ministers of London, subscribed; and eight only refused, if the account be true, which I transcribe out of the foresaid journal. But of the subscribers he makes many to be such as had said mass in Queen Mary's days; and such as would not change their custom of old *Pater Noster*, and shaved their faces, and wore long hair; which was accounted ruffian like in those days, and not suitable to the gravity of a Minister.

The Clergy appear at Lambeth. On the 24th of March following, this reformation in Ministers' habits began, when the use of the scholar's gown and cap was enjoined from that day forward: the surplice to be worn at all divine administrations; and the observation of the Book of Common Prayer, as was appointed by the statute, and the rubric of the said Book: and subscription required to all this; or else a sequestration immediately to follow; and after three months standing out, deprivation *ipso facto*; which was afterward executed upon some. This was done at Lambeth, the Archbishop,

The Bishop's Chancellor's words to the Clergy. the Bishop of London, and others of the ecclesiastical commission, sitting there; when the Bishop's Chancellor spake thus: "My Masters and the Ministers of London, the "Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of

“apparel like to this man,” pointing to Mr. Robert Cole, (a Minister likewise of the city who had refused the habits a while, and now complied, and stood before them canonically habited,) “as you see him; that is, a square cap, a scholar’s gown priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice: and inviolably observe the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen’s Majesty’s injunctions; and the Book of Convocation, [that must be the Thirty-Nine Articles.] Ye that will presently subscribe, write *Volo*. Those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief; make no words.” And when some would have spoken, the answer was, “*Peace, peace*. Apparitor, call the churches;” [that is, the names of each parish church; and each Minister to answer when his church was named.] “Masters, answer presently, *sub pœna contemptus*; and set your names.” Then the Sumner called first the Peculiars of Canterbury; then some of Winchester diocese, [*viz.* such whose livings were in Southwark;] and lastly, the London Ministers.

By these resolute doings many of the incumbents were mightily surprised. And the above mentioned journalist, who was one of them, thus wrote of it: “Men’s hearts were tempted and tried. Great was the sorrow of most ministers, and their mourning, saying, We are killed in the soul of our souls for this pollution of ours; for that we cannot perform in the singleness of our hearts this our ministry.” Many upon this were sequestered, and afterwards some deposed and deprived. Among the rest, of the chiefest account, were Dr. Turner, Dean of Wells, (who had revived the strife by a book written and copied, and dispersed abroad,) Mr. Whithead, Mr. Brakelsby, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Wyburn. Mr. Whittenham^a and Mr. Becon refused at first, but afterwards subscribed, and were preferred; as were others that did the like; namely, Robert Cole before mentioned; on whom was bestowed (besides Bow) Alhallowes, by the Archbishop: Will. Clark had Hony-lane and Newington: Becon had Walbroke and another benefice in London: and Whittingham had the deanery of Durham.

CHAP.
X.

Anno 1564.

Some sequestered, and some deprived.

^aWhittingham, ut videtur.

BOOK On this memorable 24th of March, the number that ap-
I. appeared at Lambeth as aforesaid was 140. Whereof only
Anno 1564. thirty did not subscribe. Of which number was my jour-
 nalist; who, with many others, afterwards yielded, and sub-
 scribed. Many of those that were suspended and deprived
 were such as had wives and children; who, upon these
 censures, laboured under great poverty. Some of the de-
 prived betook themselves to secular occupations, as did one
 Sheriff; some to husbandry, as Allen and Wyburn. Some
 went over sea: and these were Papists chiefly; for among
 these non-subscribers were some Papists. Some had favour
 shewn them from the requests of noble and honourable per-
 sons. And some afterwards were put into prisons, for their
 disobediences. We shall hear more of this pressing of con-
 formity in the ensuing years.

The Empe-
 ror's fune-
 rals cele-
 brated at
 Paul's.

The funerals of the Emperor Ferdinand, lately deceased,
 were appointed by the Queen to be celebrated in St. Paul's
 church, as was customarily done in those days, out of
 honour to the neighbouring crowned heads. Which was
 done accordingly October 3. There was erected for the
 solemnity in the choir, an hearse richly garnished; and all
 the choir hung in blacks, with the escutcheons of his arms of
 sundry sorts. The principal mourners and assistants were,
 first, the Marquis of Winchester, who represented the
 Queen's person. Of ecclesiastical persons, mourners were,
 first the Archbishop of Canterbury; then the Bishop of
 London, who preached the funeral sermon, and the Bishop
 of Rochester, chief Almoner to the Queen; attended with
 the Dean of St. Paul's, and the whole college there. The
 mourners of the Laity were Lords, Counsellors, and Knights
 of the best account: that is to say, two Earls: Thomas
 Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Captain of
 the pensioners; and Henry Earl of Huntingdon. Five
 Lords: Henry Lord Strange, eldest son to the Earl of
 Derby; Henry Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earl of
 Pembroke; Henry Lord Darly, eldest son to the Earl of
 Lenox; John Lord Lumley, son-in-law to the Earl of
 Arundel; and Henry Lord Hunsdon. And five Knights:

Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household; Sir Francis Knolles, Vice-Chamberlain; Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary; Sir Richard Sackville, Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer; Sir Nic. Throgmorton, Chamberlain of the Exchequer: to whom was joined Sir Geo. Howard, Master of the Armoury.

CHAP.
X.

Anno 1564.

In the sermon made by our Bishop, he set forth with much eloquence the Emperor's quality and his virtues. "That he descended in a direct line from sundry Emperors:

The Bishop preaches the funeral sermon.

"Fredrick the Emperor of that name, his great grandfather; Maximilian his grandfather; Philip King of Spain, father to the last Emperor Charles, and to him.

His mother, the daughter and heiress of the King of Spain. His father's mother was the only daughter and heiress to *Carolus Audax*, i. e. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Lord of all the Low Countries; a Duke by style, but when he lived terrible to the mightiest Kings of 100

his time; he himself descending lineally from the Kings of France. As to the Emperor Ferdinand himself, the

Preacher said, that to the dignity and honour of his state he ascended by steps and degrees. First, he was created

Archduke: soon after crowned King of Boheme: then elected King of the Romans: after that, King of Hungary: and last of all, Emperor of Rome. As to his virtues, that he was a lover of all justice, a lover of truth,

and a hater of the contraries; full of clemency, humbleness of mind; no proud man, no hasty man; humble, mild, and

full of affability. He was not unlearned; but in Latin and all other vulgar tongues so skilful, that he was well

able to treat in the same with the most part of the nations in Christendom. But that particularly he was noted for

three virtues. 1. His fortitude, travels, and continuance in wars against the Infidels and the sworn enemies of the

Christian name, the Turks. 2. His peaceable government. Ever since he was created Emperor, his wars with

the Turks once compounded, he after studied to maintain public peace. He attempted not (as other men did) to

enlarge his dominions with the effusion of Christian blood.

BOOK "He stirred not up any civil wars under colour and pretence
1. "of religion, or for any other titles; but rather peaceably

Anno 1564. "governed, nourishing concord and amity among all the
"states of the empire: so that Germany more flourished
"then with men and wealth, than it had done any one time
"an hundred years before. 3. His chastity. A chaste
"prince; a prince that did truly, and, as they say, precisely
"keep his wedlock. A notable virtue in any man, but
"more notable in a prince, and most notable in so great a
"prince, especially in that loose and licentious age. And
"behold! I beseech you," (as the Right Reverend Preacher
proceeded,) "how wonderfully God blessed him for his
"chaste observation of matrimony. For where other princes
"living heretofore in incontinency, have been plagued of
"God with sterility and want of royal issue of their bodies,
"and so the direct line of succession hath been cut off after
"them; God had not only given unto this prince plenty of
"honourable children, both sons and daughters, but also,
"according to the verse of the psalm, caused him to see

He had fifteen children; four sons, and eleven daughters.

"*filios filiorum*, his children's children, to a very great
"number." Thus did the Bishop set forth the Emperor.
He added, "That he was not so addicted to the Roman
"religion, as appeared by some particulars. He was contented to be crowned Emperor without a mass, which no
"Emperor before him was for a great many years. Furthermore, before his coronation he promised the princes electors, that he would never be crowned of the Pope. And
"he never was; remaining so long in the empire without
"the Pope's approbation; which before-time was used.
"Besides, there was an oration pronounced by the Emperor's ambassador in the Council of Trent; wherein
"request was made by the Emperor, that liberty might be
"granted to have the Communion ministered in both kinds.
"And but in August last past, the Bishop added, that
101 "he saw written by a man of good credit, that Ferdinandus
"the Emperor not long before his death gave licence to
"all his own countries to have the use of the Sacrament
"in both kinds." I have exhibited so large a portion of

this sermon, having been delivered upon so solemn an occasion; and being, I think, the only discourse of our Bishop (except one) that saw the light: and however it was printed by the old printer John Day, yet by this time, after near an hundred and forty years, this and such like pieces must needs be very rare, and not to be met with, unless perhaps in some such singular library as that of my Lord Bishop of Ely, whence I acknowledge I had a view of this.

CHAP.
X.

Anno 1564.

The inhabitants of the Strand, London, formerly belonged to a parish church, called St. Mary at the Strond Cross, which was pulled down in the beginning of the reign of King Edward VI. by the Duke of Somerset. It stood, it seems, in his way, when he was about to build Somerset place; and the stones served for his buildings. The inhabitants being destitute of a church, had resorted, some of them to St. Clement's, in the precinct whereof the Strand lay; and divers others, perhaps that dwelt nearer to the Savoy hospital, repaired thither to church, though that was as yet no parish church. But that part of the Strand that lay more distant from St. Clement's, was looked upon to fall into the jurisdiction of St. Martin's in the Fields. There happened now-a-days great contests and disorders between these parishes and this extra-parochial people, upon account of parish duties, or the like. The Bishop of London had tolerated them to go to the church of the Savoy; for which also they had the leave of the master there. The matter had been in hand some good while, for the better creating of peace and quiet, to join them to some parish. But the business had its difficulties and impediments. The Bishop now at last, to effect this good and useful work, resolved to put some conclusion to it; and so, in November, writ to the master of the Savoy his resolution; certifying him, "that whereas the taking order with the parishioners of the Strand, to unite them to some parish or parishes, had hung long in suspense; now for the reforming of such points as were out of order in that behalf; as also for the ministering of justice to them that complained of the in-

The Bishop provides a church for the inhabitants of the Strand.

Writes to the master of the Savoy for that purpose. PaperOffice.

BOOK I.
 Anno 1564. "juries they suffered through the same disorder; he would,
 " God willing, according to his office, join them to some
 " place or places. In the which order-taking, they, he said,
 " that were not lotted unto St. Clement's, the next parish,
 " and within the precinct whereof the said Strand was
 " situate, must be united unto St. Martin's in the Fields,
 " except they did otherwise desire, and procure, that they
 " by lawful order be appointed to the Savoy. Which then,"
 as he added, " must be done by way of composition from
 " him as the Ordinary, and from the Right Honourable
 " Sir William Cecil, patron of St. Clement's, of which pa-
 " rish the Savoy was an hospital, and by consent of him,
 " the master of the Savoy, and also by consent of the Par-
 " son of St. Clement's."

Wherefore, because that by his the Bishop's toleration,
 many of them resorted to hear divine service in his the
 master of the Savoy's house; the Bishop requested him by
 102 this his present letter, that upon Sunday next, at service
 and time convenient, the Minister should declare unto the
 said parochians of Strand, that after one month he would no
 more admit them to come to his church. And this also he
 required him to do; and to will them in the mean while to
 consult among themselves, to frame to some good order for
 the better leaving thereof. And that if they would, they
 might to the same end come with him, and with the Parson
 of St. Clement's, or Vicar of St. Martin's. And that the
 more willingly they conformed themselves to decent and law-
 ful order, the less need there would be to use any compul-
 sory means.

Bonner, late Bishop, writes to the Queen, excusing his swearing to her supremacy.
 Give me leave here to insert a passage of this Bishop's
 predecessor, of the same Christian name, but of nature and
 judgment infinitely differing. I mean Edmund Bonner, the
 late bloody Popish Bishop, now a prisoner in the King's
 Bench, for refusing of the oath of supremacy; mercifully,
 I may say, laid in there, to defend him from the rage of the
 people, whose fathers and mothers and relations he had
 cruelly caused to be imprisoned or to be burnt to death.
 Now, in the month of October, did he think fit to address a

letter in Latin to the Queen, with all the oratory he could; CHAP.
 to declare to her the reason why he could not comply with X.
 her law to swear to her supremacy; [though he had allowed Anno 1564.
 well of and sworn to the supremacy of the two former
 Kings.] And he who, when he was in his prosperity, had
 so little regard to conscience, but tyrannized over it, and re-
 jected the pleas of it, now pleads conscience mightily him-
 self. He writ, "that he would not detract any thing from
 " her Majesty's supreme power; but acknowledged and
 " contended, as was fit, it should be by all means preserved
 " and maintained. That the study of the Civil Law had
 " taught him, that it was a kind of sacrilege to judge other-
 " wise of a prince's actions, than the prince himself judgeth.
 " But if her Majesty should then demand of him, why he
 " refused to take the oath, he would render her this an-
 " swer; that an oath was then to be taken, when it might
 " be done without danger of eternal salvation; and when it
 " had its companions, viz. truth of conscience, judgment of
 " discretion or deliberation, and justice; that that which is
 " sworn be lawful and just. And that an oath is not to be
 " taken when it is not thus. And since it was written, that
 " an oath was not found out for a bond of iniquity; and
 " that *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, as the Apostle
 " testifieth; and that he that doth against his conscience
 " edifies to hell; and that it was certain her piety, however
 " others urged her, would not ensnare her subjects either
 " with mortal sin or perjury: he persuaded himself there-
 " fore in her virtue and lenity, that he in this action, being
 " led by an honest conscience, neither displeased God nor her
 " most excellent Majesty. And that she would so think
 " and speak of him, and interpret his doing, he humbly
 " and reverently beseeched her."

To his letter he also subjoined certain allegations out of
 St. Hierom and St. Augustin, in the case of princes com-
 manding things unlawful; that then they are not to be
 obeyed. This letter may be read in the Appendix.

Numb. X.

Thanksgiving in St. Paul's for the deliverance of Malta.

The Bishop deals again with his Clergy for conformity.

The Book of Advertisements. Bullinger writes to him concerning this matter; and he to Bullinger; and to Zanchy. Censures one of the Dutch Church. Beza sends him his Annotations.

Adviseth
with the
Secretary
about a
thanksgiv-
ing for the
success at
Malta.

THE Turks, with a great army, had long besieged Malta by sea and land; a place of great import, lying near Sicily and Italy, and was, as it were, the key of that part of Christendom. Therefore a form of prayer was used every Wednesday and Friday, in the city and diocese of London, for the deliverance of that place and those Christians. Now about the month of October joyful news was brought, that the Turks, with all their forces, were beaten off, and gone with great loss, shame, and confusion. This occasioned great joy and triumph in Christendom; and England joined with the rest in its resentments of this good news. The Archbishop had given the Secretary certain advertisements about it; as that it were convenient to turn their prayers now into praises, and that some public thanksgivings should be made to God in St. Paul's church; and that the Bishop of London should, against the next Lord's day, appoint an office to be used for that occasion. And of the same judgment was the Secretary. And so he wrote to our Bishop. But the grave man was not for doing it in such haste, for fear of some after-clap of news, which might clash with and confute the first tidings. He wrote therefore to the Secretary, "that it were good to defer it eight days longer. " And that for two causes. One was, that more certainty " of the matter might be known; which seemed, by the " advertisement he received, uncertain: urging prudently, " that it was less inconvenience to defer a week, than to be " hasty to make solemn gratulations, if the matter should " prove untrue, as it had been once in this very case of

“ Malta; and as in the birth of Queen Mary’s first son CHAP. XI.
 “ it heretofore appeared. The other cause was, for that
 “ nothing in so short a time could be devised and printed Anno 1563.
 “ for that purpose.” And this he sent by Mr. Watts, his
 chaplain; signifying withal, that if the Secretary devised
 otherwise with him, he would do what he could. But
 he ended, that he distrusted the news. This letter of
 the Bishop to the Secretary was dated October 12. But
 when afterward the truth of this victory was confirmed,
 then an Office was framed for this occasion: which as it be-
 gan at Paul’s, so it was used for six weeks, Wednesdays
 and Fridays, not only in London, but throughout the
 whole province of Canterbury, by the Archbishop’s di-
 rection.

Notwithstanding the Clergy of London had been the last 104
 year so spurred up to conformity, many of them were still The Arch-
 bishop calls
 upon him.
 backward towards it. Insomuch that the Archbishop warned
 the Bishop about this matter; and giving him notice of a
 session of the ecclesiastical commission at Lambeth, ad-
 vised him to be there; and the rather, in order to the
 dealing with some Ministers of his own diocese. And what
 our Bishop’s thoughts now were, and his disposition to pro-
 secute this business, I will give in his own words to the
 Metropolitan.

“ *Sal. in Christo.* Whereas your Grace putteth me in Writes to
 the Archbi-
 shop con-
 cerning re-
 ducing
 things to
 conformity
 in his dio-
 cese.
 “ remembrance for the state of my cure, I heartily thank
 “ your Grace. In very deed my purpose was, after this
 “ week ended, (wherein I take some physic for my health,) things to
 conformity
 in his dio-
 cese.
 “ to have prayed your Grace’s advice and aid for the same.
 “ For I must confess, that I can hardly reduce things to MSS. C. C.
 C. Vol. E.
 “ conformity, if I deal in it alone. On Friday afternoon, by
 “ God’s grace, I will attend: wishing that my Lords of pistol.
 “ Winton and Ely may be there. I suppose it best to
 “ have no appearance that day, but only to confer *de modo*
 “ *rei peragenda*. I wish your Chancellor present to direct
 “ us in matters of law. Wood the Scotchman is a factious
 “ fellow, as I shall declare to your Grace at my next coming.

BOOK "God keep your Grace. 13. Jan. 1566. [*anno ineunte*, as
I. "it seems.] Your Grace's in Christ,

Anno 1565.

"Edmund London."

The Bishop sits in commission at Lambeth. The Bishop soon after sitting in commission at Lambeth with the Archbishop, and the rest, all the London Ministers, who had been cited before, made now their personal appearance. And after some serious discourse with them, and exhortation, they were severally asked, whether they would conform themselves to the ecclesiastical orders prescribed. Sixty-one promised, thirty-seven denied. Who were forthwith sequestered, and suspended *ab officio*, and within three months after to be actually deprived, unless they would comply. Within that time many did: but some were deprived.

The Archbishop sends the Advertisements to the Bishop. The Archbishop now backed this attempt for conformity, by a book called the Book of Advertisements, which consisted of divers articles, which the Clergy should be bound to observe, by virtue of a letter from the Queen. These articles were, for their doctrine and preaching, for administration of prayers and sacraments, for certain orders in ecclesiastical policy, for outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical; with a protestation to be made, promised, and prescribed by the said persons, as not to preach without licence, to use sobriety in apparel according to order; and to observe and keep order and uniformity in all external policy, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as by laws and good usages were already provided and established. This Book of Advertisements the Archbishop sent to Bishop Grindal, that copies thereof might be dispersed and conveyed to all Bishops, to see them duly executed. And withal he required the said
105 Bishop to be diligent in punishing all recusants in his diocese by censures ecclesiastical, since they [the Bishops] had power and authority by act of Parliament to use them: And this the Archbishop required and charged him to do, as he would answer to God.

And excites him. The Archbishop thought fit now and then thus to call upon our Bishop, who was not forward to use extremities:

and because of this the Puritan party confided much in him; and gave out, that my Lord of London was their own, and all that he did was upon a force, and unwillingly, as they flattered themselves.

CHAP.
XI.

Anno 1566.

During the aforementioned suspension, divers churches were unserved; and great clamours were made. To supply which defect, the Bishop sent three or four of his chaplains to preach in those churches: and particularly he took order for the administration of the Sacrament on Palm-Sunday near at hand; though by reason partly of the rudeness of the people, and partly the neglect of the churchwardens, who had provided neither surplice nor bread, there were forced to be failures herein: but for the more careful supply of these vacancies at this time, both the Bishop and the Archbishop did consult; and where any churches after all were unsupplied, they allowed the parishioners thereof to resort elsewhere. They appointed one Minister to serve two churches, in the morning performing the Divine worship in one church, and in the afternoon in the other. In fine, by this care the cures were all in effect supplied; only there was a want of preachers; which the Bishop's own chaplains were not sufficient for. But whether it were our Bishop's indisposition in bodily health, or want of ability to go through with this matter, the Archbishop bore a great share in the burden: insomuch that he complained to the Secretary of State, that another man's charge was laid upon him.

The Bishop
takes care
of the
vacant
churches.

Nevertheless Bishop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Dissenters to be satisfied with what was enjoined. And among other means in order hereunto, he set forth now in print an excellent and right Christian letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief minister in Helvetia, sent to him and two other of the Bishops, viz. Horn, Bishop of Winton, and Parkhurst of Norwich, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the satisfaction of Sampson and Humfrey, two Oxford Divines, of great note there, the one Dean of Christ

Sets forth a
letter of
Bullinger,
to satisfy
such as
scrupled
conformity.

BOOK Church, and the other President of St. Magdalen's college.

I.

Anno 1566. The letter was writ with such a clearness of reason, such evidence from Scripture, and in such a fatherly, compassionate style, that it had a very good effect upon many that before were ready to leave their ministry; but having read it were satisfied.

Writes to Bullinger, concerning the separatists.

This I collect from a letter of Grindal to Bullinger, writ in August this year; the original whereof is still extant at Zurich, with many other from our Bishops in those times sent to the learned men there. In which letter the Bishop related, "how some ministers, as Sampson and Humfrey, continued incompilant, and that the Queen was highly offended with them: but that if they should comply, it were easy to reconcile them to her; but otherwise they, the
106 "Bishops, could prevail little with her to give them countenance: that many of the common sort had taken up resolutions to separate from the national Church, and had set up meetings distinct by themselves; but that now of late the greater part were come to a better mind: to which his [*i. e.* Bullinger's] letter had greatly contributed. He added, that when they [the Bishops] who had been exiles in Germany could not persuade the Queen and Parliament to remove these habits out of the Church, though they had long endeavoured it, by common consent they thought it best not to leave the Church for some rites, which were not many, nor in themselves wicked; especially since the purity of the Gospel remained safe and free to them. Nor had they to this present time repented themselves of this counsel: for their churches, God giving the increase, were augmented much, which otherwise had been preys to Lutherans and Semipapists."

And to Zanchy upon the same subject.

To this that I have said, I must add, that there is another excellent letter in my possession, of the said Bishop to Zanchy (besides those mentioned already) about the present controversy: which though writ some years after, *viz.* about 1571 or 1572, I think it not amiss to lay before the reader's eyes in this place, to illustrate the more what

we are now upon. Therein it appeared, that Zanchy had intended to send a letter to the Queen in behalf of these refusers, to entreat that she would not enforce the use of these rites. This intention of his he communicated to Grindal, with whom, as we have seen, he held a correspondence, requiring his advice thereupon; and, as it seems, sent his letter for her Majesty to him to deliver. To which Grindal, December the 18th, wrote him this answer, "That he would speedily consult with learned and godly men for their thoughts thereof." And accordingly soon after he applied himself to men of the best rank both for learning and godliness, and some of high quality: some whereof were in the highest place in the Church, and some Privy Counsellors: among whom we may conclude the Archbishop of Canterbury and Secretary Cecil to be two. And all these did unanimously conclude it best to present no letter to the Queen upon this argument.

CHAP.
XI.

Anno 1566.

Consults
upon Zanchy's letter
to the
Queen.

And when Zanchy had sent letters away to some other his friends here, with them also did the Bishop consult, either by letter or word of mouth; and he found them all of the same judgment. And they gave him their particular reasons for it. Some said, that Zanchy knew not thoroughly how the case betwixt both parties stood. And by some letters which the said learned man had writ to some of his friends, it appeared, that he perceived not the true state of the matter in controversy. Nor was the explication of it very easy, as our Bishop told him in a letter; and then proceeded to give him a brief account of the certainty, variety, and greatness of this business, and to fetch it from the very foundation, viz.

"That when the Queen began first to reign, the Popish religion being cast off, she reduced religion to that condition wherein it was while King Edward VI. was alive. And to this all the states of the kingdom with full consent gave their voices in the great council of the nation, 107 called *the Parliament*. That the authority of this council was so great, that the laws made therein could not by any

Acquaints
him fully
with the
matter in
contro-
versy.

BOOK “ means be dissolved, unless by the same that made them.

I.

“ That in that form of religion set up by King Edward, there
 Anno 1546. “ were some commands concerning the habits of Ministers,
 “ and some other things, which some good men desired
 “ might be abolished, or mended. But the authority of the
 “ law hindered them from doing any thing that way: yet
 “ the law allowed the Queen, with the counsel of some of
 “ the Bishops, to alter some things. But indeed nothing
 “ was either altered or diminished. That there was not a
 “ Bishop, as he knew of, but obeyed the rules prescribed,
 “ and gave example to others to do the same: and as the
 “ Bishops did, so did the other Ministers of the Church,
 “ learned and unlearned. And all seemed not unwillingly
 “ to yield and comply in the same opinion. But that after-
 “ wards, when there was a good and fast agreement in doc-
 “ trine, all the controversy arose from the discipline. Min-
 “ isters were required to wear commonly a long gown, a
 “ square cap, and a tippet coming over their necks, and
 “ hanging down almost to their heels. In the public pray-
 “ ers, and in every holy administration, they were to use a
 “ linen garment, called a *surplice*: that when some alleged,
 “ that by these, as by certain tokens, the Romish priests
 “ were distinguished from those that ministered the light
 “ of the Gospel; and said, that it was not lawful by such
 “ obedience to approve the hypocrisy of idolaters, or to de-
 “ file their ministry; a more moderate sort, though they
 “ would not be compelled to obey the prescribed rites, yet
 “ would not blame others that yielded obedience, nor
 “ esteemed the use of these things to be ungodly. But some
 “ there were that so defended that peculiar manner of cloth-
 “ ing, that without it, they contended that all holy things
 “ were in effect profaned, and that the ministry was de-
 “ prived of a great ornament, and the people of good in-
 “ struction: yet that the greatest part of the ecclesiastical
 “ order seemed to persist in this opinion, that however they
 “ thought these might be abolished, and very many desired
 “ it, yet when they placed more blame in leaving their

“ stations, than in taking the garments, they thought it
 “ better (as of two evils the less) to obey the command than
 “ to go out of their places. CHAP.
XI.

Anno 1566.

“ Divers things were objected against the administration
 “ of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and ecclesiastical or-
 “ ders, and the various officers of the Church. They con-
 “ tended for a *presbytery* to be set up in every Church by
 “ the prescript of the Apostles; and that the discipline of
 “ the Church was in all respects lame and corrupt: so
 “ that they seemed darkly to disperse such doubts of the
 “ Church, as though it were no Church at all: for where
 “ no discipline was, they said no Church was: but that
 “ when it came to this pass, it was cautioned by ecclesiasti-
 “ cal authority, that none should take upon him the min-
 “ istry of the Gospel, or retain it, who would not allow of
 “ the things before mentioned, and others comprehended in
 “ a certain book; and that nothing was contained in that
 “ book which was against the word of God; and to profess
 “ this under his hand subscribed.” In the Synod, anno
1571.

Grindal having thus shewn the reverend man the state
 of our Church in these times, added, “ That he did not this
 “ to occasion him to write to the Queen, as he had purposed
 “ to do; for the thing was uncertain how the Queen would
 “ take it from him: but he advised him rather to help these
 “ Churches some other ways. As in these respects follow-
 “ ing: the Bishops were to be excited to be means to the
 “ Queen to reform and redress offences that hindered the
 “ course of the Gospel; and that they should be gentle in
 “ exacting punishments upon their brethren and fellow
 “ members; especially those on whom lay the weight of
 “ conscience; and to be more propense to forbearance.”
 More to this purpose may be read in the Bishop’s letter.
 All the misery is, we have not the whole; for it is in some
 places defective. But all we have of it, as also the former
 letter to Bullinger, are preserved in the Appendix. Num. XI.
XII.

Somebody of the strangers’ church, and he as it seems
 one of their ministers, had been guilty of uncleanness, or Sends to the
church of
strangers

BOOK I. some other scandalous crime; which deserved the severest ecclesiastical censure. It was incumbent upon the Bishop Anno 1566. (who was their superintendent) to inflict it: but being minded for somewhat to be extracted out of their register, to proceed herein according to that Church's custom, privately sent a letter to Johannes Cognatus, i. e. Cousin, the chief minister of the French Church, dated October 12, 1566, to this tenor:

E. Bibli-
othec. Ec-
cles. Belgic.
Londini.

"*Oro ut cures, &c.* I pray you to transcribe for me a short account of what was done with Michael Angelo Florentinus, [Florio,] who was deposed from his ministry which he had in the Italian Church here at London in the reign of Edward VI. of happy memory, for deflowering a maid, as it was reported. I believe the book of those acts is with Mr. Gottofred Wing, and the elders of the Dutch Church. Write out also the short form of public penance which the same Michael underwent: but both by themselves in different sheets. I desire also that the same be signed underneath by the testimony of three or four of you; and to do this business as soon as conveniently you can. It will be best also, that not any thing in this matter be divulged. 12 Octob. 1566.

"*Tuus in Christo, E. London.*"

Cousin, according to the tenor of this letter, dealt with Wingius that he should send him the said book, or write out himself what the Bishop required. But Cousin, the same day, viz. October 12, wrote back to the Bishop, that they had searched, and could not find any such books; and that some of the elders thought that Martin Micronius had carried the books of Acts along with him to Embden, when the congregation brake up under Queen Mary.

109 We heard before, under the year 1560, of a Church of Spaniards set up in London. It was about this or the former year, that two of that nation, exiles for religion, named Franciscus Farias, and Nicolaus Molinus, who had been now eight years in England, made their humble application to our Bishop to be their friend and patron in a present danger

Two Span-
ish exiles
sue to the
Bishop.

that threatened them. The case was this: A certain man, an enemy to the Gospel, who had fled from Spain for certain causes, and now dwelt at London, that he might get into favour again with that King, framed some lying reports of them, and treated with the Spanish ambassador and the Governess of Flanders, to procure the King of Spain to have them delivered over and carried to Spain; and that he should command the Spanish inquisition to take information against them for certain great crimes. To which information was added another against a Spaniard that was a very ill man, (with whom they had nothing to do,) who had fled from Flanders for robbery and other misdemeanors; and dwelt now also in London: that King Philip should write to the Queen, that they (without any distinction) should be delivered to his ambassador, to send them to Spain. And the man who was the manifest malefactor in Flanders was put the first in rank with them; that so no doubt might be made concerning them, but that they were like him, or worse. But as to any just criminal accusation that could be brought against them, "they called God to witness, for whose sake," they said, "they suffered banishment, that no information could be brought against them, which, if true, would not redound rather to their commendation than dishonour." They added, "that more than six thousand crowns had been laid out by the inquisitors from the time of their departures, and of other pious Spaniards, from Spain, for inquiry after them. By reason whereof, no doubt need be made, but that false witnesses enough might be found: and so lay upon them all crimes whatsoever they had a mind to. Lastly, they earnestly prayed the Bishop, that they might by his means know whether there were any such informations brought to the Queen against them, as thereby to incur the danger of being delivered up to be sent to Spain: for if so, they would timely escape to some other country, where such calumnies might not take place." And no doubt the good Bishop espoused as much as he could so just a cause, remembering what an exile he himself once

CHAP.
XI.

Anno 1566.

PaperOffice.

BOOK I. was upon the same account. These Spaniards' letter therefore he sent to the Secretary, recommending thereby the
 Anno 1566. cognizance of their case to him. This letter I have exemplified in the Appendix, as containing some matters of remark: as, what hard and unjust methods were then used by the Pope's creatures to bring the professors of the Gospel into jeopardy: how liberal the Spanish inquisition now was of her money, to get into her clutches such as were out of her reach, and fled into foreign countries: what an harvest of men professing the truth there now were even in Spain, a country profoundly Popish; and what a seasonable harbour and retreat God made this nation for these and all other pious strangers.

110 And (that I may bring these things together, wherein our Bishop was concerned as superintendent of the foreigners' churches in London) it was in this year, or not far from it, that he expressed a particular act of his fatherly care for three members of the Dutch congregation; viz. two men and a woman: who going hence upon their lawful business into Flanders, were seized in their journey, and clapt up either in the inquisition or some other prison, on pretence of being persons that had left the Catholic faith; and hereby came into imminent danger of their lives, and whatever they had besides. The Bishop hearing thereof, speedily, within a month after, procured a letter to be writ to the officers and magistrates, that thus detained these honest people, from the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, (whereof he himself was a member,) dealing with them as effectually as they could to get these released. The letter was in Latin: the copy whereof I have seen in the Paper Office; inscribed on the back side by the good Bishop's own hand, "Copy of the letter sent into Flanders for the "prisoners of the Dutch Church." And it is therefore likely himself was the composer of it.

Letter to Flanders, in behalf of some of the Dutch Church, prisoners there.
 Writ by the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
 PaperOffice. They set forth in this letter, "that these good men "came (as they were credibly informed) quietly there "about their business; entering into no manner of dispute of religion with any, and so transgressing none

“ of the public laws of the country. That as to their faith, CHAP.
 “ they certainly knew them to be of sound faith in Christ XI.
 “ our Lord; for they did confess that he was very God of Anno 1566.
 “ very God, coeternal and coequal with his Father: and
 “ that he was true man, of the substance of man; namely,
 “ of the Virgin his mother; and that he was the only Me-
 “ diator, Priest, Prophet, King, and Saviour of mankind;
 “ and the only door of the sheep, which hear his voice;
 “ by whom whosoever entereth in shall be saved. Which
 “ faith of Christ, and the other heads of Christian religion,
 “ the foresaid brethren had publicly professed when they
 “ were with them; and had submitted themselves to all
 “ brotherly admonition and correction from the word of
 “ God, according to the Queen’s Majesty’s pleasure. That
 “ they were no vagabonds nor idle persons, but faith-
 “ ful subjects of this Church; and had lived here a great
 “ while without giving offence to any.

“ Wherefore they prayed them to accept this their testi-
 “ monial of these three persons, and to give them their li-
 “ berty, and to permit them to depart to their friends and
 “ affairs: since they, to whom the Queen had committed
 “ the chief authority in causes of religion, had hitherto no
 “ ways molested any of their countrymen in matters of re-
 “ ligion, behaving themselves quietly. But if those that
 “ professed our faith, and were members of our Church,
 “ were in this manner dealt withal in other countries, they
 “ should be compelled (which they desired not to do) to
 “ measure the same measure unto other nations. But they
 “ promised themselves otherwise from their equity. And in
 “ the conclusion, warning them to be far from shedding in-
 “ nocent blood, lest they themselves fall into the most severe
 “ judgment of the living God, into whose hands it was a
 “ fearful thing to fall; especially if they shed it after they 111
 “ knew the truth concerning these persons.” This memor-
 able letter of the Ecclesiastical Commission is fit to be pre-
 served, and may be read in the Appendix.

Num. XIV.

Now also it was, or near this time, that the King of Spain

BOOK
I.

Anno 1566.
The Bishop
sends for a
catalogue
of the mem-
bers of the
strangers'
church.

made complaint to the Queen of his subjects of the Low Countries that had fled over hither, and were harboured by her; and pretending many of them that professed religion to be obnoxious and criminals, and had fled from justice. Hereupon the Queen, to give satisfaction to that imperious Monarch, (whom she did not care to fall out with,) sent orders to our Bishop to take a diligent survey of these strangers, taking their names, and who were entered members of the Dutch Church in London, and held communion with it. The Bishop accordingly sent to the ministers and officers of the said Church: and they soon after sent to him a book signed by themselves, viz. by the hand of Gotfridus Wyngius, and the two other ministers, and the elders or overseers of the Church, containing the names alphabetically digested of such, as having been born, and lived in Flanders or Brabant, countries under King Philip, or more lately fled thence, were now of the Belgick-German Church, London, together with a character of their sobriety, amounting in all to the number of three hundred and ten. And because the seeing of the names of these may be acceptable to some more curious, (who from hence may judge of the stock and family of divers persons of good wealth or trade or reputation in England at this day, or for other reasons,) I have exemplified the catalogue from the original; and may be found in the Appendix. Many of these Protestant refugees in those times planted themselves in Southwark, for the conveniency of their trades and callings.

Reviews the
parts of
Nowell's
book a-
gainst
Dorman.

Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, this year set forth his second book against Dorman, in vindication of the Queen's proceedings in religion against the Papists; Dorman, an English fugitive, having in an English book, printed in the parts abroad, against Bishop Jewel, slandered the Reformation in divers matters. Every portion of this book, as the Dean wrote it, he sent to our Bishop, who diligently and carefully examined and perused each sheet; and more than that, he also took care that the Secretary should have a sight of the papers, that the book might be the more cor-

rect, conveying all the book by pieces from himself to the said Cecil, and particularly and especially he sent him a few leaves, which contained an answer to Calvin, by oversight, uncomely and untruly writing concerning King Henry VIII. and against the title of Supreme Head, whereof Dorman took advantage, and laid to our charge. This material part of Nowell's book the Secretary had not yet leisure to look over; but the Dean prayed him to oversee it, (sending it with the rest of his papers again written out,) and then he should have no cause to stay the printer (calling upon the author) for lack of intelligence of the said Secretary's judgment upon that part.

Not long before this time a Popish book came forth, entitled, A Treatise of the Cross. To which James Calfhil, a learned man of Christ's Church in Oxford, set forth an answer. This in this year 1566 was replied to by John Marshal, Bachelor of Law. Which reply being a tedious book in quarto was printed at Lovain. Wherein our Bishop for licensing Calfhil's book is mightily cried out against, as letting pass such and so many false doctrines, which must highly reflect upon the *New Church of England*, (as that author thought fit to style this Church then lately reformed,) and likewise upon the Superintendents of it, as he called the Bishops: for before his reply he has a tract which he calls, A Request to Mr. Grindal, and other Superintendents of the *New Church of England*; beginning thus: "Among other godly counsels of the Wise Man, this being one, that we should not believe all that is said, I thought it not convenient to believe the public fame, that reported unto us, that you, Mr. Grindal, did peruse the Answer made to the Treatise of the Cross, and allow all the doctrines contained in it, and privilege it to the print; lest for my light believing you might with the same Wise Man account me light of heart; I longing to hear whether the doctrines uttered in the same book be the doctrines of all the Church of England, &c." And then he did most earnestly require and challenge him, and all the rest of the Superintendents, (for he would not

CHAP.
XI.

Anno 1566.

en- 112

The Bishop
licenseth
a book of
Calfhil's
against
Marshal.

Marshal's
Request to
Mr. Grin-
dal.

BOOK I.
 Anno 1566. call them Bishops,) to give notice and signification by some pamphlet in print, whether it were the received and approved doctrine of all the *New Church* of England, able to be justified by the plain and undoubted word of God, and by the true and godly Fathers of the Church, and General Councils, within six hundred years after Christ; namely, certain positions which he had (perhaps maliciously and insincerely) drawn out of Calfhil's book. But the good Bishop had other work to do than to comply with such a picker of quarrels.

Beza sends
 his Annotations
 to the
 Bishop.

Theodore Beza, late assistant to Calvin, and now the chief Minister of Geneva, made a present this year to Bishop Grindal, of his Annotations upon the New Testament. And the same Reverend Father soon after sent him a letter, thanking him for the book, and withal, a gratification. What it was, I cannot tell; perhaps it was the Bishop's picture, or his ring; but Beza called it *longe maximum gratissimumque tui μνημόσυνον*, i. e. "a very great and "most acceptable remembrance of himself," which he would keep for his sake. The Bishop in his letter had much commended his Annotations as accurate and learned: but Beza modestly declined the praise, and added, that then they might seem such as the Bishop had charactered them, when they should be critically corrected by him, and such other learned men as he.

Beza presses
 to the Bishop
 subscription to
 a common
 confession
 of faith.

Beza took this opportunity earnestly to press the Bishop, that as the English Church, he made no doubt, agreed in doctrine with the Churches of France, the Church of Geneva, and other reformed Churches; all which the last year, together with those of Helvetia, subscribed a like confession of faith; he would also promote the same practice in England: and the like he wished to be done in Scotland: that so the Papists might have no reason to take advantage, or clamour against the Churches that had left the superstitions of Rome, as though they had no agreement in doctrine among themselves: and to break their councils, who depending upon multitude, rather than reason, laboured the destruction of the Churches: that when the opin-

ion and confident talk of the innumerable differences among the reformed should hereby be sufficiently confuted, many would be excited to embrace the true religion. He judged this a matter very proper for our Bishop, and the rest of his colleagues, to concern themselves about, and to recommend to the Queen as effectually as he could.

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XI.

Anno 1566.

In the next place he seemed to argue with the Bishop concerning the religious contentions on foot in England, having heard by certain letters sent hence both into France and Germany, concerning divers Ministers discharged their parishes, otherwise men of good lives and learning, by the Queen, the Bishops also consenting, because they refused to subscribe to certain new rites: and that the sum of the Queen's commands were, to admit again not only those garments, the signs of Baal's priests in Popery, but also certain rites, which also were degenerated into the worst superstitions; as the signing with the cross, kneeling in the Communion, and such like: and, which was still worse, that women should baptize, and that the Queen should have a power of superinducing other rites, and that all power should be given to the Bishop alone in ordering the matters of the Church; and no power, not so much as of complaining, to remain to the pastor of each Church. Thus it seems the noncompliers had represented the present condition of our Church to those abroad. That learned Divine, (as he signified to our Bishop,) upon these reports, writ back to his friends, that the Queen's Majesty, and many of the learned and religious Bishops, had promised far better things; and that a great many of these matters were, at least as it seemed to him, feigned by some evil-meaning men, and wrested some other way: but withal he beseeched the Bishop, that they two might confer a little together concerning these things. He knew, as he went on, there was a twofold opinion concerning the restoration of the Church: first, of some who thought nothing ought to be added to the apostolical simplicity; and so, that without exception whatsoever the Apostles did, ought to be done by us; and whatsoever the Church, that succeeded the

And argues
with him
concerning
the present
contentions.

BOOK I. Apostles, added to the first rites, were to be abolished at once: that on the other side there were some, who were of

Anno 1566. opinion, that certain ancient rites besides ought to be retained; partly as profitable and necessary, partly, if not necessary, yet to be tolerated for concord sake. Then did the foressaid reverend man proceed to shew at large, why he himself was of opinion with the former sort: and in fine, he said, that he had not yet learned by what right (whether one looks into God's word or the ancient canons) either the civil magistrate of himself might superinduce any new rites upon the Churches already constituted, or abrogate ancient ones; or that it was lawful for Bishops to appoint any new thing without the judgment and will of their presbytery. This letter was wrote the 5th of the calendar of July; that is, June the 27th.

Bez. Epist. 8.

To this the Bishop no doubt gave an answer, in all probability now perished and past recovery. But I have seen another large answer of his of the same subject, in effect, wrote by his own hand not long after, to another learned foreign Divine, viz. Hieronymus Zanchy; giving therein a true and impartial account of the appointment of these matters in this Church, in vindication of the proceedings here against the refusers of compliance. Which was mentioned at large before.

Beza writes again.

In the year 1568 Beza wrote again to our Bishop upon the same argument, lamenting the divisions caused hereby. Which we shall take notice of when we come so far.

CHAP. XII.

The Bishop's concern with some separatists; convented before him. Beza disliked them. The Bishop's advice about a Bishop of Armagh. Stops unlicensed preachers.

Two sorts of Puritans.

THE refusers of the orders of the Church (who by this time were commonly called Puritans) were grown now

into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peace-
able demeanour; who indeed would not use the habits, CHAP. XII.
nor subscribe to the ceremonies enjoined; as kneeling at Anno 1567.
the Sacrament, the Cross in Baptism, the ring in marriage;
but held to the Communion of the Church, and willingly
and devoutly joined with the common prayers. But another
sort there was, that disliked the whole constitution of the
Church lately reformed; charging upon it many gross re-
mainders of Popery, and that it was still full of corruptions
not to be borne with, and Antichristian; and especially the
habits which the Clergy were enjoined to use in their con-
versation and ministration. Insomuch that these latter The latter
sort sepa-
rate.
separated themselves into private assemblies, meeting to-
gether, not in churches, but in private houses, where they
had Ministers of their own. And at these meetings, reject-
ing wholly the Book of Common Prayer, they used a book Geneva
prayers used
by them.
of prayers framed at Geneva, for the congregation of English
exiles lately sojourning there. Which book had been over-
seen and allowed by Calvin, and the rest of his divines
there; and indeed was for the most part taken out of the
Geneva form. And at these clancular and separate con-
gregations, they had not only prayers and sermons, but the
Lord's Supper also sometimes administered. This gave
great offence to the Queen, thus openly to turn their backs
against that reformation which she so carefully had ordered
and established. And she issued out her letters to the Ec-
clesiastical Commissioners; to which letters were subscribed 115
the names of her Privy Council: which were in effect, that
they should move these Dissenters by gentle means to be con-
formable, or else for their first punishment to lose their free-
dom of the city, and after to abide what would follow.

Some of this sort had hired Plumbers' Hall, upon pre-
tence of keeping a wedding there, but in truth for a reli-
gious meeting. Here on the 19th of June about an hun-
dred persons met, but were disturbed by the sheriffs, and
about fourteen or fifteen of the chief of them taken, and
sent to the Compter for their disobedience. The next day
several of them were sent for, before the Lord Mayor, the The Bi-
shop's re-
proof of
them.
Bishop of London, and others the Queen's Commissioners.

BOOK Then the Bishop told them, " that they had shewed them-
1.

Anno 1567. " selves disorderly, in absenting from their parish churches,
Part of a " and the assemblies of other Christians, who quietly obeyed
Regist p. " the Queen's proceedings, and served God in such good
23. " order as the Queen and the rest, having authority and
" wisdom, had set forth and established by act of Parlia-
" ment. And not only so, but they had gathered together,
" and made assemblies, using prayers and preaching; yea,
" and ministering the Sacrament among themselves. And
" this they had done many times, and particularly but the
" day before. He then wished them to forbear for the fu-
" ture." And in fine produced the Queen's letters afore-
said. The Bishop took notice, how they pretended a wed-
ding, when they hired the said hall for no such purpose.
Which when one of them said, they did to save the woman
harmless who let it to them; the Bishop shewed them,
that by this evasion they were guilty of lying: which was
contrary to the admonition of the Apostle, *Let every man
speak truth with his neighbour.* And that they had hereby
put the poor woman to great blame; and that it was enough
for her to lose her office of being keeper of the said hall;
which was against the rule of charity.

He argues
with them.

Then the Bishop declared to them after a grave and
gentle manner, how that by thus severing themselves from
the society of other Christians, they condemned not only the
present members of the Church that held communion with it,
but also the whole state of the Church reformed in King
Edward's days; which he affirmed was well reformed ac-
cording to the word of God; yea, and that many good men
had shed their blood for the same: which their doings did
condemn. But one of them said, in the name of the rest,
that they condemned them not; but that they only stood to
the truth of God's word. The Bishop asked them more-
over, whether they had not the Gospel truly preached, and
the Sacraments administered accordingly; and whether
good order was not kept, although they differed from other
churches in ceremonies and indifferent things: which lay
in the Prince's power to command for order's sake?

Their plea.

Then the Bishop allowed them to speak, and asked one

of them that was the ancientest, named John Smith, what he could answer. Who said, that they thanked God for the reformation: and that what they desired was, that all might be according to God's word. When several others of them strove to speak, the Bishop commanded Smith to go on. Who proceeded thus; that as long as they might have the word freely preached, and the Sacraments administered without idolatrous gear about it, they never assembled together in houses; but when it came to this point, that all their preachers were displaced, that would not subscribe to the apparel and the law, so that they could hear none of them in any church by the space of seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale, [for none else, it seems, they would hear, because they wore the habits,] coming not to the parish churches, they began to bethink themselves what they had best to do: and remembering that there was a congregation in the City of London in Queen Mary's days, and a congregation also in Geneva of English exiles then, that used a book framed by them there, they resolved to meet privately together, and use the said book, [laying aside the Common Prayer Book wholly.] And finally, he in the name of the rest offered to yield, and to do penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the Bishop, and the Commissioners with him, could reprove that book, or any thing else that they held, by the word of God.

But when the Bishop still told them that this was no answer for their not going to church; Smith said, that he had as lief go to mass, as to some churches: and such was the parish church where he dwelt; and that he was a very Papist that officiated there. But the Bishop said, that they ought not to find fault with all for a few; and that they might go to other places: and particularly mentioned S. Lawrence, and Sampson and Lever; who preached in London, being dispensed with, though they wore not the habits, besides Coverdale. And when one of them mentioned some that were Priests in Queen Mary's days, and still officiated, the Bishop demanded, if they accused any of them of false doctrine. And one presently answered, he could: and

CHAP.
XII.

Anno 1557.

116

The Bi-
shop's an-
swer to
them;

BOOK 1. mentioned one Bedel, who then was present. But it was not thought convenient at that time to inquire further into that accusation, being not to the present purpose.

Anno 1567.

And the
Dean of
Westmin-
ster's.

But the Dean of Westminster, who was one of the Commission, told them, they would take away the authority of the Prince, (who might appoint the use of indifferent things in God's worship,) and the liberty of a Christian man, which was not bound up in such matters. And therefore, the Bishop added, they suffered justly. But one of them answered, that it lay not in the authority of a Prince, and the liberty of a Christian man, to use and to defend that which appertained to Papistry and idolatry, and the Pope's canon law. And when one of them charged the government, that the Pope's canon law and the will of the Prince had the first place, and was preferred before the word and ordinance of Christ, the Dean of Westminster observed how irreverently they spoke of the Prince, and that before the Magistrates. And the Bishop asked them, what was so preferred. To which another of them answered boldly, that which was upon his [the Bishop's] head and upon his back; their copes and surplices, their laws and Ministers. And when one of them urged, that the Prince and people both should obey the word of God; the Bishop gravely answered, that it was true in effect, that the Prince should and must obey the word of God only; but then, he said, he would shew them that this matter consisted in three points. The first was, that that which God commanded might not be left undone. The second, that that which God forbade might not be done. The third consisted in things which God neither commanded nor forbade. And they were of a middle sort, and were things indifferent. And in such things, he asserted, Princes had authority to order, or to command. Whereupon several of them cried tumultuously, *Prove that*, and, *Where find you that?* But the Bishop at this noise said, he had talked with many men, but never saw any behave themselves so unreverently before Magistrates. Then they urged, that surplices and copes, which the Bishop, they saw, intended to place in the third

rank, were superstitious and idolatrous; and demanded of him to prove that indifferent which was abominable. The Bishop said again, things not forbidden by God might be used for order and obedience sake. CHAP. XII.
Anno 1567.

Then he shewed the mind and judgment of a learned foreign Protestant, namely, Bullinger, chief Minister at Zurich in Switzerland, whom they themselves liked of. He read out of a book what that learned man's opinion was, to this effect, that it was not yet proved that those garments had their first original from Rome: and that though those in Helvetia used them not in their ministry, yet that those in England might lawfully use them, as things that had not yet been removed. But Smith said, he could perhaps shew Bullinger against Bullinger in that thing. The Bishop told him, he thought not: and said moreover, that all reformed churches differed in rites and ceremonies: and that they agreed with all reformed churches in substance of doctrine. To which one of them said, that they should follow the truth, and the best way: and that they [*viz.* who had an hand in the present establishment of religion] had brought the Gospel and Sacraments into bondage to the ceremonies of Antichrist, and defended idolatry and Papistry: and that there was no ordinance of Christ, but they had mingled their own inventions with it: instancing particularly in godfathers and godmothers in Baptism.

The Bishop knowing the reverence they had for the Church of Geneva, shewed how they communicated in wafer cakes, one of the things used then in the administration of the Sacrament, and which they were so much against. One said, they of Geneva did not compel so to receive. The Bishop said, Yes, in their parish churches. But another of their party put that off, by saying that the English congregation there did minister with loaf-bread. And another said, that it was good to follow the best example; and that they were to follow that Church of Geneva as that followed Christ. And the practice of the Church of Geneva.

At length the Dean of Westminster told them, all the learned men in Europe were against them. Smith said, Produces a letter from thence, disapproving their separation.

BOOK they revered the learned in Geneva, or in other places
 1. where they were; but they builded not their faith and reli-
 Anno 1567. gion upon them. The Bishop asked them, if they would be
 118 judged by the learned in Geneva, and said, that they were
 against them, and shewed them a letter that came from
 Geneva, wherein they appeared to be against them and their
 practices, in departing away, and separating themselves from
 the national Church; turning to a place wherein they wrote
 thus, that *against the Prince's and Bishops' will they should*
exercise their office, they [the Ministers of Geneva] *did much*
the more tremble at. "Mark," said the Bishop, "how he [*i. e.*
 "Beza, who wrote the epistle] saith *he trembled at their case.*"
 But one of them said, they knew the letter well enough,
 and that it made nothing against them; but rather against
 the Prince and Bishops; and that it meant they trembled
 at the Prince's and the Bishops' case, to proceed to such
 extremities against them, as to drive them against their
 wills to that which of itself was plain enough, [*i. e.* Popery
 and superstition,] though they would not utter them. Then
 the Bishop said, by these words they entered into judgment
 against them, [the Magistrates,] and shewed them, how that
 they of Geneva by this letter counted the apparel indif-
 ferent, and not impious and wicked in their own nature.
 And that therefore they counselled the preachers not to
 give over their function or flocks for these things. This
 letter is extant among Beza's epistles, and giving much
 light to this controversy, I thought it proper to lay it be-
 fore the reader in the Appendix.

Numb.
XVI.

Then one of them said, that before they compelled the
 ceremonies, so that none might preach or minister the Sa-
 craments without them, all was quiet: which was spoken
 to justify themselves for withdrawing. The Bishop then
 bade them see, how they were against indifferent things,
 which might be borne withal for order and obedience sake.
 At length one of them, named Hawkins, produced a passage
 out of Melancthon, upon the fourteenth chapter to the Ro-
 mans, in answer to something the Lord Mayor had spoken
 to them, *viz.* "that when the opinion of *holiness*, of *merit*,

A passage
of Melanc-
thon al-
luded by
them;

"of necessity, is put unto things indifferent, then they
 "darken the light of the Gospel, and ought by all means
 "to be taken away." To which the Bishop pertinently re-
 plied, that these matters whereof they were disputing were
 not commanded of necessity in the Church. But the same
 Hawkins rejoined, that they had made it a matter of neces-
 sity; and that many a poor man felt, [meaning, that had
 been discharged his living for noncompliance.]

CHAP.
XII.

Anno 1587.

Answered
by the Bi-
shop.

When the Bishop had occasionally said, he had said
 mass, and was sorry for it, one of them presently said taunt-
 ingly, that he went like one of the mass-priests still. To
 whom he gently said, that he wore a cope and a surplice in
 Paul's, yet had rather minister without these things, but
 for order sake, and obedience to the Queen. But they
 presently declaimed against them, calling them *conjuring*
garments of Popery, and garments that were *accursed*.
 But the Bishop asked them where they found them for-
 bidden? And where, said another of them, is the mass for-
 bidden? [as though where the one was forbidden, the other
 was]. The Bishop then shewed the mass forbidden in
 Scripture thus; that it was thought to be meritorious;
 that it took away free justification; that it was made an
 idol: and all idolatry was forbidden in Scripture. By the
 same argument one of them attempted to prove the gar-
 ments forbidden; because they brought the word of God
 into captivity to the Pope's garments and his canon law:
 and therefore they were idols.

They accuse
the Bishop
for wearing
the habits.

His answer.

When one of the hottest of them (Nixon by name) had
 compared the present Bishops to the Popish ones, who
 made the Mayor and Aldermen their butchers, (which irre-
 verent speech gave great offence,) the Bishop intending
 to declare how severely this reflected upon the Queen, by
 whose authority and commission they acted, he asked them,
 whether they had not a godly Prince, and challenged them
 to answer, if she were evil. But they replied, that the
 fruits shewed what she was; and that the servants of God
 were persecuted under her. And another applied the
 words of the Prophet, *How can they have understanding*

They mis-
call the
Mayor and
Aldermen.

BOOK *that work iniquity, spoiling my people, and that extol*
 I. *vanity?* This somewhat provoked the mild Bishop, that he
 Anno 1567. bade them forbear, and desired the Lord Mayor to take
 notice of it.

When some of the Commissioners had urged, that they held the reformation in King Edward's days, one of them said, they in King Edward's days never came so far as to make a law that none should preach or minister without these garments. The Bishop insisted again upon the innocency of them, shewing that St. Paul said, *to the clean all things were clean*; and that which others had evilly abused, we might use well, as not receiving them for any such purpose of holiness or religion. One of them said in answer, however they had received them, they had now exalted them, and brought the word of God into subjection to them.

They delivered a book of the order of their worship.

One of them related how he had delivered a book to Justice Harris, and which was the order they held, [it seems to have been the Geneva book,] and bade any of the Commission reprove the same by the word of God, and they would leave it, and give over. The Bishop said, they reprov'd it not; but for them to gather together disorderly, to trouble the common quiet of the realm, against the Prince's will, they liked not the holding of that. But they insisted, they held nothing that was not warranted by the word of God. This and divers other things were discoursed and argued *pro* and *con*. And in fine, these men treated the mild Bishop but rudely by their words and carriages towards him: insomuch that much notice was taken of it. And finding them so irreclaimable, it abated much of the favour which he was inclinable to shew them.

Beza liked not their behaviour.

Beza, the chief Minister of Geneva, otherwise a great favourer of this sort of men, liked not of their behaviour, and signified his disallowance of it in an epistle to this our Bishop, wherein he commended his lenity and his patience, as we shall see hereafter.

They highly slander the Bishop.

They were very severe upon him afterwards in their prints, by slandering of him in a most high manner. And

therefore it is the less wonder, that this mild and patient man was some years after provoked (observing also their unquiet dispositions) to express himself somewhat severely against them: which we shall have occasion to speak more at large of under the year 1569. But here fell in a matter of another nature, which I shall now proceed to declare.

The Archbishopric of Armagh in Ireland, the chief and highest spiritual dignity in that kingdom, was now void. Upon the sending of a fit man to fill that see, the well-being of religion there did mainly consist. Great friends and interest were made by some, to obtain this high spiritual dignity. Among the rest was Mr. Dorril, one, I think, of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, but corrupt in religion; though otherwise outwardly complying. He had been once complained of before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A certain Irish scholar, but a hearty friend to religion, and zealous towards his country, dreading Dorril's coming into Ireland in the quality of Primate there, applied himself to our Bishop to put a stay, if possible, to it: who forthwith writes a letter to the Secretary, and makes this Irishman the bearer. Therein he shewed the Secretary, that the bringer had made suit to him against the foresaid man, and that it was his opinion he would hinder the course of religion in that country. And the Bishop added, that he was himself of the same opinion, Dorril having been a person that had heretofore been convented before him, and other Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for sundry misdemeanors. And that therefore he knew him to be an unfit man for so high an office: and prayed the Secretary to talk a little with the bringer, and to hear him. The Bishop proceeded to give his advice in this spiritual matter; viz. that he, the Secretary, would be a means, that some learned man of grave and godly disposition might be placed there; who, by doctrine and good example, might win people to Christ. He recommended one person as well qualified, whom he had once before recommended; namely, Dr. Spenser, Parson of Hadly. But that if it pleased the Queen, the Archbishop might be sent to, to bill three or four grave men, out of

CHAP.
XII.

Anno 1567.

The Bishop
intercedes
for a good
Archbishop
to be sent
into Ire-
land.

PaperOffice.

BOOK I. which she might take her choice. Adding withal this
 Anno 1567. seasonable caution, that the men that sued for bishoprics,
 did in that declare themselves unmeet for the room. And
 so referred the whole matter to his further consideration.
 This letter was dated Nov. the 19th.

None to preach without licence. It was shewn before how some Ministers, who, for their refusal of conformity, were not permitted any longer to preach or officiate publicly, did notwithstanding take the liberty to do both, and that in private assemblies; whereby a breach was made in Christian Communion. For the better preventing of this, it was thought fit to permit none to preach in London, without licences taken forth from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London. And all the Ministers in the city, who had benefices therein, were enjoined by letters from the Bishop, not to suffer any unlicensed preachers to come into their pulpits. But what the full import and meaning of these letters were, may be seen by that which one Earl, Minister of St. Mildred's in Breadstreet, (who it seems often suffered these unlicensed men to preach,) received from the Bishop. Which was as follows :

The Bishop's letter to that intent.

MSS. Johan. D. Episc. Elien.

“ Whereas we understand that divers disordered persons,
 “ not regarding their due obedience to the Queen's Majesty
 “ and her laws, have heretofore, and yet do presume to
 “ preach in the city of London, not being thereunto li-
 “ censed, neither by the most Reverend Father in God,
 “ Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, nor me, the Bishop
 121 “ of London: notwithstanding also, that divers of the said
 “ unruly preachers have been by us, the Queen's Majesty's
 “ Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, expressly com-
 “ manded in her Highness's name, to forbear the office of
 “ preaching, until such time as they were thereunto licensed
 “ by ordinary authority: forasmuch as this contemptuous
 “ and licentious behaviour tendeth to a very evil example,
 “ and also may breed division and tumults among her
 “ Highness's subjects; which appeareth to be specially
 “ sought by these disobedient persons :

“ We have therefore thought good by these presents, in CHAP. XII.
 “ her Majesty’s name, straitly to charge and command you, Anno 1567.
 “ that from henceforth ye permit not any person to preach
 “ in your church, but such as shall have licence in writing
 “ from the said most Reverend Father, or me, the Bishop
 “ of London: and the same licence to be dated upon or
 “ since the first day of March, 1564. as you and every of
 “ you will answer to the contrary. And that forthwith,
 “ upon the receipt hereof, you cause a vestry to be had in
 “ the church, and then and there to give knowledge there-
 “ of among the rest of the parishioners. So as from time
 “ to time, at any alteration of churchwardens, they may
 “ have knowledge thereof; and the like charge given unto
 “ them. And hereof fail ye not. Given the 10th day of
 “ January. Your Friends,

“ Edm. London, D. Hughes.

“ D. Lewis, Tho. Yale.

“ Tho. Huycke.”

CHAP. XIII.

*Some Puritan Ministers go into Scotland. Inquiry after
 strangers affected with heresies or other crimes. The
 Bishop’s advice therein. Stow’s study searched for Po-
 pish books. The Bishop’s concern with Corranus the
 Spanish Preacher. The case of Geneva. Propositions
 set forth by the Dutch Church, London. Colleges in Ox-
 ford popishly affected. The Bishop interposes for the
 strangers.*

BY means of the Queen’s Commissioners and the Secre- Anno 1568.
 tary, the Puritans, that would not be brought to any con-
 formity here in England, had been encouraged to go and Puritan
 Ministers
 repair to
 Scotland to
 preach.
 preach the Gospel in Scotland; sending with them, as it
 seems, letters commendatory to the ruling men there. They
 went, but they were not long there. They liked not that

BOOK northern climate, but in May returned again: and being
 I. come home, they fell to holding their private assemblies,
 Anno 1568. and to pursue their former practices. This Bishop Grindal
 But come disliked of, and thought it advisable (and prayed the Se-
 home again. cretary to consider of it) to have them summoned before
 122 the Council again, to know their meaning, as they had been
 The Bi- formerly. One of these was called Evans, (thought to be
 shop's thoughts thereof. of more simplicity than the rest,) who reported that at
 Dunbar, on Good-Friday, he saw men going to the church
 barefooted and barelegged, and creeping to the cross;
 making that an argument for their coming back, which in-
 deed should rather have persuaded them to stay; viz. that
 by their better instruction of them, they might bring them
 off from those superstitions. But this occasioned these words
 of our Bishop to a friend of his; "If it be so, the Church
 "of Scotland will not be pure enough for our men." Add-
 ing, that they were a wilful company, praying God to
 grant them humble spirits.

The Bi-
 shop makes
 search for
 strangers,
 Anabap-
 tists.

Another part of our Bishop's labour was to guard the
 peace of the Church and the truth of religion from fo-
 reigners, (as well as homeborn,) who infected with Anabap-
 tistical and other odd opinions, (besides others guilty of
 great crimes,) had in considerable numbers, from time to
 time, conveyed themselves into England from other parts,
 out of a pretence of a liberty of professing the Gospel, and
 had their secret conventicles here: by which means many
 English people, in London especially, had been corrupted
 in their principles. The Bishop therefore got divers searches
 to be made, by order from above, for strangers of this
 leaven. And for the better effecting this, he drew up Articles
 of Inquiry into the reasons of their coming into England,
 and concerning their opinions. There were so many of
 these strangers in London, even upon the first coming of
 the Queen to the crown, that in her second year she was
 fain to issue out a proclamation for the discovery of them,
 and a command to transport themselves out of her domin-
 ions; or else to expect to be proceeded against according to
 laws ecclesiastical, or others. And again, some years after,

another search for strangers was made; and this year, 1568, CHAP.
XIII.
 a third: and this Grindal put Sir William Cecil upon. Anno 1568.
 And to direct him how to proceed, he sent him the Articles
 of Inquiry used in the former search for strangers, and a
 proclamation set forth in the second year of her Majesty's
 reign; which might minister occasion of matters to be
 thought upon at present: and by these he shewed the Se-
 cretary, that this was a thing that heretofore, and that from
 time to time, had been regarded.

The proclamation ran to this tenor: "The Queen's Ma-
 jesty understanding that of late time sundry persons, being The procla-
mation a-
gainst
them;
 infected with certayn dangerous and pernicious opinions,
 in matters of religion, contrary to the fayth of the Church
 of Chryst, as Anabaptists, and such lyke, are come from
 sundry parts beyond the seas into this her realme, and
 speciallye into the citie of London, and other maritime
 townes, under the colour and pretence of flying from per-
 secution against the professors of the Gospel of Chryst:
 whereby if remedy be not speedily provided, the Church
 of God in this realme shall susteyne great daunger of
 corruption, and sects to encrease contrary to the unitie of
 Chryst's Church here established.

"For redresse whereof, her Majestie, by advice of her
 Counsayle, having commanded the Archbishop of Can-
 terbury, Byshop of London, and other Byshops to see
 the parishes in London, and other places herewith sus-
 pected, to be severely visited, and all persons suspected
 to be openly tried and examined, touching such phanati-
 cal and heretical opinions; willeth and chargeth all man-
 ner of persons born eyther in forreigne parts, or in her
 Majesties dominions, that have conceived any manner of
 such heretical opinion as the Anabaptists do hold, and
 meaneth not by charitable teaching to be reconciled, to
 depart out of this realme within twenty days after this
 proclamation, upon payne of forfeiture of all their goods
 and cattelles, and to be imprisoned, and further punyshed,
 as by the laws eyther ecclesiastical or temporal in such
 case is provided.

BOOK
I.

“ And her Majesty also chargeth and commaundeth
 “ upon payne of imprisonment, that no Minister, nor other
 Anno 1568. “ person, make any conventicules or secret congregations,
 And forbidding all “ eyther to read, or to preache, or to minister the Sacra-
 secret con- “ ments, or to use any maner of divine service, but that
 gregations. “ they shall resort to open chappels or churches, and there
 “ to preach, teach, minister, or pray, according to the or-
 “ der of the Church of England, except it be in cases of
 “ sicknes, or where noblemen, and such others, that have
 “ in all former tymes been accustomed to have divine ser-
 “ vice said in their oratories within theyr houses, for divers
 “ necessary respects; upon pain that whatsoever persons
 “ or company shall make such secret conventicules, every
 “ person to be imprisoned without bayle or mainprize, un-
 “ tyl the coming of the Justice for delivery of the same
 “ gayls, and then to be punished by their directions.
 “ Yeven at our Castel of WyndSOR the xxii. day of Sep-
 “ tember, the seconde yere of our reigne, MDLX.”

The Articles
 of Inquiry
 for stran-
 gers.

The Articles of Inquiry were as follow :

Articles inquired of in the serche for the number of straungers within the city of London, and about the same, in the months of November and December last past, viz. anno Domini, 1567.

1. “ First, You shall inquire how many straungers and
 “ aliens, as well men, as women and children, are dwelling
 “ and resyent, or abiding within your several parishes; and
 “ of what nation they be.

2. “ *Item*, How long every of them have been dwellying
 “ or abyding there; and what the names of every of them
 “ are; and about what time every of them came first
 “ hither.

3. “ *Item*, Of what trade, lyving or occupation they be
 “ of; and how many of them are vehementlie suspected or
 “ defamed of any evil lyving, or to be setters forward, or
 “ favourers of any naughtie religion or sect.

124 4. “ *Item*, Whether they do resort to their parish

“ churches, to hear divine service, and to receive the Sacraments, as others of the parishioners do, or are bound to do. ”

CHAP.
XIII.

Anno 1568.

5. “ *Item*, How many of them absenteth themselves from theyr said several parish churches; and what their names be.

6. “ *Item*, How many of them resort to their churches appointed for strangers here in the city of London.”

Of the number of strangers, and of these Articles above-said, the Lords of the Council were certified in December last past.

To all this the Bishop added a remembrance of his own to the Secretary, for the more effectual prosecuting of this business in this year 1568. Which remembrance was in these words:

“ I wyshe that the conclusion of this order of straungers may be, that all such as shall be found culpable, or vehementlie suspected either of heresies or errors, or of other grievous crimes, as treasons, murders, felonies, or other such like, committed before their coming over into this realme; and also all others of the French and Dutch nation (those only excepted which are known merchants, and intend not continuallie to remain here) which adjoyne not themselves to the French or Dutch Church in London, or else, understanding our language, do not orderly resort to the parish church where they dwell, shall be commanded to depart the realme within twentie days next after warning given to them by the Archbishop or Mayor, &c.”

The Bishop's remembrance concerning them.

The issue of this was, that the list of the names of all the Dutch and other nations was carefully taken throughout every ward in London, with their trades and occupations, and how long they had been come over, and to what churches they resorted. And this when finished was brought to the Bishop, and by him sent up to the Secretary's office. What further followed in this matter I am not able to relate.

A list brought in of strangers.

BOOK
I.

Anno 1668.
Stow the
historian's
books seiz-
ed by the
Bishop's
order.

Now also it seems an eye was had to another sort of men in the city, namely, Papists, especially such as kept in their possession Popish books and superstitious writings. And particularly notice was taken of John Stow, tailor, the same that was the laborious collector of the Historical Antiquities of London and England. The Lords of the Council had heard of him, how he had been a great collector of this sort of books, under the pretence of making collections for his History, being, I conclude, complained of by some to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: wherefore in the month of February, the Privy Council sent their letters to our Bishop, to send to search his house, and to examine his books, and to seize all books of that nature. Mr. Wattes, Archdeacon of London, and the Bishop's Chaplain went, in whose company also went Bedle, Clerk to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, and one Williams another Divine. After they had made their search, and perused all his books, the same day, being February 21, Wattes gave account
125 thereof to the Bishop. And that he had a great sort of foolish fabulous books of old print, as of Sir Degory Tryamour, &c. a great parcel also of old written English chronicles, both in parchment and in paper, some long, some short: that he had besides, as it were, *miscellanea* of divers sorts, both touching physic, surgery, and herbs, with medicines of experience: also certain old fantastical Popish books, printed in the old time, with many such, all written in old English, in parchment. These they omitted taking any inventory of. But of another sort they did, namely, of such books as had been lately set forth in the realm, or beyond sea, for defence of Papistry, with a note of some of his own devices and writings, touching such matter as he had gathered for chronicles; whereabout, as Mr. Wattes signified to the Bishop, he seemed to have bestowed much travail. But his books, he said, declared him to be a great fautor of Papistry.

Upon this, a day or two after, the Bishop sent his letters to the Council, with the list that was taken of the books; and withal sent this to the Secretary.

“ Sir, I have enclosed in my letters to my LL. of the CHAP.
 “ Council, sent herewith, a catalogue of Stow the tailor his XIII.
 “ unlawful books, taken by my Chaplain Mr. Wattes. And Anno 1568.
 “ that ye may the better understand the disposition of the
 “ said Stow, I send you enclosed herein Mr. Wattes his let-
 “ ter to me, concerning him and his books.”

Which letter was, in effect, mentioned before by me. The catalogue of his books may, perhaps, be acceptable to some, and therefore I have exemplified it in the Appendix. Num. XVII.

There was now in London one Corranus, a Spaniard, Corranus, the Spanish Preacher. and native of Seville, preacher to an assembly of Spanish Protestants, though he himself was a member of the Italian congregation, to which one Hieronymus was preacher. This Corranus was a man of good learning, (as Grindal testified of him,) but of an hasty and somewhat contentious spirit. A contest this year arose between this man and Hieronymus; the occasion whereof seemed in part to be this. Corranus of late had caused a table, entitled *De Operibus Dei*, wrote by him in French, to be printed in Norwich, not offering the same to be examined here before it was printed. But the Minister and seniors of the Italian Church had disliked certain doctrines contained in the said table, wavering, as it seems, somewhat from the opinions of Calvin; and therefore they had admonished Corranus to answer the same before them. Thus much Hieronymus the Italian Called in question for his doctrine. Preacher had told Grindal. The French Church also before this had contested with him, and many high words had passed between them. Hereupon sprang up a great dissension between the said Spaniard, and Cousin the French Preacher, and the elders of that Church: for they gave him no countenance, but required his revocation of his principles, and submission. But Corranus thought himself injured by the Minister and some of the elders, and refused ¹²⁶ them. And his next appeal was to Geneva, and the Church Appeals to Geneva. there; and wrote no less than seven letters to Beza, together with an apology, relating his own case, and foully ac-

BOOK I. cusing not only the French Minister Cousin, and divers of the members of that Church, but the whole bench
Anno 1568. of elders; nay, and the very Churches of Xantoign in France.

Beza refers the business to the Bishop of London.

Beza did not like the hot accusing spirit of this Spaniard, nor did he think fit to take the deciding of the case to himself; but in the beginning of March laid the business open to the Bishop of London, and withal sends him Corranus's letters. Beza acknowledged to the Bishop, that if the Ministers were such as he had represented them, they were not only (in his judgment) unworthy of the sacred ministry, but deserved severe punishment to be inflicted on them. For Corranus had charged them to be slanderers, suborners of witnesses, dealers in falsehood, and endued with the spirit of Cain. All, as the Bishop might see, in Corranus's writings sent to him the said Beza: besides many shifts and bitter reproaches uttered against some whom Beza knew to be honest men. But that the learned man made no great matter of, knowing it to be the temper of his countrymen the Spaniards.

To whom Beza writes about the matter.

One Galasius, a Minister, as it seems, or a person of reputation of Geneva, sojourning at London, happened to come to Geneva at this time; from whom Beza learned the whole matter. And this very Galasius was one of those Corranus had found fault with. Both he and Beza did now, after deliberation, agree in this, that the matter should be wholly referred to Bishop Grindal: and so Beza wrote to him, God having appointed him there a watchman and judge; leaving therefore the whole controversy to him, according to his prudence to consider and make an end of. And so sent the Bishop the letter, which he had upon this occasion wrote to Corranus in a packet, open for him to make use of, according as he judged expedient: for he thought it not convenient to do as Corranus had desired; which was, to lay the case open before the whole Church of Geneva, that he might spare both Corranus himself, and the French Church also in London. But he added, "that

" it extremely grieved him, that that Church, which even CHAP. XIII.
 " necessity compelled to cherish mutual concord, was vexed
 " so often with differences; which must needs cause great Anno 1568.
 " offences, and create especially much trouble to him, the The French Church in London.
 " Bishop; who ought rather to receive comfort and joy
 " from them, on whom he had heaped so many and so
 " great benefits. But these that reverend man accounted,
 " as he said, Satan's arts, to hinder or overthrow the Lord's
 " building, and the unanimous consent of the people in the
 " confession of one religion. Thus, as he added, it was but
 " a few years past, that that spiritual adversary scattered
 " the poor French Churches at Wesel, Frankfort, and
 " Argentine; making use of those very men to do it, by
 " whose means they had been before built up. He further
 " shewed the Bishop, that himself was not ignorant by
 " what arts the same enemy had laboured the same thing
 " among the English, in the time wherein they were
 " dispersed abroad, to make them hateful to all.

" But as for this Church at London, gathered together 127
 " chiefly under God, by the favour and assistance of the
 " Bishop, that great equity and prudence, he said, where-
 " with he was endued, caused him to hope for the best
 " things from him; and that this tempest would so season-
 " ably be scattered, he sitting at the helm, that that little
 " ship might not be dashed against this rock: for the accom-
 " plishing of which, he doubted not but God would supply
 " him with seasonable counsels. And lastly, for his further
 " assistance in this good work, Beza recommended to his
 " perusal the letters that he had sent to both the contend-
 " ing parties; whereby he might take cognizance of the
 " whole matter." What further proceedings this business
 had, we shall relate when we come to the next year.

In this correspondence, Beza acquainted the Bishop with Beza ac-
quaints him
with the
state of Ge-
neva.
 the present estate of their city; and that there had been a
 plague amongst them for eight months, but favourably,
 not above four hundred dying, and they persons but of the
 meanest rank. That they had, by the singular grace of
 God, restored and set up their school, and that with con-

BOOK I. considerable improvement and increase. But that the city did

Anno 1568. abound with such a number of miserable exiles, that it was incredible so many could be contained in so small a place: and that had not the Churches of Helvetia, by their large beneficence, assisted their treasury, they had not been able to have undergone the charge. And this, as he told the Bishop, he signified to him, because he persuaded himself it would be pleasing to him and all good men to hear; and that though Christ were so afflicted in the French Churches in those parts, yet with the English nation he found safe harbour, and a quiet station open to him in the very jaws of the lion, [he meant in respect of France, that was so near, where the persecution was very hot.] In fine, he hoped that the Bishop, knowing the state of their affairs, would earnestly commend that little city and school to God; which hitherto, by the Divine help alone, had not been afraid of the menaces of all the world. And that they in like manner would offer up their prayers to God in behalf of England, to defend it from Antichrist, now a second time so mightily delivered from him.

The Bishop makes a contribution for the persecuted Protestants. In this sad condition stood the Protestant interest at this time in France, the professors of the Gospel unreasonably oppressed by their King; former leagues of peace, and liberty of their religion, faithlessly dissolved and violated by him. The Queen being thoroughly affected with their case espoused them, and sent over to them both money and ammunition. And perhaps the aforementioned letter of Beza to our Bishop made an impression upon him; that he be- thought himself, how Geneva also might be relieved, whither such great numbers of these French Protestants were fled, to the overburdening of that city; for I find him in the month of August contriving a way for a benevolence from his Clergy; which seems to be for Geneva. He acquainted Cecil, the Queen's Secretary, with what he had devised; in what manner, and after what proportion to make the collection: which when he understood to be approved by him, he expressed his gladness that he did not mislike his labour. However some, not well affected undoubtedly

to this cause, threatened the Bishop with a *premunire*, as laying a charge upon the Clergy without authority from the Queen. But he was not discouraged in so good an enterprise: and advised the Secretary, that if the matter should be general, and recommended to the Clergy of the whole province, that then it might pass by some exhortation from the Archbishop.

CHAP.
XIII.

Anno 1569.

The vines at Fulham were of that goodness and perfection beyond others, that the grapes were very acceptable to the Queen: and as the Bishop had accustomed to do, so now the time came on to present her Majesty with some of his grapes, which he hinted to the Secretary now the last day of August but one; and that by the end of the next week she should have the first fruits thereof. If this be too minute a matter to relate, let the reader pass it over.

The grapes
at Fulham.

This year (as before the seeds were sown) arose great differences among the members of the Dutch congregation in London, upon several things; whereof one of the chief was about godfathers and godmothers; which many of the Church would have had to be laid aside: but it having been the custom of that Church, the ministers and officers stood for continuance of it. Many means were used in their consistory for the quelling and pacifying of these disturbances, but to little purpose: so that at last they framed certain *theological propositions*, taken out of the Scriptures, shewing that obedience that is due in matters of controversy about indifferent things, from the particular members of a church to the governors thereof. And for the gaining the more authority to these their Propositions, they sent them by certain messengers to the Church of Geneva, whereof Beza was then chief, for their judgment and allowance of them: who did well approve of them, under the hands of the said Beza, and divers others of the eminentest rank in that as well as in the neighbouring churches, in a letter written in the month of June.

Differences
in the
strangers'
Church.

Their Pro-
positions
approved
by Beza
and his
Church.

Which when the Church here had received, they shewed them unto Grindal, Bishop of London, their Superintendent; and he encouraged them to make them public; which

By the Bi-
shop's al-
lowance
they make
them pub-
lic:

BOOK they accordingly did in Latin, and in their Dutch language
I. too; and because these Propositions might serve also
Anno 1568. to satisfy those of the English Church in these days, that
scrupled submission in the ecclesiastical appointments about
the ceremonies. They were printed by Jugg, printer to the
Queen's Majesty, in Latin and English. But that I may
give some account thereof: there was a preface to the
reader from the Dutch Church, which related the reason
And why. for the publishing hereof, to this purpose. "That where-
"as it was well known to all men, almost in all places,
"that there had been divers controversies stirred up in
"their congregation gathered together in London, con-
"cerning certain ceremonies, and external policy of the
"Church; and namely, touching the witnesses, or god-
"fathers, in baptism of infants, a ceremony always used in
"that Church; which controversies afterwards brought
"forth great and long contention, not without great of-
"fence of the godly in every place:

"They, the Ministers of the said Church, after they
"had used divers means for that purpose, and divers con-
129 "sultations both among themselves, and with certain godly
"ministers of other churches, found out or knew no bet-
"ter way to remedy this evil, than if they gathered toge-
"ther out of the very foundations of holy Scripture, and
"digested into certain propositions and articles, the princi-
"pal grounds of their doctrine, which they had always
"taught in handling the foresaid controversies; the igno-
"rance whereof had been the occasion of all that stir be-
"tween them and other men.

"And that those articles, having been sent unto that
"notable congregation of Geneva, and other reformed
"Churches of God, that they might not only approve them
"as agreeable to the doctrine which they professed at
"home, but also might, by changing, adding, or de-
"tracting, correct them, and make them more plain, ac-
"ording to their godly wisdoms; by this means might
"be unto them and their Church (which hitherto had
"peaceably continued under their ministry) a public tes-

"timony: and that they might also serve to all other CHAP.

"Churches, either of their nation or language, or to any XIII.

"other private man, which by any means were in mislik- Anno 1568.

"ing with them on this account, as a remedy to unity,

"truth, and Christian concord, to the common building up

"of God's Church.

"And because their foresaid articles were, according to
 "their earnest desire, not only approved, but also returned
 "unto their hands very plainly and clearly set forth, they
 "would not bereave God's Church (unto the which they
 "owed themselves and all their labours) of them, but
 "according to their Superintendent, the Reverend Lord
 "Bishop of London, his counsel, faithfully set them forth,
 "drawn out of the very copies of the forenamed Church
 "of Geneva: wherefore they beseeched all ministers of
 "churches, and especially of their nature and tongue,
 "and generally all manner of men, whosoever they were,
 "which by reason of their former dissension had found
 "any lack in them, that they would diligently read over
 "those Articles, and advisedly mark them, and maintain
 "and defend, with them, the doctrine in them contained;
 "which they had there advouched, by the public subscrip-
 "tion of certain reformed Churches of God, to the com-
 "mon utility of the Church, and the advancing of their
 "common salvation.

"And in case they had here any matter against them;
 "to wit, as they had often and openly of their own accord
 "professed before the congregation, that in prosecuting
 "this controversy, they had shewed the imperfection of
 "men, or in some place or other had passed the bounds of
 "foresight, gentleness, or patience, by any means, they
 "would herein pardon them even for Christ's sake. And
 "so praying, that God, the author of all peace, would di-
 "rect all their hearts, &c. Written at London, in the con-
 "sistory of the Dutch Church, the 18th of Sept. 1568.

"Subscribed, *The Ministers and Elders of the Dutch
 "Church of Christ, at London.*"

BOOK The Church of Geneva sent these Articles abovesaid, by
I. them allowed and corrected, enclosed in a letter, super-
Anno 1568. scribed, " To the godly servants of Christ, the pastors and
130 " seniors of the Dutch Church in London, our reverend
The Church " brethren and fellow-ministers in the Lord, grace and
of Geneva, " peace from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our
to the " Lord. Amen." And it ran to this tenor:
Dutch " That as it was grievous unto them to understand with
Church in " what and how great discord the Church committed
London, " to their charge was troubled; so it was pleasant unto
when they " them to hear, that they not only did their endeavour to
returned " establish peace and concord, but took that advice to bring
them the " the same to pass, which they judged most profitable and
Proposi- " necessary. For whereas the Church was engendered of
tions. " the word of God, as it were of certain seed, and was not
" nourished of any other nutriment than that; they [of
" the Dutch Church] seemed to have judged very well,
" that controversies already begun might be assuaged;
" and such as perchance hereafter should arise could be
" stopped by no other means than by wholesome doctrines
" once established. Wherefore they [of the Church of Ge-
" neva] gladly read over and considered their Propositions,
" written concerning Christian liberty, and certain other
" questions annexed to it; as of the lawful use of indiffer-
" ent things, and finally, of the bounds of ecclesiastical and
" civil jurisdiction. What their opinion hereof was, since
" they [of the Dutch congregation] so earnestly required it
" of them, (who otherwise would never have intermeddled
" their judgment herein; insomuch that they had thought
" good to send certain brethren unto them, touching this
" matter,) they could not but satisfy their desires. There-
" fore they made answer, that they generally allowed the
" Dutch Church's doctrine, comprised in the said Proposi-
" tions, as agreeable to the word of God, and to the writings
" of godly authors. And for this their consent, with the
" holy Church, they rejoiced with them in the Lord.
" Wherein they also most earnestly beseeched them [of the

"Dutch congregation] constantly to persevere unto the
"end. CHAP.
XIII.

"Notwithstanding thus much, according to the pre- Anno 1568.
"gative which they had granted to them, [at Geneva,] they
"freely and simply confessed unto them, that they found
"want of perspicuity in certain points, which they knew
"very well to be required in such aphorisms. There were
"also some things that seemed somewhat hardly expressed,
"others too briefly, and some things not set in their due
"place. And to be short, they wished that some things
"had been pretermitted; as they thought good to declare
"particularly, that afterwards they might determine on the
"whole matter, as the Spirit of God should direct them."

Then followed the Articles which the Dutch congregation
had sent to Geneva, together with that Church's observations
and corrections upon each. And then lastly, for the conclu-
sion, "they wished some good fruit to redound from the
"whole, to the edifying of their Church [in London] by this
"small pains of theirs: and so recommended themselves to
"their prayers. Dated at Geneva, 25. June, 1568. in their 131
"general congregation of brethren, gathered together out
"of the city and country."

Subscribed by

Theodore Beza,	Petrus Carpenterius,
Remondus Calvetus,	Johannes de Pleuvre,
Nicolaus Coladonius,	Johan. Perrilius,
Johannes Tremulæus,	Lodovicus Henricus,
Johannes Pinaldus,	Johannes Serranus,
Gasparus Favergius,	Antonius Calvus,
Car. Perottus,	Simon Goulartius,
Egidius Chaussæus,	Johan. Jacomotus,
Cornelius Bertrandus,	Abednago Duplæus.
Franciscus Portus,	

Hereunto also subscribed the Churches of Bern,
Lausannia, Tigur, and Heidelberg.

The principal matters contained in this book of Articles The sum of
these Propo-
sitions.

BOOK (thus approved by these eminent foreign reformed churches)

I.

Anno 1568. may be worth setting down in this place; *viz.* What was the Christian liberty. How this liberty was transgressed. Of private men's judgments in matters indifferent. Of conscience. Things indifferent. Ceremonial laws. The use of things indifferent in general. The use of things indifferent in special. Circumstances in things indifferent be diverse. To forbid or command things indifferent, except for notable causes, do offend: also, they that rashly judge other men's consciences herein. Christian liberty is not to be prejudiced generally, but by circumstances. They are to be reprov'd who wound weak consciences in things indifferent. Constitutions are; some universal, and some particular. What the Church is; sometimes manifest, sometimes obscure. Every man must join himself to some particular Church, being visible. No superiority in particular Churches. Synods for to decide controversies. Schisms and apostasy from the Church to be avoided. The lawful Ministers and elders represent the Church. Let no man trouble the congregation, but ask counsel of the Pastors. No law to be made, but according to the word, profitable and necessary. Such as resist godly laws, and conspire against God's Ministers, are enemies to the Church. How far the authority and duty of the Ministers and elders of Christ's Church is extended. What excommunication is; and for whom of Christ ordained. All matters of injury to be prosecuted charitably, and with modesty. Excommunicate persons not to be received into the congregation before manifest proof of their unfeigned repentance. Civil magistrates be of God, and to what end of him ordained. Civil ordinances made by civil magistrates are to be obeyed. The godly magistrate, and also the wicked, be God's instruments; the one a blessing, the other a scourge. It belongeth to the civil magistrate to defend the Church of Christ. Every man in his vocation ought to live as a subject: and what to be done in case of oppression and tyranny. Manifest and notorious crimes, (of the inferior magistrate,) only to be punished by the Prince. And herein all pri-

vate men, and others, are rather to suffer wrong, than to rebel. CHAP. XIII.

These were the contents of these Articles, or Propositions. Anno 1568.
But in compliance to such as may be desirous to see them at length, I have inserted them in the Appendix, being No. XVIII. somewhat rare otherwise to be met withal in English. They 132
are printed indeed in Latin, in Beza's Epistles, with his corrections and observations. They were in number thirty-two. And after some corrections and explanations, being approved by the Church of Geneva, and the other foreign Churches, (to which the Dissenters pretended to give great deference,) it was thought convenient by the Bishop of London, with the advice, as it seems, of other the Queen's Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, to have them put into English, and printed, to instruct them and all people in peace, and submission to the government under which they lived, in indifferent matters controverted in the Church.

These Articles I find Williams Bishop of Lincoln (afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord Keeper) making mention of, saying, they were approved by Beza, and divers others. Holy Table, p. 36.

I have one thing more to add of these Articles of the strangers' church in London: that whereas the one and thirtieth article gave some colour for inferior magistrates to resist the highest in some extraordinary cases, Beza and the Church of Geneva thought fit to declare their dissent there-to; as may be seen in his observations upon that article in his epistle to them. And in the next year, viz. 1569, I find a long letter in French, wrote to John Cousin, [or Cognatus,] (who was one of the Ministers of the French strangers' church,) by some learned man, upon this argument; Whether it be lawful to take up arms against the supreme Magistrate? and the resolution of this Frenchman, whoever he were, makes it not lawful for any cause to do so: wrote perhaps in satisfaction of this Cousin. The letter began, *Monsieur, mon compaignon, j'ay esté joyeux, &c.* A note concerning the thirty-first article.

Lastly, in the year following, the foresaid thirty-first article being so tender a point, and some controversy still

Cotton. librar. Faust. C. 9.
Bishop Sandys's four articles explanatory of

BOOK remaining about it, Sandys, now Bishop of London, (Grindal being removed to York,) ended this difference, and

I.

Anno 1568.

the proposition, about submission to governors.

Theschiedenissen: a MS. in the Dutch Church library.

caused the following Articles, as explanatory of it, to be signed December 18, 1570; viz.

I. That it doth not belong to the common people, without the authority of the Magistrate, to prevent or to change the public abuses of the Church.

II. That if any one by the impulse of the Holy Ghost should do some act like that of Phinehas, and other such which we read of, we do not condemn it: but on the other hand, we deny that such extraordinary examples may be made use of, as a common rule to follow.

III. The ungodly, and Papists, who are Magistrates, must be owned by the godly for their superiors, and acknowledged as such: and must, if it be required of them, make confession of their faith. And,

133 IV. It is not permitted to the godly, who are put into fetters and imprisonment by the supreme power, upon account of religion, to break prison by violence, or by any other means, which are contrary to the laws, to deliver themselves, or to release others by the like means.

This was the rather now added, to declare against a late practice of many of the common people in Flanders, who had committed great outrages there, in pulling down images, and ransacking the Popish churches, and were guilty of many such misdemeanors, on pretence of reforming religion.

Popery in Oxon.

Complaints came up this year concerning the prevalency of Popery in Oxford; and particularly in Corpus Christi, and the New College, and that of Winchester appertaining to it. Wherein were strong parties of such as inclined that way. As for Corpus Christi, the Queen appointed one Cole, a learned and a good man, once an exile, to be President there. But the college would not admit him, and elected another, named Harrison, who had before left the college out of an affectation to the Popish religion. Inso-much that the Bishop of Winchester, the Visitor of that college, was fain to institute a visitation, and placed the

Corpus Christi college visited.

said Cole by force in the said presidentship, breaking open the gates of the house which they had shut against him. And when the said Bishop had made some progress in visiting the house, in order to the purging it of some of the worst affected Fellows, they were so refractory and abusive, that the visiting Bishop sent a letter to Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing that it was his judgment, that the irregularities of this college, as likewise of New College and Winchester, would be better remedied by the Ecclesiastical Commission than his private visitation. The Archbishop signified this to the Bishop of London, and withal sent him Winchester's letter. He considering the stubbornness of these University men, approved of the counsel of bringing them before the Commission, perceiving well what seminaries of irreligion and disobedience they might prove: and sending the letter back again, he wrote his mind at the bottom briefly in these words, "My Lords, I like this letter very well, and think as the writer, if by some extraordinary ready [means] that house and school be not purged, those godly foundations shall be but a nursery of adder's brood, to poison the Church of Christ."

CHAP.
XIII.

Anno 1568.

The Bishop advises taking cognizance in the Commission, of some men of that University.

"Edm. London."

We must turn our eyes once more this year to the strangers inhabiting in London. About the month of December, Duke D'Alva, Governor of the Netherlands, had unjustly seized the goods and effects of the English residing in those countries, and had made them prisoners: the reason whereof was, because the Queen had detained some monies conveyed by land from Plymouth, by borrowing it for a time, which that Duke pretended did belong to the King of Spain, but in truth did not so, but to certain Italian merchants. The Queen, in vindication of her subjects, the merchants, thus misused, commanded the goods and ships of such Netherlands, as lived and traded in England, in like manner to be arrested. Of these Netherlands, 134 subjects of the King of Spain, there were great numbers now in London: most whereof were such as fled over

The Protestant strangers' ill condition.

BOOK hither from the tyranny and persecution exercised in those
I. parts. This arrest falling upon the effects of many of these

Anno 1568. good people, created great disturbances and confusions among them. For their creditors now came earnestly upon them for the payment of their debts : and those who owed them money refused to pay them. So that they were in very evil case ; nor were able to keep touch in paying their bills of exchange. For thus did Cousin the French Minister complain in their behalf to the Bishop of London, their Superintendent, in a letter to him :

The French
 Minister's
 complaint
 to the Bi-
 shop.

“ Honoré seigneur, suyvant l'advertissement que je vous
 “ ay donné touchant les complaints de nos marchans, pour
 “ les incommodités qui leur surviennent bien grandes, et
 “ journellement en leurs traffiques ; je vous supplie d'avoir
 “ souvenance des lettres que vous ferez pour la cour de
 “ points suivans.

“ Premierement, leur debiteurs sont refus de les payer.

“ Secondement, leur crediturs ne les veulent supporter,
 “ ains les pressent par importunité pour avoir payement.

“ Tiercement, quant aux lettres de change pour ne
 “ pouvoir satisfaire promptement, il tombent en reproche et
 “ prejudice de leur credit.

“ Votre humble serviteur,

“ Jean Cousin.”

The Bishop
 seasonably
 interposes
 for them.

Now did the Bishop of London interpose himself, and by his intercession with some at Court, (whereof Secretary Cecil was chief,) obtained, that those who were Protestants, and members either of the Dutch, or French, or Italian Church, or that frequented their English parish churches, might either escape, or be released of this arrest. And that only such as were factors for the King of Spain's subjects abroad, and their effects lying in their hands, should be subject to this arrest.

The names
 of the mem-
 bers of the
 foreigners'
 churches
 sent in, viz.
 The Dutch ;

This proceeded so far, that catalogues of the names of all the members of these foreign churches planted in London were sent in to the Bishop, testified under the respective

Ministers' and elders' hands. And these lists were by him sent to the Court: who accordingly, I suppose, had the desired favour shewn them. The catalogues sent from the Dutch congregation, out of honourable respect to the memories of such good men, that left their countries, or suffered persecution for the sake of Christ, I shall set down in the Appendix, with the testimonial of the Ministers and elders subjoined.

CHAP.
XIII.

Anno 1568.

Num. XIX.

The Ministers and elders of the French Church likewise, in January, gave in the names of all their members, as the Dutch had done, having been born in King Philip's dominions: which were in number four hundred and twenty two; to which eighteen more were added. Those that subscribed to this list were Jean Cousin, Anthony de Pouchel, Pierre Chastellain, who were the Ministers; Michael Chaudron, Gerard de Lobel, and others that were seniors.

The
French;

Then also was another catalogue brought in of those of the Italian Church in London; being also persons born in Flanders, and other places under the dominion of the said King of Spain. In this Church were both Italians and Spaniards, to the number of about fifty-seven. Among whom these seemed to be of some rank, Dr. Cornelio Spirinck, Dr. Andrea Medico Romano, Cornelio de Vischer, painter, Il Senior Baron, Il Senior de Longwater. Some of this Church were also of Antwerp, some of Gaunt, some of Almain. This paper was signed by Cornelius Spiringus, Gasper Vosbergius, M. de Questor, Baptista Oijens, Marcos de la Palma. The Minister of this congregation was Hieronymus Jerlitus.

The Italian;
The Span-
ish.

It appears that these names were thus diligently taken, (namely, of those that were born in the Spanish dominions,) upon account of the arrest, for the favouring of them that were true Protestants, and the laying of the said arrest chiefly upon Papists, who were in effect but a sort of spies upon the Queen and her government. But as they were tender to take the goods of Protestants, so if any of these were factors for merchants abroad under the King of Spain, the goods in their hands were stayed. And divers of these

BOOK I. factors and correspondents were met with in all the strangers' churches. The rest were favoured.

Anno 1569.

CHAP. XIV.

Separatists set at liberty by the Bishop. The Dean of St. Paul's letter to him, upon the poisoning of Dandelot. His care for checking Popery at the Inns of Court. Sir John Southworth committed to the Bishop: and Milcrus an Irishman. The Bishop's letter about Bonner's burial. A visitation of King's college in Cambridge by the Bishop's means.

Anno 1569. **T**HERE were divers separatists kept in the prison of Bridewell, for holding private assemblies, and using a form of prayer different from that allowed and enjoined by law: and here they had lain for about a twelvemonth. Their great opinion was, that certain of the ceremonies used in the public service were Popish, having been used by the Papists, and therefore that they ought in conscience not to be present at it. Nor could all the Bishop's endeavours reclaim them. And therefore pitying their condition he moved the Secretary, that clemency might be used towards them: that so by giving them freely their liberty, only with an admonition, they might be more prevailed withal to comply with the laws, than by severity: and praying the Secretary to obtain from the Lords of the Council an order to him the Bishop to release them. Accordingly the Lords approved of Grindal's counsel, and in April sent him a letter with a warrant for that purpose: but withal to let them understand, that if after their enlargement any one of them carried themselves factiously and disorderly again, they must expect severe punishment to the example of others. and to give them further admonition according as he should think convenient.

Dismisses them with exhortation.

Upon this the good Bishop, having them all before him,

gave them to understand the favour of the Council toward them, and withal read their letter to them, adding his own sober advice. And then by a warrant from himself to the governor of that prison, that all the persons underwritten should be discharged; viz.

John Smith,	Thomas Lydford,
John Roper,	Richard Langton,
Robert Hawkes,	Alexander Lacy,
James Ireland,	John Leonard,
William Nyckson,	Robert Tod,
Walter Hynckesman,	Roger Hawkesworth,
Thomas Bowland,	Robert Sparrow,
George Waddy,	Richard King,
William Turner,	Christopher Colman,
John Nayshe,	John Benson,
James Adderton,	John Bolton,
William Wight,	Robert Gates.

Which being twenty-four, besides seven women, were accordingly discharged.

The graver Clergy, especially the Bishops, did use in these days to take their opportunities to exhort and stir up the nobility to take care of religion, and to press them to make use of the power and authority committed to them to consult for the safety thereof in those times, when so many implacable enemies beset it and the peace of this kingdom, where it was openly professed and set up. At this juncture the condition of the reformed religion abroad was but low, and in France especially, where the Prince of Condé with his army met this spring with a great overthrow: and soon after the Admiral Coligni, and his brother Anelot, excellent captains, and the heads of the Protestants, were both treacherously poisoned by the Popish faction, and the villain that did it acknowledged that Katharine de Medici, the Queen, set him on. The latter died, the former narrowly escaped with life after a deadly sickness. This calamity to religion abroad threatened us here: so that there

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Anno 1569.

The dangerous
state of
religion;

BOOK seemed great need now to cast off security at home, and to
 I. be more concerned for the assistance of those of the religion,
 Anno 1569. and for the prevention of that destruction that seemed to
 Causes the hang over the nation. This occasioned the good Dean of
 Dean of St. St. Paul's to signify his mind to the Bishop, and to pray him
 Paul's to write to the to set these things home on certain of the chief nobility and
 Bishop. Counsellors that were to dine with him at his house, after
 the hearing of a sermon at St. Paul's, upon some solemn oc-
 137 casion or other, as it seems. Which advice, no doubt, the
 Bishop rejected not, being himself sensible enough of these
 matters. The Dean's letter to the Bishop may deserve here
 to be inserted.

The Dean's " After my humble commendations to your Lordshyp.
 letter. " Upon occasion given unto me, synce your Lordshyp's
 Int. epistol. " departing, I have entred into a depe and earnest care
 Nowel. " towching the publick state of true religion, and religions
 Decan. D. " thorowout Christendome, not without extreme feare, that
 Pauli, penes " the slacknes used, and coldnes shewed in defence of the
 me. " common cause, and ayding of these, who do openly put
 " their goods, lands and liefs in hasarde for the same, will at
 " the last brede the dredeful daunger of us, that enjoy such
 " false securitie in the dailie destruction of so many thou-
 " sands of our brethren. Which like a next neighbour's
 " fyre, will spedily, if it be not prevented in time, passe
 " from them unto us, to our lyke destruction. Whereupon
 " I am, as it were, by a certeyn violence, enforced to put
 " your Lordship in mind, that after the interteynment of
 " those most honorable and wise counselors with good
 " chere, ye wold take occasion, upon the traiterous Popish
 " poysoning of the renowned Dandylote, or otherwise, as
 " your wisdom shall think good, to move the said most
 " honorable aside from other companye, to endeavour by
 " their wisdoms, to remove such securitie and slacknes from
 " these to whom it is most daungerous ; and to stirre them
 " up by some spedye, competent aide, to help towards the
 " deliverie of our brethren from certeyn destruction, and to
 " the depulsion of imminent daunger from our own hedds,

" A few words will serve to your wisdom: and I wold my-
 " self have been a present interpreter of my mynde more CHAP.
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 " largely, if I had not alrebye taken my leave of your Anno 1569.
 " Lordship, and some other my good frends. And thus I
 " commit your good Lordship to Almightye God, who de-
 " fend his poor flock from the gredye gaping of the roar-
 " ing lyons, these bloodthurstye Papists. Amen. 6. Junii,
 " 1569.

" Your Lordshep's to commande,

" Alex. Nowell."

Our Bishop turned his eyes to the Inns of Court, which Procures
letters to
the Inns of
Court a-
gainst Po-
pery.
 had harboured many popishly affected. Of this he ac-
 quainted Secretary Cecil, and consulted with him for the
 reformation of those places; desiring that letters might be
 issued to them from the Lords of the Council, that the
 heads would take order for the encouragement of true reli-
 gion there. And at the same time he had shewed the Se-
 cretary a certain letter of the same import; whether of his
 own drawing, or which had been formerly sent to those
 Inns of Court; wrote perhaps some time before in this
 Queen's, or King Edward's reign. For this purpose it was,
 that in the month of May a good letter was drawn up by
 the said Secretary, and a copy sent to Grindal, for his ap-
 probation and judgment of it. Who told the Secretary
 that he liked it very well; only he desired one clause might
 be added; which was, that a commandment might be given
 to the Benchers of every house, that in calling men to the 138
 bench or bar, they should reject all those that were noto-
 riously known, or vehemently suspected, to be adversaries
 to true religion, unless they had sufficiently purged them-
 selves. By which means the ill affected in religion would
 be restrained from taking any degree in law.

It was not without reason that the Papists were now Papists
flock to
Bath.
 especially looked to and watched. For this year they were
 hatching a dangerous rebellion, which brake out in the
 northern parts in September; and was intended also, in all Suspected of
plotting.
 likelihood, to have appeared as formidable in the west at the

BOOK same time, had it not been prevented. Sure it is, that in
I. May there was great flocking of gentlemen to the city of

Anno 1569. Bath, upon pretence of using the waters. Persons they were, that had been noted to be hinderers of God's word and Gospel. And these meetings were chiefly caused by Bonner's disciples and kin, who lived there at Bath. Among these gentlemen, one was called Stradling: another named Jacobine, an Italian, a lame man, (whose abode was most at Southampton,) a person suspected to do much hurt. He had daily intelligence, both from Flanders and Spain: nor wanted for wealth, nor spared for charges to gain acquaintance for his purpose. Sir John Southworth, a Lancashire knight, was another; who tarried at Bath twenty days; during which time he was a great leader of that ring, and no little doer in those parts, remaining in great admiration.

He had been but the year before sent for up from Lancashire, and committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his harbouring Romish Priests in his house, and relieving them, though in his hearing they had spoke against the present state of religion established, and the state of the realm. A form of submission, which the Archbishop offered him from the Council, he then refused. But however, upon some promise, as it seems, not to entertain such guests any more, he then got his liberty.

The Secretary informed thereof by one Churchyard.

Thomas Churchyard, (in that age an excellent soldier, and a poet,) a man of honest principles, gave the Secretary secret notice of all this from the Bath. And moreover, that in those parts people spake very broadly about the government, and that there was much liberty of speech: nor durst dutiful ears rebuke that they heard. He told the Secretary, that he suspected these troops of gentlemen of some dangerous plot a hatching; which their practices drew him to presume of them. And this indeed was a just suspicion, as appears by what Camden relates concerning the rising in the north, that happened not long after, headed by the Earl of Northumberland; that when he began to waver, the leaders of the rebellion came to him, and urged him among other

Camd. Elizab. sub anno 1569.

arguments with this, that the Catholics were ready prepared all over England to maintain the Roman religion. CHAP. XIV.

But upon this, Sir John Southworth before mentioned Anno 1569.
 was taken up and made a prisoner, till in August he was removed, and placed under some easy confinement in our Bishop's house; that if possible, by his learning and persuasion, he might be reclaimed from his religion. The Bishop Southworth, a Papist, confined in the Bishop's house;
 now conferred often with him; and so, upon the Bishop's 139
 desire, did the Dean of Paul's also, who several times had taken great pains with him, and withal had used much courtesy and humanity towards him; and that not without some charge to himself, if perhaps such gentle and obliging usage might bring him to relent: but all to no purpose. For, as the Bishop gave the character of him to the Secretary, "he was altogether unlearned, carried with a blind zeal without knowledge. And that his principal grounds were, that he would follow the faith of his fathers; and that he would die in the faith wherein he was baptized, and such like." But on pretence of his loyalty, he desired the Bishop to permit him to repair to the Court, to sue to the Council that he might be employed in some service. At whose instant request, the Bishop gave him licence so to do. But the Queen did not need such servants.

It was soon after the Bishop seemed to be eased of this guest; coming next under the roof of the Dean of St. Paul's. But being here, he continued stiff in his principles, and refused to come either to prayers or sermon; which made the Dean weary of him; and so the Bishop signified unto the Secretary. But whatever Southworth was, and how little soever he deserved, now about the middle of August, the Bishop made a motion to the Lords of the Council, to spare Southworth's imprisonment for a time, since the prison sickness usually reigned at that time of the year. What afterwards became of him, I know not. And with the Dean of Paul's.

About this time came two packets of letters from the Lords of the Council to the Bishop. The one, for search of certain Irishmen; concerning whom they had intelligence, The Bishop makes search for Irishmen;

BOOK I. that they were lately come over, and were private in London; suspicious persons at this juncture especially, when there were jealousies of some insurrection at hand. The other, for making examination about a supposed monster, that it seems was much talked of, and portended some dangerous matters to ensue: set up, as it seems, by some Papists, the more at this time to amuse the people. According to these letters, the Bishop soon made secret search for those Irishmen, whose names were Whyte and Creyghie. But they were gone before. And as for the monster, it appeared plainly to be a counterfeit matter. But he, and others of the Ecclesiastical Commission, could not extort confession from them employed therein, concerning the manner of their doings. And so he signified back to the Lords.

Provides lodgings for the Vidame.

The Vidame of Chartres, a great nobleman of France, and of chief account among the Protestants, a learned and a very good man, was now in August here, upon some business relating to religion. He was favoured here much by the friends of religion, though not so much by all at the Court. And wanting an habitation for privacy or security, the Bishop of London, and some others, by their instant suit to the Bishop of Ely, obtained the use of his house at Holbourn, for the said Vidame, until Michaelmas, when he came himself. This, as if he expected some notice would be taken of at Court, he acquainted the Secretary with it, and prayed him, that if any thing should be said of it, they might have his patrociny.

140 The State had now great jealousies from Ireland, the Irish people being so devoted to the King of Spain and the Pope, England's professed enemies, and the Irish Priests so exagitated with Popish ignorance and zeal. There was one of this sort, called Mylerus, of some considerable account in Ireland, (and of the Clergy as it seems,) so much Irish, that he understood no English. This man was a prisoner in England, and at length committed to the custody of the Bishop of London, (a thing commonly practised in these times towards Papists of the better rank, whether Lay or Clergy; both to shew the gentleness of the government

Mylerus, an Irishman, with the Bishop.

in such an easy confinement, and that they might have the benefit of our Bishop's instructions.) Mylerus was now brought to great pretended submissions. He acknowledged the Queen's supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical and temporal. And therefore by a petition to the Lords he earnestly sued for his liberty, or at least to be sent into his own country in bonds: where he assured them, he would stand faithful and true to her Majesty; and would give good sureties to the Lord Deputy thereof. But this favour the Lords as yet refused him.

He wrote the contents of this in a Latin letter to the Queen's Secretary, which he prayed the Bishop might be delivered to him. In which letter he shewed the Secretary, "That seeing the Lords thought not good to grant him his petition, but that he should remain yet longer in durance in England, it became him to bear it. For every soul ought, he said, to be subject to the higher powers. And yet, as he added, he could not understand for what cause he should be still imprisoned, since as Virgil saith, *Those that are obedient should be spared, and the proud suppressed*. That for his part, he had wholly submitted himself to the Queen of England and her Council, and had rejected all other authority, as well in temporals as spirituals, besides her authority only, next after God. And Christ saith, [God he should have said,] *In whatsoever hour a sinner repents him of all his iniquities, he will not any more remember them*. And that none might judge this his submission to be done feignedly, or out of fear of punishment, and not with a willing mind, and a purpose of standing to the same, he had offered once before, and did now again, to give hostages of his fidelity into the hands of the Lord Deputy; viz. his only brother, who should be liable to death, if he should do hereafter any thing contrary to his promises: and the Lord Ma- guire, (a faithful servant and subject of the Queen and of the Lord Deputy,) as his surety of his said fidelity. And moreover, he would give it under his own hand, to suffer the punishment of death, without mercy from God or

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Anno 1569.

Who con-
veys his let-
ter to the
Secretary.

The con-
tents there-
of.

MSS. Ceci-
lian.

BOOK "man, that very hour wherein he should do any thing
I. "knowingly against the laws of England. And in the

Anno 1569. "mean time, that the Lord Deputy should detain him in
"bonds until he had the said hostages in his hands. And
"if these things sufficed not, he neither knew nor had
"what he might further do, though he were detained in
"prison even until his death. And therefore beseeched
"the Secretary, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he
"would propound these his offers to the Council; and, if
141 "it might be, to her Majesty; and to persuade them to
"send him to the Lord Deputy, to be kept a prisoner by
"him, till he had found the sureties abovesaid;" dating his
letter from the Bishop of London's house.

So fair did these false Irish priests promise, though the Council seemed not over-credulous to them nor their oaths. And though this letter was writ August the 2d, the Bishop retained it in his hands, and thought not fit to send it till at least twelve days after, the man being now fallen very sick of an ague, that his sickness might also plead for him.

**Bonner
dies.**

Bonner, late Bishop of London, (whose memory is stigmatized for his cruel burnings of so many Protestants under Queen Mary,) after he had lived divers years in the King's Bench and Marshalsea, not without often feasting and banqueting there, yielded up the ghost not many days after the beginning of September, having stood excommunicated divers years; and at this time probably concerned in, or at least privy to, the Popish plot against the Queen, which brake out in the north this month; since his relations and friends at Bath, with a great sort of Popish gentlemen besides, (as we heard a little before,) were so close in their seditious cabals there, and so free in treasonable speeches. Concerning which the forementioned Churchyard in his letter to the Secretary wrote, "that the un-
"bridled braving and talk of Boner's disciples (there at
"the Bath) argued some cureless cares too closely crept into
"their cankered minds: and most of Boner's blood and
"kindred dwelt in that town: and that upon colour of
"coming to the Bath, many mad meetings there were."

**His Popish
relations at
Bath, plotting.**

And of these things the said Churchyard discoursed with the Bishop of Exon, whose hand he got to his letter.

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Bonner was buried in the churchyard of the parish wherein the Marshalsea stood, however he were excommunicated, and so might have been denied burial either in church or churchyard: but the Bishop, and some other of the Commissioners, allowed him burial there; but that it should be late at night, for the preventing any hubbub among the people. And of this the Bishop of London sent the Secretary word from Fulham, September 9, that the truth might be known at Court about it, which he imagined was apt enough to be misrepresented in such matters as these. And it may not be amiss to insert the Bishop's letter.

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The Bishop allows him burial in the churchyard of St. George's, Southwark.

" Sir, as I doubt not but ye have hearde of D. Bonner's death, so think I it goode to certifie you of the order of his burial. The sayd D. Boner had stand excommunicate by a sentence in the Arches eight or nine years, and never desyred absolution. Wherefore by the law, Christian sepulture might have ben denyed him: but we thought not goode to deal so rigorously; and therefore permitted him to be buried in S. George's churchyard; and the same to be doone not in the day solemnely, but in the night privily: which I and some other, with whom I conferred, thought requisite in that person for two causes. One was, I hearde that divers of his Popish cousins and friends in London assembled themselves, entending to honour his funeral so moche as they cowlde: of which honour such a persecutor was not worthy, and specially in these days. Another was, for that I feared, that the people of the city, (to whom Bonner in his life was most odious;) if they had seen flockyng of Papists about his coffin, the same being wel decked and covered, &c. they wolde have ben mooved with indignation; and so some quarrellyng or tumulte might have ensued thereupon. By his night burial both the inconveniences have ben avoyded, and the same gene-

His letter to the Secretary concerning it.

Int. Epist. Grind. penes me.

142

BOOK " rally here wel lyked. What shal be judged of it at the
 I. " Cowrte, I cannot tel: it is possible the report of his bu-
 Anno 1569. " rial shal not ther be made trulye. But this I write unto
 " you is the very truth."

What hap-
 pened at
 his burial.

But however, as it was well observed at that time, concerning Bonner's burial, he was buried among thieves and murderers, carried to the grave with confusion and derision of men and women; and his grave was stamped and trampled upon after he was laid into it: and that was all the persecution he suffered.

Complaints
 brought up
 against the
 Provost of
 King's
 college.

At this very time a matter happened, that gave the godly Bishop occasion to shew his concern for the good estate of the University. One Mr. Colpots, Fellow of King's college in Cambridge, was now come up to Town in the name of the college, to make complaint to Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of that University, against their Provost Dr. Baker, one who was very negligent of religion, and of the good government of the college: of which, complaint had been made four years before: which occasioned the Bishop of Lincoln, their visitor, to enter upon a visitation of that college, viz. in the year 1565, and to give them certain injunctions to be observed. By them the Provost was enjoined to destroy a great deal of Popish stuff, as mass-books, legends, couchers, and grails, copes, vestments, candlesticks, crosses, pixes, paxes, and the brazen rood: which the Provost did not perform, but preserved them in a secret corner.

That col-
 lege visited.

Articles a-
 gainst the
 said Pro-
 vost.

At this visitation, these were some of the Articles preferred against the Provost: That he had never made any commemoration of the founder and benefactors either by himself or substitute, when by the statutes he was bound to do it thrice every year. That he never preached at any time there or elsewhere, though a Doctor of Divinity. That he had no regard of Divinity in others; used no kind of exhortation or encouragement thereto, but rather the contrary: nor had caused the Fellows to turn their studies to Divinity, as the statutes required. No Sacrament admin-

istered but once, or at most twice in the whole year. The conducts and singing men manifestly Papists, and none others by him admitted: and it was much doubted whether he administered the oath of allegiance to them at their admission. His ordinary guests, the most suspected Papists in all the country; whereof one was Webb, that went over to Louvain, and there remained. He used one Mr. Woolward very extremely, (who was afterward a Fellow of Eaton,) because he would not execute the service at the Communion with his face toward the east and his back towards the table, according to the manner of the mass: for the denial of which he was like to be expelled, and had been, had not one of the Queen's injunctions been his warrant. And one of the conducts then so celebrated the Communion. Had entertained Dr. Heskins, the famous Papist, being brought to his table at Cambridge in the dark, and conveyed away in the dark again. And that he had been deprived of the living of St. Andrew's in London, in the Bishop's visitation, for refusing to renounce the Pope and his doctrine. These and other informations were brought against him to the Visitor; but with admonition, and certain injunctions given him, Baker then escaped.

This man in the year 1569, and not far from the beginning of September, was complained of again, as was hinted before, and that upon a new matter, *viz.* of injustice and wrong. And the person that brought the complaint first thought fit to betake himself to our Bishop, relating the college's business with their Chancellor unto him; who very compassionately recommended it unto the said Chancellor, "praying him to be so good as to hear what the bringer [Mr. Colpotts before mentioned] could say concerning the miserable state of that house through the misgovernment of an evil Provost. Informing him, that he had of late, contrary to the orders of all the houses of the town, set up a junior Regent to be Proctor, and expelled a senior, much more meet both for religion, learning, wisdom, and experience. And furthermore, because four of the youngest Fellows would not give their voices

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Anno 1569.

The Bishop
recom-
mends the
business to
Cecil.

BOOK "at his appointment, he denied them their grace in the
I. "house to be Bachelors of Art, notwithstanding that they

Anno 1569. "were very well learned: and so belike intended to expel
 "them the college. He added, that all his study was to op-
 "press learning and religion. Truly it grieveth my heart,"
 said he, "that such an honourable foundation should be so
 "abused. I pray you be a mean one day that it may be re-
 "formed. And for the particular case of the Proctorship, if
 "the University at the election should choose the senior
 "Regent to be Proctor, and so restore him to his place,
 "which the Provost and his adherents had by wrong taken
 "from him in his college, his opinion, he told Cecil, was,
 "that it should not be against the good meaning of the
 "composition between the University and that college.
 "And so he prayed him to shew favour unto the senior as
 "occasion should serve."

Procures a
 royal visit-
 ation of
 King's col-
 lege.

More ar-
 ticles a-
 gainst the
 Provost.

This seasonable interposition of the Bishop, in behalf of
 the college, soon after brought on a royal visitation of it:
 and it was done effectually. The Queen's visitors were the
 Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. May, and Dr. Ithel,
 Heads of the University, and some others. And in the
 month of November, besides the former articles, divers new
 ones were by several in the college preferred against the
 Provost to these visitors. As, that he had neglected their
 144 visitor the Bishop of Lincoln's injunctions ever since they
 were given. That he, to the great infamy of the college, still
 kept a great heap of Popish pelf, and mass-books, legends,
 couchers, &c. superstitious vestments, candlesticks, crosses,
 and the very brazen rood; nor would be persuaded, by
 either private entreaties or public admonition, to make
 them away; but preserved these relics in the vestry. And
 whereas a Fellow of the college was to have kept the key
 thereof, and to have yielded an account yearly to the Pro-
 vost and Fellows, he detained the key in his own hands, not
 suffering any of the company to be privy to what was done
 there. That in a demise from the college, he was earnest to
 have a clause, wherein the farmer should be bound to dis-
 charge the college against the Pope. Which clause being

misliked of, as derogating from her Majesty's authority, he answered, that that which hath been may be again. That the guests he daily entertained, were none but such as the whole country held for notable Papists: and it was vehemently suspected that he maintained and relieved Louvainists. He confessed to one who was late Fellow, that he would not alter his religion for ten provostships; and to another he brake forth into these words, "I would every man might keep his conscience, and so would I too." That his stomach was much against those that made profession of true religion, that he grieved them continually by his injurious and partial dealing: so that the Divines labouring, and nothing prevailing, to bring the house into better order, utterly discouraged, had in a manner all forsaken the college. That he allowed one Clark to be absent from the Communion for nine or ten years, licensing him to go abroad at such time as he should communicate, expressly contrary to the statutes: and that this Fellow never had received the Communion but once, namely, the last Easter, fearing lest otherwise it might hinder his suit for the proctorship. That out of the said Clark's window there flew a taunting letter against Divines, abusing the Bishop of London's credit, calling the preachers in derision *great Gospellers*, and their visitation, *a visitation of devils*, instead of *Divines*. That the said Provost never preached, neither at home nor abroad, weltering in idleness, and wholly serving mammon: so that these words were pronounced of him in an open Commencement, *pistori quam pistori similior; i. e.* more like a *baker* than a shepherd. That he rarely frequented sermons, and was continually absent from all disputations: so that in every sermon almost he was cried out of, and sometimes touched by name, to the no small infamy of the college. That by his example a great part of the college were drawn into like contempt of God's word. That when he should dispute at Commencements, two or three days before he commonly fled to Town to avoid it. That he purchased leases with college money, the college in the mean time scarcely able

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Anno 1569.

Louvainists.

BOOK to supply their necessary expenses. That he privily took
I. bribes in letting the college leases. That he kept in his
Anné 1569. hands by the space of three years such fines as should have
 been paid to the college; and yet kept them, none knowing
 what they were. That he was grown to great wealth by
145 hiring others to purchase Privy Counsellors' letters for the
 college leases, and by passing them to his own custody, and
 unto his own use. That he rid out to keep the college
 courts, without any of the company to assist, contrary to
 their statutes: nor was he at any time accountant to the
 college for the profits of the courts. That when other Pro-
 vosts heretofore, riding out in the college affairs, were wont
 to spend but three or four pounds, he commonly charged
 the college with twenty. That he raised the charge of the
 audit of the college to forty pounds, or not much less,
 which used formerly to amount to no more than four or five
 pounds. That being desired by the seniors, and earnestly
 requested by the Bishop of Lincoln, to make plain to the
 company those college estates, when unto none of them [the
 Fellows] were privy, he utterly refused to do the same.
 Lastly, that lately he offered violently to put officers out of
 their places in a time of common dinner, dangerously in re-
 spect of the time, and injuriously towards the persons. In-
 somuch that a mutiny was made, and they driven to com-
 plain to her Majesty's officer, the Vice-Chancellor, to see
 the peace kept.

The Pro-
 vost secretly
 flies.

All which is but an explanation of what the Bishop of
 London hinted in few words, in his letter before men-
 tioned; viz. "the miserable state of that house, through
 "the misgovernment of an evil Provost." In fine, when
 the Queen's Commissioners aforesaid came to sit and ex-
 amine these matters, Dr. Baker, knowing belike himself
 guilty, appeared not, and was fled. He was declared de-
 prived. To whom Roger Goad, who not long before left
 the college, a man of better principles, succeeded.

Is deprived. This visitation [that I may take in this whole matter to-
 gether] adjourned till February following. The Commis-
 sioners (who were the Bishop of Ely, Mr. Vice-Chancellor

that then was; Dr. May, Master of Katharine hall, (if I mistake not;) Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity college; Mr. Wattes, Archdeacon of London, Bishop Grindal's Chaplain; and Dr. Ithel, Master of Jesus) had by the 23d of February sat fifteen days: during all which time the Provost appeared not, either in person or by proctor. He had put away his men, made a deed of gift of his goods, and was gone, no man could tell whither. But some thought that he was fled to Louvain, the great receptacle now for the English Popish Clergy. It was found by the visitors, that the Provost had defrauded the college of divers good sums of money. The Bishop of Ely pronounced the sentence of deprivation about the 22d of February. And now the college being destitute of a governor, as the Bishop of London had stirred much in this business hitherto, so he thought not fit to leave off, till he saw an able and honest man placed. And such an one he thought Roger Goad, B. D. to be, late Vice-Provost of the college, but now living at Guildford; and therefore endeavoured to get him settled there. And thereupon timely moved the Secretary for that purpose: that as he, the Secretary, had been a special means to remove an ill man, so he would now perfect his benefit towards that college, by helping to place a good man in the room: and that Mr. Goad was the meetest in his opinion. That Mr. Moor and Mr. Henry Knowles could well testify of his learning and virtue. That he was not distracted with other livings, as some were that would labour for this place. And that he would be resident upon the office: and that was no small matter. That the company had a good liking of him also, as he was informed. That the Queen was to nominate, and the company to elect. That it was true King Henry VIII. nominated Dr. Day, and King Edward Mr. Cheeke, who had been of other colleges; but that that was by dispensing with the statute. He supposed her Majesty would not be so ready to dispense, seeing there were fit persons of the same foundation to be had. And lastly, he prayed the Secretary to be a mean to her Majesty herein, and in favour of the said Dr. Goad.

CHAP.
XIV.

Anno 1569.

The Bishop
endeavours
that Goad
might suc-
ceed.

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BOOK And according to the Bishop's desire, Goad succeeded. If
 .I. I have made too long a digression in this matter, it will
 Anno 1569. be excused in a thing wherein our Bishop was so instru-
 mental.

Presents
 the Queen
 with his
 grapes.
 And what
 happened
 hereupon.

But let us return a little back. There happened in the month of September a matter committed by the Bishop, which, though slight, I will mention, because it had like to have created him a great deal of trouble. So tender and cautious ought those to be, that have to do with the courts of princes. The business was this: the grapes that grew at Fulham were now-a-days of that value, and a fruit the Queen stood so well affected to, and so early ripe, that the Bishop every year used to send a present thereof to her. Eight days were past in September, but these grapes were not yet in case (so backward it seems was this year) to be presented to her. Of which Grindal gave an hint in a post-script to the Secretary. But withal that the next week he hoped to send some to the Queen. And accordingly he did so; and sent them by one of his servants. But the report was, that at this very time the plague was in his house; and that one had newly died of that distemper there, and three more sick. By which occasion both the Queen and Court were in danger. And well it was that no sickness happened here: for if it had, all the blame would have been laid upon the poor Bishop. The Bishop understanding this, thought himself bound to vindicate himself. Which he did forthwith, in a letter to the Secretary, to this tenor:

His letter
 to the Se-
 cretary,
 upon a false
 aspersion.

“ I hear that some fault is fownde with me abroad, for
 “ the sending my servant lately to the Courte with grapes,
 “ seying one dyed in my house of the plague, (as they
 “ saye,) and three more are sick. The truthe is, one dyed
 “ in my house the 19th of this month, who had lyen but
 “ three dayes: but he had gone abroad languishing above
 “ twenty dayes before that, being troubled with a flyx;
 “ and thinking to bear it out, took cold, and so ended his
 “ life. But, I thank God, there is none sick in my house.
 “ Neither would I so far have overseen my self, as to have

“ sent to her Majestie, if I had not been more assured, that CHAP. XIV.
 “ my man’s sicknes was not of the plague. And if I su-
 “ spected any such thing now, I would not keep my howse- Anno 1569.
 “ hold together, as I do. Thus moche I thought good 147
 “ also to signify unto you. God keep you. From Fulham,
 “ 20. Sept. 1569.

“ Yours in Christ,

“ Edm. London.”

CHAP. XV.

The Bishop further concerned in Corranus’s business. The ground of the French Church’s complaint against him. The Bishop of Ross, Milerus, and Hare, Papists, committed to the Bishop’s custody. His care for St. John’s college.

A DISTURBANCE in the French Church in London, Anno 1570.
 occasioned by Corranus, a Spanish preacher, was touched on The Bishop suspends Corranus.
 before. We then left the cause between them, referred by Beza to our Bishop. I proceed to some further relation of this affair. Upon complaint therefore made by the Ministers and seniors of the said French Church, that Corranus had unjustly defamed and slandered them, (as was said before,) the Bishop, with certain other Commissioners, took cognizance of it. And after sundry judicial hearings, the fault was by sentence pronounced to be in Corranus. And he for his punishment was suspended from preaching and reading. At the time of hearing, and before and after sentence, he used many contemptuous and contumelious words against the Commissioners; and since, touching his state. For these, or words of like effect, he then uttered: *Apparet vos Anglos, non solum civile, sed et ecclesiasticum bellum gerere contra Hispanos: civile, capiendo ipsorum naves et pecunias; ecclesiasticum, in persona mea: i. e.* “ It is evident that the Englishmen do not only wage civil war

BOOK 1. "against the Spaniards, but ecclesiastical also : civil, in taking their ships and money ; ecclesiastical, in my person."

Anno 1570. It was not long after, that he found considerable friends at Court, (whom his learning and abilities seemed to have procured him,) and among the rest, Secretary Cecil ; who thought him perhaps somewhat too hardly dealt with. He in a letter to the Bishop commended his learning, and hinted as though too hard terms were put upon him ; and prayed the Bishop to compound and finish the controversy between Corranus and the French preachers, as soon as possibly he could. The Bishop had already made some steps herein, and had offered some terms to him for his restoration. But they consisted of such submissions and acknowledgments which he would not comply with : which shewed his high stomach. But there was another impediment, viz. a jealousy of the soundness of his doctrines : whereof the Italian preacher Hieronymus had taken notice, out of a late tract of his printed, entitled, *De Operibus Dei*, and required him to answer the same before the Church, viz. the said Hieronymus and the elders ; as was mentioned before.

148 But however, the Bishop promised the Secretary, that, according to his request, he would labour to compound and finish the business as soon as possibly he could. But that there were some impediments of expedition at that present : partly, because he could not well finish it, except himself remained at London two or three days ; whither he was somewhat loath to go hastily, the plague being most stirring near his house there : and because the French preacher had buried one out of his house of the plague but a few days before. But to put the business in some forwardness, he would send for Corranus, and talk with him first, and after with the other parties. He added, that if any thing had been offered to Corranus on his part, that had been too hard, he was well contented to refer the moderation thereof to the Secretary's judgment. He acknowledged that Corranus had good learning : "but I have no good liking," said the Bishop, "of his spirit and of his dealings ;" whereof

Endeavours
to compound
Corranus's
cause.

he had had good experience. Lastly, the Bishop let the Secretary know, that if the controversy with the French (which was only about offence in manners) were com-
 pounded, he could not see but his restitution to reading or preaching must be deferred, till he had cleared himself before the governors of his own Church in matters of doctrine: which was a matter of far greater moment. He as yet knew not the particular matters, but he had willed Hieronymus to translate the table *of the Works of God* [i. e. Corranus's book] into Latin, and to send him a copy, that some conference might be used in it.

CHAP.
XV.

Anno 1570.

This then was the ground of the quarrel of the Italian Church against him: the beginning and rise of the controversy between him and the French Church was not so plain to the Secretary. Of which therefore the Bishop sent him this account, viz. Anno Dom. 1563 a packet of letters was directed to a French merchant of London, being a member of the French Church: and under the direction were written words to this or like effect; *For matters of great importance touching the Church of God*. In the said packet was found a letter from Antonius Corranus, the Spanish preacher, then being in France, written to one Cassiodorus, another Spanish preacher, not long before remaining in London. The said Cassiodorus being accused a little before *de peccato sodomitico*, fled the realm upon the accusation, no man knew whither. The said packet directed as above was brought to the Minister and seniors of the French Church, who after some consultation, considering that the title was, *For matters of God's Church*, concluded to open the said packet, and also to break up the letter directed to Cassiodorus. And finding no public matter in it, but only for the impression of the Spanish Bible, they wrote answer to Corranus, that Cassiodorus was departed out of this realm, and, as they thought, was gone into Germany. And by chance, (as should seem,) rather than of any purpose, they kept still Corranus's said letter in their custody. After the great troubles in Antwerp, Corranus came to London, and de-

Acquaints
the Secre-
tary with
the ground
of the quar-
rel between
Corranus
and the
French.

BOOK I.
no 1570. sired to be admitted into the French Church. The Consistory called him before them, and burdened him with the said letters; which ministered great occasion of suspicion,

149 (as they thought,) that the said Corranus did not think well in some principal articles of Christian religion. He answered, that his letter was written by way of questioning, and not of affirmation. They replied, that such kind of questioning was not meet in these times for a Minister of God's Church; but in the end offered, that if he would subscribe to true doctrine, and acknowledge that those letters were *imprudenter scriptæ*, he should be received into the Church. Corranus answered, that the letters were written in good and lawful manner; and that he did not repent the writing of them; and that he would (if need were) set them out in print, with a defence or apology annexed. Whereupon the Minister and seniors of the French Church would not receive him. Corranus thinking himself injured herewith, and offended with certain speeches uttered by some of the French Church in Lombard-street, [where merchants met before the Exchange was built,] and at tables in London, (as he often declared unto the Bishop, who always advised him to condemn them,) wrote a pamphlet, which he called *an Apology*, but indeed a sharp invective, containing many slanders against the Ministers and seniors of the French Church, and also sundry untruths of the Bishop's own knowledge. Which Apology was communicated unto divers, and a copy thereof sent to Beza, to Geneva. It was long and tedious; and the principal points of it were contained and answered in a letter of Beza to Corranus; which is published among his epistles. Whereupon the Ministers and elders complained against Corranus, before the Bishop and Commissioners Ecclesiastical, for defamation, as was said before.

Corranus's
Apology.

The conclusion of Corranus.

But, to make an end concerning this Spaniard: at length, by the favour chiefly of the Earl of Leicester it was not long, (but not before Grindal was removed to York,) Corranus brake through these clouds. For in the year 1571

Reads at the Temple;

he was preferred to be Reader of Divinity in Latin at the

Temple; and some years after he read Divinity at Oxford, CHAP. XV.
 having first purged himself of certain doctrines formerly charged upon him. And becoming a member of the Church of England, obtained a prebend of St. Paul's church, London; and having published several tracts, died, and was buried in London about the year 1591. Anno 1570. and at Oxford.

The nation was now in a great ferment, and the Queen's hands were full. The power of Spain threatened her. The Queen of Scots, that pretended a right to this crown, had many friends in England, and endeavours were used to set her at liberty, and to make a marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, without Queen Elizabeth's knowledge: jealousies of Papists every where: a rebellion brake out in the north, wherein two earls, and most of the eminent families in those parts were concerned: upon the Queen's compassion to the miserable and almost desperate case of the French Protestants, she permitted some of her subjects to go into France to defend the common cause of religion. Hence she drew the French King upon her, who, together with the Spaniard and the Pope, conspired against her peace and life: and in Scotland the French raised disturbances against her. Lastly, in Munster, in her kingdom of Ireland, some of the chiefest nobility rebelled. This present condition, wherein England now stood, employed all the wise heads of her Counsellors. Those who in this juncture had a concern for the Queen and religion, had their eyes upon the counsels of the Court, and hearts full of trembling, what would be the issues of these matters. Bishop Grindal was among this number. In this interval Secretary Cecil sent him a kind letter in October, to know how he did, and to hear of his health, fearing some indisposition or sickness, because he had not heard from him of late. The good Bishop soon answered him, "That he was well, *pro more suo*, [that is, according to his constitution, which was none of the best,] and so was his household also. And that he had not written to him of late, because he would not trouble him, being otherwise occupied in affairs of greatest importance. That he, and such poor

In the present dangers, the Bishop's behaviour.

150

BOOK "men, prayed daily unto God, that he would give the
 I. "Lords, and all them of the Council, the spirit of wisdom
 Anno 1570. "and fortitude, that they might *bene explicare consilia*,
 "for the Queen's Majesty's safety and surety."

Ross, the
 Scotch Bi-
 shop, taken
 up, and
 committed
 to him a-
 gainst his
 will.

In these times, Lesly, Bishop of Ross, a busy, active, crafty man, was Mary Queen of Scots' great agent here; who was privy to the practice of the marriage between the Duke of Norfolk and her: and under the name of Morgan Philips, set forth a book, in answer to some others, to maintain his mistress's title to the succession, and for his arguments making use of the opinions of Sir Anthony Brown and Carel, two learned lawyers, Papists. He privately promoted the northern rebellion; kept a secret correspondence with the Pope; and distributed twelve thousand crowns sent from the Pope, to some of the chief rebels fled to Scotland. This Scotch Prelate, to make himself the more popular, and to be taken notice of, in October shewed himself in St. Paul's (which was a common walking place) with as much splendor and retinue as he could make. Whereof one thus writ to the Bishop; "The Bishop of Ross mustered this day in St. Paul's church, in a gown of damask, with a great rout about him, and attending upon him, as it were to be seen and known to the world," &c. Grindal liked not the man, nor his communication: and therefore thought convenient to signify this to the Secretary; saying, that he referred to his judgment what might be gathered of such doings. It was not long after, divers treasonable things came to light, to have been practised by this Bishop; whereupon he was taken up: and in February there was an intention to commit him to the Bishop of London. But he was afraid of the man, and whose company he professed utterly to dislike, and begged Cecil that he might not be forced on him, being a man of such qualities as he liked nothing at all. That if he must needs have a guest, he had rather keep Hare still, (a Papist gentleman lately committed to him, of whom we shall speak presently.) And that the Dean of St. Paul's was commonly with him at meals, his wife and family being then at Hadham, intimat-

ing thereby that he had guests enough: "and to be plain," CHAP.
 at length added he, "surely I think it were good that such XV.
 "as deserve to be committed, should be sent *ad custodias* Anno 1570.
 "*publicas*. And that experience had declared none were 151
 "reformed that were sent to him and others: and that by
 "receiving of them, the punishment light upon the Bi-
 "shops rather than them:" but all this could not prevent
 our Bishop's receiving of Ross; and under his roof he
 came; till the next year, when the Bishop was delivered of
 him; and then he fell to his practising again.

Milerus, the Irishman, (of whom we spake before,) re- His coun-
 mained still with the Bishop. And having harboured him sel about
 now a quarter of a year, or thereabouts, he was very weary Milerus the
 of his guest; and together with a petition of the said Mi- Irishman.
 lerus, which he sent withal, he in a letter to the Secretary
 prayed him to get him discharged of him: adding, that in
 his opinion it were good he were sent by a pursuivant at
 his own charges to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, there to
 be ordered as they of the Council should send instructions,
 or as the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bi-
 shops of the Council there should think requisite. For which
 he subjoined Cyprian's judgment, who would have things
 judged in the countries where the faults were committed.

Another Popish guest put upon our Bishop by the One Hare,
 Council, about this time, was Michael Hare, Esq. whom a Papist,
 they sent to him, November 15, with an order prescribed committed
 by them, and brought by those that were the bringers of to the Bi-
 the said Hare; which was to this effect, that the Bishop shop.
 should according to his prudence and learning deal with
 him to bring him to conformity in the religion established.
 He was a gentleman of an obliging behaviour, modest in
 his words, shewing no obstinacy in discourse with him,
 but yet fast enough in his principles. After he had been
 now about six weeks with the Bishop, time enough for the
 Bishop to know him, he signified to the Secretary first,
 that he found him very gentle-natured, but nothing relent-
 ing in religion; and yet very ignorant in the Scriptures.

BOOK And Jan. 14 following, the Bishop wrote to the Lords
I. concerning him: "that he had conferred and travailed with

Anno 1570. "him, (as his other businesses would permit,) to persuade
"him to resort to Common Prayer, and to communicate
"with them in the Lord's Supper, and generally to assent to
"all points of godly religion by law established in this
"realm. That he found the said Mr. Hare in all other
"matters very courteous and tractable; but could not yet
"persuade him; alleging always, that he was not yet
"satisfied in conscience; and that for conscience sake only
"he forbore so to do; and not of malice. That the princi-
"pal ground whereon he most stayed himself in all con-
"ferences was the long continuance of the contrary re-
"ligion in the times that had gone before: notwithstanding
"sundry allegations by the Bishop made, and divers au-
"thorities shewed, that the most ancient times agreed with
"us. Thus much he thought it his duty to signify to their
"Lordships according to their order prescribed him, and
"referred the rest to their wisdoms."

152 In the midst of this care and watchfulness against the
Examina- Papists, many Popish gentlemen being known to reside in
tion of Pa- the Temple as students of the law, the Council by their
pists in the letters appointed the Bishop, (in whose diocese they were,)
Inns of Court. with the rest of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to call for
several of them before them: and to put interrogatories to
them, concerning their frequenting the Temple church and
the Communion there; concerning their going to hear mass
celebrated in the Temple, in White Friars, and the Spital:
concerning their having and reading the books of Harding,
Dorman, and others, against the Queen's supremacy; and
their seeing of letters written from those authors: and lastly,
concerning divers bad speeches and expressions uttered by
them against religion and the preachers. Some of these
after examination were committed to the Fleet.

Differences The Bishop had his eye often upon the University,
in St. John's knowing what an influence it was like to have both upon
college, religion and the state. St. John's college in Cambridge, a
Cambridge.

member of which the Secretary once was, (and ever a great patron and friend,) that had bred up the best wits, and many that were now, and of late, of admirable use in the realm; this college was lately much pestered with intestine variances and heats, partly about conformity in the habits, and partly about the election of a new governor. There was great bandying and party-taking, accusing and recriminating: some were for Dr. Kelk; some, and they a considerable party in the house, favouring Puritanism, laboured for Dr. Fulk. But at last, by the counsel and pains of Cecil, they, waving both, unanimously fixed upon Nicolas Shepherd, B. D. one of their own house, for their Master; whom, in their letter to Cecil their patron, they styled their Ποιμένα, *Shepherd*, alluding to his name, *Qui perturbantem remp. restituere tanquam alter Camillus reversus est*: i. e. "Who like another Camillus returned to restore their shattered commonweal." Shepherd, presently after his election, came up to make his address to the Secretary, and to our Bishop; who, glad of so hopeful a governor of this great college, once so famous for learned and pious men, gave his own recommendations in Shepherd's behalf to the said Secretary in these words:

"Sir, this bringer, Mr. Shepherd, Batchelor of Divinity, is with great consent of the company chosen Master of St. John's college in Cambridge. He is one that I conceive good opinion of. And surely I trust, by his providence, indifferency, and good government, he shall restore that house to the ancient fame it had in your days and mine. I pray you let him have your patrocinie in all his lawful sutes, as ye have always been, and ever must be, patron of that house and the governors thereof. God keep you. From Powles, ultimo Decembris, 1569.

CHAP.
XV.

Anno 1569.

Recommends the new Master to Cecil.

"Yours in Christ,
"Edm. London."

CHAP. XVI.

153 *The Bishop's dealings with Bonham and Crane. The Separatists complain of the Bishop. The Council writes to the Bishop concerning them. The Bishop's account of them to the Council; and vindication of himself. His advice.*

The Bishop's dealing with Bonham and Crane, two Ministers, separatists.

THE separatists, who in the beginning of this year had the favour shewn them to be set at liberty by the Bishop, did, it seems, continue their former practices of using private assemblies, and performing religious offices in a way of their own, different from what was allowed and enjoined; notwithstanding the Bishop's admonition to them at their dismissal, and the threatenings of the Council read to them, if they did move any more disturbances on that behalf. Their chief teachers were Bonham and Crane; who at these house-meetings did use to preach and expound the Scriptures, to baptize, administer the Communion, marry according to the Geneva book, (which they styled *the most sincere order*,) and withal very vehemently would inveigh against the government and religious usages of the Church of England: for which they had been taken up; but obtained their liberty again; yet with some promise to carry themselves with more moderation and forbearance for the future. Bonham promised under his hand before the Bishop's Vicar General, that for the time to come he would neither preach nor be present at any preaching in private, contrary to the laws of the land: after which the Bishop granted him liberty to preach. But Bonham little regarded his promise, but married and baptized according to another form. And Crane also, who had promised the like, proceeded to do as he had done before. Whereat Bonham was taken up again by the Bishop's order, and Crane was forbid to preach any more in his diocese.

Schismatics complain against the Bishop to the Council.

Upon this, the Londoners of their party, who also had been under confinement at Bridewell, and set at liberty, as was shewn above, were much displeased with Grindal,

and took the confidence to make a complaint against him to the Privy Council, as though he had broke his word with them, as having allowed them not to resort to their parish churches, and tolerated their different ways and modes of divine service, and given licence to Bonham and Crane to hold private lectures. For to this tenor ran their supplication to the Council:

“ We beseech your Honour for God's cause favourably
 “ to consider of these few lines. The effect is to certify
 “ you, that whereas a certain of us poor men of the city
 “ were kept in prison one whole year for our conscience
 “ sake, because we would serve our God by the rule of his
 “ holy word, without the vain and wicked ceremonies and
 “ traditions of Papistry; and being delivered forth the 23d
 “ of April last past, by authority of the honourable Coun-
 “ cil's letter, as the Bishop declared to us all at his house
 “ the third of May, saying, that means had been made to
 “ your Honours for our liberty: the effect thereof, he said,
 “ was, that we were freed from our parish churches, and
 “ that we might hear such preachers whom we liked best
 “ of in the city: also, whereas we requested to have Baptism
 “ truly ministered to our children according to the word
 “ and order of the Geneva book; he said, that he would
 “ tolerate it, and appoint two or three to do it; immediately
 “ after, at our request, he appointed two preachers, Bonham
 “ and Crane, under his hand-writing to keep a lecture.

“ But now of late, because Bonham did marry a couple,
 “ and baptize one of our children by the order of the said
 “ book, which is most sincere, he hath commanded him to
 “ be kept close prisoner; and Mr. Crane also he hath com-
 “ manded not to preach in his diocese.

“ By these means we were driven at the first to forsake
 “ the churches, and to congregate in our houses. Now we
 “ protest to your Honour, we never yielded to no condition
 “ in our coming forth of prison, but minded to stand fast in
 “ the same sincerity of the Gospel, that we did when we
 “ were in prison, approved and commanded of God in his
 “ word. And therefore we humbly beseech your Honour

BOOK "to let us have your furtherance and help in so good a
 I. "cause: that our bodies and goods be no more molested for
 Anno 1569. "standing in this good purpose, which we most heartily
 "desire to see flourish throughout this realm, to God's high
 "honour, the preservation of your honourable personages,
 "and safeguard of this realm."

The Council send a message to the Bishop hereupon.

Hereupon the Lords wrote a letter to the Bishop, and sent withal the said supplication; and required to know of him, what his proceedings had been with these men; and lastly, what course, in his opinion, were fit to be used with them. This accusation wherewith they had charged him in their supplication touched the reverend Father somewhat closely: for therein he saw they had wrongfully represented his doings with them, and thereby dealt very ingratfully with him, who had used gentleness and mercy towards them; hoping by that means the better to bring them off from their singularity.

His answer to the Council, shewing what he had done with these men, and what he thought were best to be done with them. Int. epist. Grind. penes me.

The Bishop despatched an answer to the Council's letter in the beginning of January; and shewed particularly what he had done in this affair, and what his judgment was concerning dealing with men of these principles. And because the Bishop's letter is so declarative of these matters, I choose to lay it here before the reader, in his own words:

"It may please your Honours to be advertised, that
 "I have received your letters of the 29th of December last,
 "and withal a bill exhibited to your Lordships for maintenance of singularity in religion, in certain disordered persons. In which letters also your LL. require to know,
 "in what sort I have heretofore proceeded towards them,
 "and also to know, what order in mine opinion is best to
 "be taken with them.

155 "For the first. In April last past, I wrote my letter to
 "Mr. Secretary, declaring unto him, that if the said disordered persons were then after a year's imprisonment,
 "simple, and without condition set at liberty, saving only
 "an earnest admonition to live in good order hereafter
 "both I, and many other that were their friends, and yet

“conformable subjects, had conceived very certain hope, CHAP.
 “that taste of liberty, and experience of your clemency, XVI.
 “should in time work good obedience in them; which by Anno 1569.
 “compulsion of imprisonment could not be wrought. And
 “that if by tryal it were found, that this proceeding did no
 “good, then might they easily be committed again. The
 “motion of these letters shewed unto your LL. was ap-
 “proved by the same, as appeareth in your letters of the
 “28th of the said April. Wherein also your LL. referred
 “the order of them to my discretion. I thereupon calling
 “the principals of them, read unto them your letters,
 “wherein, amongst other things, is contained this admoni-
 “tion following:

*Letting them understand, when you shall release them, An order
 that if any of them, after their enlargement, shall in the
 behave themselves factiously, or disorderly, they shall Council's
 not fail to receive such punishment, as may be an letters con-
 example to others of their sort hereafter: and so with cerning
 such further admonition as you shall think convenient, them.
 your Lordship may deal with them, as you shall see cause.*

“And after the reading of your said letters, with further
 “and earnest admonition by me given to like effect, in the
 “presence of a good number, I caused them to be enlarged.

“And herein your LL. may easily perceive how untruly
 “these men burden me. For how could I say, that your
 “LL. had exempted them from the laws, when as by the
 “letters, read unto them openly at that very instant, the
 “contrary did manifestly appear? And whether I licensed
 “Bonham or Crane to preach to them according to their
 “fantasies, that may appear also by a promise made by the
 “said Bonham, sent herewith in writing, before he had my
 “license to preach, the said license being granted afore
 “their enlargement, and not after, as they suggest. And
 “furthermore, Crane was admitted only by word of mouth
 “upon like promise. But now of late, perceiving that
 “these disordered persons, and their preachers, did keep
 “no promise, but began to enter into open breach of the

BOOK I. " laws, and disturbance of good order, I have imprisoned,
 Anno 1569. " and discharged some of them, as is alledged; and was
 " appurposed now in the end of these holidays to deal
 " with more of them to like effect, though your letters had
 " not come. Wherein my Lord of Canterbury and I have
 " had divers conferences.
 " But now that the matter is opened unto your LL. and
 " that by their own means, mine opinion is, that all the
 " heads of this unhappy faction should be with all expedi-
 " tion severely punished, to the example of others, as people
 156 " phanatical and incurable: which punishment, if it pro-
 " ceed by order from your LL. shall breed the greater
 " terror. And because all prisoners, for any colour of any
 " religion, be it never so wicked, find great supportation
 " and comfort in London, in my opinion, (under your LL.
 " correction,) it were not amiss that six of the most despe-
 " rate of them should be sent to the common gaol of Cam-
 " bridge, and six likewise to Oxford, and some other of
 " them to other gaols near hereabouts, as to your wisdoms
 " shall be thought expedient. The names of those that were
 " enlarged by me, I send to your LL. in a schedule annexed.
 " And thus praying pardon for troubling your LL. with
 " so long a letter, I commend your good LL. to Almighty
 " God, who ever have you in his blessed keeping. From
 " my house at Powles in London, this 4th of January,
 " 1569.

" Your LL. in Christ,

" Edm. London."

The names of those that were enlarged were specified before. The promise of Bonham, sent with the above letter, was as follows:

Bonham's
 promise,
 which he
 breaks.

" Memorandum, That I, William Bonham, do faithfully
 " promise, that I will not any time hereafter use any
 " publick preaching, or open reading, or expounding of the
 " Scriptures: nor cause, neither be present at, any private
 " assemblies of prayer, or expounding of the Scriptures, or
 " ministring the Communion in any house, or other place,

“contrary to the state of religion, now by publick authority
 “established, or contrary to the laws of this realm of Eng- CHAP.
XVI.
 “land. Neither will I inveigh against any rites or ceremo- Anno 1569.
 “nies used or received by common authority within this
 “realm.”

This promise was read and declared by the said William Bonham, before Thomas Huick, Doctor of Law, and Vicar General to the Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund Bishop of London, at his house in Pater-noster Row in London, the first day of May 1569. For the performance whereof, the said William Bonham hath faithfully promised for to observe the same: being also present at the reading thereof, Thomas Jones, Deputy to Mr. Bedell, Clerk to the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical. Thus the foresaid promise was certified to the Lords.

And thus we have brought our good Bishop to the last year of his care of the diocese of London. And now, by the disposition of Divine Providence, he was to be removed to exercise his godly wisdom and pains in another part of the Church, planted more northerly; as we shall hear in the ensuing book. But here at present we take off our pen.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE AND ACTS
OF THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
EDMUND GRINDAL,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Grindal's nomination for York. His concern for the re-formation of the Savoy. A visitation of it. His confirmation. His advice about Cartwright, and his lectures at Cambridge. Goes down into Yorkshire. The qualities of the people there. His officers. Confirms a Bishop of Carlisle. Visits his diocese.

THE archbishopric of York had now lain vacant ever since June 1568. Tho. Young the Archbishop then deceased. For this high promotion much interest was made. And among the rest, the Lord Henry Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, aspired to it. A person he was of good learning, great parts, and as great conceit of himself, and withal very active, but Popish. And being laid aside in this attempt of him and his friends, he became, perhaps for that reason, the more busy against the government.

Anno 1569.

Henry Howard

makes interest to be Archbishop of York.

BOOK II. For in the year 1571, he was, with others, suspected to be concerned about the Scotch Queen, and committed to the

Anno 1569. custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and grew vehemently Popish; and was thought to be the nobleman who in a conspiracy anno 1584. was to have been elected by Papists King of England, and married to the Queen of Scots, (for which ambition his brother the Duke had suffered before,) and the election to be confirmed by the Pope. This man, in the year 1588, wrote a vainglorious book against all prophecies, and dedicated it to Sir Francis Walsingham the Secretary. But though this person could not arrive to this, or any other preferment under Queen Elizabeth, yet by King James I. he was made Earl of Northampton and Lord Privy Seal. But however, for to serve his turn, he concealed his religion; yet he died a Papist.

Grindal stands fairest.

Archbishop Parker's opinion.

158

This man therefore being waved, Grindal, a northern man by birth, stood fairest for York; and in the latter end of this year was designed for it, by the favour of Secretary Cecil, and the approbation of Parker the Archbishop, who was consulted about it; and signified that he liked well of his removal; for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London, since many of the Ministers and people thereof (notwithstanding all his pains) still leaned much to their former prejudices against the ecclesiastical constitution. But withal he told the Secretary, that my Lord of London would be very fit for York; "who were," as he styled them, "*a heady and stout people*; witty, "but yet able to be dealt with by good governance, as long "as laws could be executed, and men backed." But this business of the remove hung in suspense till April 1570. when I find him sending his servant Richard Ratcliff to the Secretary, to attend upon him from time to time, and to solicit for the prosecution of the matter intended toward him; and referring the whole to the said Secretary's order, as his leisure and opportunity should serve.

Anno 1570. Grindal's care about reforming the abuses

The last act of good service which (as I meet with) our Bishop did in his diocese before his translation, was the reformation of the hospital of the Savoy, almost brought to

utter ruin by an ill master. It had been a very charitable CHAP. foundation for the comfort, relief, and harbour of great numbers of poor travellers. An antiquarian shews at large, Anno 1570. how it was built at first by Peter Duke of Savoy; over- of the Sa- thrown by the rebels of Kent, being then the Duke of Lan- voy. caster's house; founded anew by King Henry VII; sup- Weaver's Monum. p. pressed the 7th of King Edward VI. [but given, I find, 445, &c. by him to the city, for the use of Christ Church Hospital;] and founded again by Queen Mary, in the 4th of her reign; when the ladies of the Court, and madams of honour stored the same with beds and furniture. Mention is also there made of the rules, orders, and statutes thereof, extracted out of the grand charter, as it is extant in the Cotton library. Of this royal foundation, and of the great abuses of it by Thurland the present Master, a bill of complaints was brought to our Bishop in April, 1570. Which he signified to the Secretary, wishing for some careful inspection into the causes of it; saying, that if matters were as true as they were by some of the Fellows of that house affirmed to be, it were very good some reformation were had. In short, Procures a soon after, he procured, by means of the Secretary, (a per- commission son forward to any good thing of that nature,) a commission from the Queen to visit this hospital; himself, now Archbi- shop of York, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, Tho. Huick, Doctor of Laws, and William Constantine, also Doctor of Law, Surrogate, deputed by Tho. Watts, Professor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Middlesex, with divers others, Commissioners: who after mature hearing and examination of the cause, deprived the said Thurland from the hospital. And the definitive sentence was read by the said The Master Arch- bishop of York, July the 29th, 1570. The crimes deprived; charged and proved against him, as they are expressed in and why. the said sentence of deprivation, were many and gross: as non-residence, fornication and incontinency; an evil and fraudulent administration of the goods of the house, neglect of the poor, selling of the moveable goods, leasing out the lands, contrary to the tenor of the statutes, and alienation of them; keeping the common seal in the hand of some of 159

BOOK
II.

Anno 1570.

Numb. I.

his servants, and sealing therewith certain obligations without the knowledge of the Chaplains, and that for borrowing of money for his own use; and sealing also divers grants without the knowledge or consent of the Chaplains, to the great loss and prejudice of the house: also dissipating, wasting, and dilapidating the goods and rents of the house: whereby he had incurred the damnable guilt of perjury. A particular account of these crimes under seventeen articles, as they were brought in to the Bishop by the Chaplains, and proved, may be found in the Appendix. Nay, so scandalous was this Thurland, for making away the lands and revenues of the hospital by long leases, that after his death there rose up a lease, as made by the said Master in the second year of the Queen, for two hundred years, of all the whole manors, lands, houses, rents, and revenues belonging to the hospital, to Perwich and Cosin, paying the rents they then went at: which lease in the year 1583. came to some contest at law. But it appeared to be made many years after date, and sealed by Thurland, without the knowledge of the Chaplains, (having the seal in his own custody,) to the use of one Wetheral of Lincoln's Inn, in whose keeping it was at his death. And this Wetheral left behind him a note, that Perwich and Cosin should assign a moiety of this lease to James Wetheral his brother; who sued them in the Chancery for the same.

This is enough to shew how worthy this Master was of deprivation; and how good a work this of our Bishop (among many others) was.

The abuses
found by
the visitors.

But to return to the visitation, wherein how things were found, I will more particularly set down from an original.

“ As touching the state of the lands and revenues of the
“ said hospital at the time of the deprivation of the said
“ Thurland, it was presented and found before the said
“ visitors, that the said Thomas Thurland the space of
“ eleven years together continued Master, and received the
“ whole revenues of the said house, and kept the statutes of
“ the same from the perpetual Chaplains, and got into his
“ hands the common seal, and kept it to his own private use

“ contrary to the statutes. And therewithal, of his own CHAP
 “ private authority, made and granted divers unprofitable 1.
 “ leases of the lands of the said hospital for excessive num- Anno 1570.
 “ ber of years, as for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, eighty, and Long leases.
 “ above, the certainty whereof cannot yet be known.” And
 “ namely, made one lease to Mr. Fanshaw, of the manor of
 “ Dengey, for six hundred years ; another to one Anderton
 “ of Landen, in Yorkshire and Lancashire, for a thousand
 “ years. And now of late it is declared, that the said An-
 “ derton had no lease, but a plain sale thereof.

“ Also, that the said Thurland, being fallen into great
 “ debts for his own private affairs, bound the said hospital
 “ under the common seal aforesaid for payments of his own
 “ private debts ; and with the revenues of the said house
 “ paid them ; and did suffer certain extents to be sued forth
 “ upon the said lands for his own debts. So that by one
 “ way and other the said hospital is charged for his private
 “ debts, as by the auditor’s book appeareth, which he shewed
 “ to the visitors, to the sum of one thousand nine hundred 160
 “ thirty eight pounds, sixteen shillings and eight pence.

“ *Item*, he sold away of his own head the fee simple of
 “ an house and land at Mile End, of the yearly value of five
 “ pounds, converting the money thereof to his own private
 “ use.

“ Also, he bound the hospital by their common seal to
 “ pay sixty pounds for thadvouson of the benefice of Den-
 “ bigh ; and hath sold the same again to his own use.

“ Also, he sold away the jewels, copes, vestments, and
 “ other ornaments of the said house ; also, a chalice with a
 “ cover double gilt ; also, very fair plate, given to the said
 “ house by Mr. Feckenham, then Dean of Powles. For
 “ which the hospital is bound yearly to pay forty shillings
 “ to the petty canons of Powles for evermore.”

And therefore this unworthy man being by the Queen’s Two Chap-
 visitors justly found culpable, and deprived, as was shewed lains ap-
 before, the said visitors before his deprivation caused an in- pointed
 ventory to be taken of all the moveable goods remaining at governors
 that time in the said hospital, as well of that which appertain- during the
vacation.

BOOK ed to the household, as of the bedding and furniture apper-
II. taining to the poverty that daily were lodged there: and
Anno 1570. the same forthwith, upon the said Master's deprivation, was
 committed to William Neale and John Hodgeson, two of
 the perpetual Chaplains there, who were by the said visitors
 made governors of the same hospital during the vacation;
 and had the governance of the said house, and the receipts
 of the lands thereof; and did yearly during their lives
 make account of their office to the auditor of the said house.

The Arch- Nor did Grindal, now Archbishop, stop here: but when
bishop's let- four years after the Savoy was yet unsettled, and Thurland
ter to the (such was this unworthy man's interest at Court) was like
L. Burgh- to come in Master again, the Archbishop wrote an earnest
ley, for a letter to Cecil, now Lord Burghley, to prevent it, if pos-
Master of sible, in this tenor of words:
the Savoy.

Int. epist. " My very good Lord; I and others, by virtue of her
Grind. " Majesty's Commission, obtained by your Lordship's good
 " means, took pains, visiting the hospital of Savoy almost
 " four years ago; and finding the said hospital to have
 " been universally spoiled by Parson Thurland, then Mas-
 " ter there, we proceeded to his deprivation by sentence
 " according to the law, and agreeable to the statutes of the
 " house. Now I am informed, that the said Thurland
 " maketh earnest suit, and is in some hope, to be restored
 " to his place again; which were a pitiful case. I moved
 " her Majesty in it at my last being at the Parliament;
 " praying her Majesty to remember, that it was her grand-
 " father's foundation, and that it was the case of the poor,
 " and therefore Christ's own cause. Her Highness was
 " then resolutely determined that Thurland should never
 " be restored to that room any more. I pray your good
 " Lordship finish that good work which ye began, and
 " move her Majesty, that some other fit man (as Mr. Wick-
 161 " ham, her Chaplain, or one of like godly zeal towards the
 " poor members of Christ) may be admitted to that place,
 " and that the other spoiler may be put out of all hope to
 " recover that room; and then by reforming of some im-

“perfections in the statutes, which were incident to all CHAP.
 “foundations of that age, the house may be employed to a I.
 “great relief of the poor, and her Majesty shall do as good Anno 1570.
 “a deed in it, as if her Highness should erect a new one of
 “her own foundation. Thus ceasing any further to trouble
 “your Lordship, I heartily commend the same to the grace
 “of God. From Bishopthorp, this 26th of April, 1574. /5
 “Your Lordship’s in Christ,
 “Edm. Ebor.”

Thus more than ordinary earnest was this good Archbishop, and that because it was a matter of charity. The Chaplains of the house supplicated the Lord Burghley that a person so obnoxious might not return to them again, but rather that Mr. James of Oxford might be preferred to the place. But yet after all, (such was the Queen’s clemency,) the old Master obtained his place again, yet with promise under his hand of governing better, and satisfying the debts of the hospital by him contracted, and to restore to the use of the said hospital all such rents as since he was removed he had received; having promised to the visitors under his hand, that he would not meddle with any receipt thereof.

But let us turn now a little back, and observe the first ^{Regist.} entrance of Grindal upon his new advancement. His ^{Grind.} register at York dates his translation from London to be May the 1st, this year, and his instalment by proxy June the 9th.

Being now to succeed in the province of York, he took ^{Grindal} a journey to Canterbury, where Archbishop Parker had ^{confirmed} lately repaired, to look after his church and charge there. ^{at Canter-} And on Trinity Sunday making a most splendid dinner, he invited the Archbishop of York elect to be his guest, who was accompanied by Curtess, consecrated Bishop of Chichester the same day, the Bishops of Winton and Rochester being also present; so that this feast was graced by two Archbishops and three Bishops. The next day, being Monday, Grindal was confirmed there by the Archbishop,

- BOOK II.** who also gave him his induction into the possession of his see.
- Anno 1570.** He soon after had the affliction of an ague, perhaps gotten this journey into Kent; whereby he was forced to delay some time his going down into his diocese, remaining still at London house by Paul's.
- Hath an ague.**
- Detained in London.** It was now Midsummer, and the Archbishop was still detained in London about his suits, before he could get them despatched. Another business now in hand was settling his gift upon Pembroke hall in Cambridge, whereof he had been Master, to obtain a licence of mortmain in that behalf; wherein he made use of the friendship and furtherance of the Secretary.
- A mortmain for Pembroke hall.**
- His advice to restrain Cartwright.** There was also another matter relating to the University, which he was now in a great concern about. For Thomas 162 Cartwright, of Trinity college, and Reader of the Lady Margaret's Lecture, had carried away a considerable number of scholars with him, and brought them to a dislike of the present settlement of the ecclesiastical state: insomuch that the graver sort, and Heads of the University, were mightily disturbed, and had convented him before them. Some of them thought it convenient also to make their application to the Archbishop; who hereupon wrote thus earnestly to the Secretary of State, their Chancellor, shewing also particularly what his doctrines were.
- His letter to the Secretary to that purpose.** "I am to move you for the University of Cambridge; which if you help not speedily, your authority will shortly grow to great disorder. There is one Cartwright, B. D. and Reader of my Lady Margaret's Divinity Lecture,
- Paper Office.** "who, as I am very credibly informed, maketh in his Lectures daily invectives against the extern policy and distinction of states, in the ecclesiastical government of this realm. His own positions, and some other assertions which have been uttered by him, I send herewith. The youth of the University, which is at this time very toward in learning, doth frequent his Lectures in great numbers; and therefore in danger to be poisoned by him with love of contention and liking of novelties; and so

“ become hereafter, not only unprofitable, but also hurtful CHAP.
 “ to the Church. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads of I.
 “ Houses proceed not so roundly in this case as were re- Anno 1570.
 “ quisite, in my judgment. For reforming whereof, if it
 “ please you to know my opinion, I wish you wrote your
 “ letters to the Vice-Chancellor with expedition, willing
 “ him to command the said Cartwright and all his adhe-
 “ rents to silence, both in schools and pulpits; and after-
 “ ward, upon examining and hearing the matters past, be-
 “ fore him and some of the Heads, or all, either to reduce
 “ the offenders to conformity, or to proceed to their punish-
 “ ment, by expulsion out of their colleges, or out of the
 “ University, as the cause shall require: and also, that the
 “ Vice-Chancellor do not suffer the said Cartwright to pro-
 “ ceed Doctor of Divinity at this Commencement, which he
 “ now sueth for: for, besides the singularity above re-
 “ hearsed, the said Cartwright is not conformable in his
 “ apparel; contemning also many other laudable orders of
 “ the University. Thus I cease to trouble you, and com-
 “ mend you heartily to the grace of God.” This was writ
 from St. Paul’s, June 24, 1570.

Then follow Cartwright’s positions, written and delivered
 by him to the Vice-Chancellor, viz.

Archiepiscoporum et Archidiaconorum nomina suspecta Cart-
wright’s
positions;
sunt.

1. *Archiepiscoporum, Archidiaconorum, Cancellariorum,
 Commissariorum, &c. (ut hodie apud nos sunt) munera,
 apostolicâ institutione non nituntur, cui restituendæ quis-
 que pro vocatione suâ studere debet (intelligo autem id pro
 vocatione suâ) ut Magistratus autoritate, Ecclesiæ Ministri
 verbo, singuli eam promoveant. Ita tamen ut nihil tumultuariè
 aut seditiosè fiat.*

2. *Ministrorum electio quæ apud nos est ab institutione* 163
*apostolicâ deflexit: cui restituendæ, sicut prædictum est,
 singuli studere debent. Nolim autem me putet quispiam
 omnes damnare, tanquam à ministerio alienos, qui ad illam
 institutionem hactenus non fuerint cooplati.*

BOOK II. Other assertions uttered at other times by the said Cartwright:

Anno 1570. 1. That he himself being a Reader of Divinity, is a *Doctor* exercising the office named Ephes. iv. and therefore must only read, and may not preach.

2. No Ministers are to be made, nor no Pastors to be admitted, without election and consent of the people.

3. He that hath a cure may not preach, but only to his own flock. With many other such falsities.

This was the information and advice of the Archbishop relating to Cartwright, who this year began to shew himself more openly.

The Queen gives the Archbishop a cup. This first year, in token of the Queen's good affection to him, she gave him a standing cup double gilt; which he bequeathed at his death to Pembroke hall in Cambridge, where he had been Fellow and Master.

It was not before July 13th, this year, that Dr. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, his fellow exile and countryman, succeeded him in the see of London, and the full enjoyment of the temporalities: and July 20 he was installed by proxy.

Comes into Yorkshire. His first going down to York was not before the month of August; the 17th day whereof he came to Cawood, a seat of the Archbishops of York, where he was delivered from his late distemper: but he feared the air of that place, being very moist and gross, as he wrote in a letter to the Secretary. Nor did he much like Bishopsthorp, the other house nearer York, which was reported to him to be an extreme cold house for winter. Yet because he would be near York, to deal in matters of commission, he purposed to remove thither at Michaelmas. He was not received with such concourse of gentlemen at his first coming into the shire as he hoped for. Sir Thomas Gargrave, with his son, Mr. Bunnie, Mr. Watterton, one of the Savyls, and four or five gentlemen more, met him near to Doncaster, and conducted him unto the said Sir Thomas's house, where he lodged that night; and the next day met him at his church Mr. Ask, Mr. Hungate, and four or five more in-

Bishops-
thorp.

ferior gentlemen, and brought him to Cawood. But several came to him soon after, excusing themselves either by their own sickness, or of some of their families; as Sir William Babthorp, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. Goodrick, Mr. Beckwith, and some others: for indeed agues were at that time very universal throughout all that country. Sir Henry Gates was then with the Lord Lieutenant in the north, but came to the Archbishop upon his return.

In what condition he found the people of these parts at his first coming among them, take his own account in his own words, in his letter wrote to the Secretary, August 29.

"I cannot as yet write of the state of this country, as of mine own knowledge; but I am informed that the greatest part of our gentlemen are not well affected to godly religion, and that among the people there are many remainents of the old.

"They keep holydays and fasts abrogated: they offer money, eggs, &c. at the burial of their dead: they pray beads, &c. so as this seems to be as it were another Church, rather than a member of the rest. And for the little experience I have of this people, methinks I see in them three evil qualities; which are, great ignorance, much dulness to conceive better instruction, and great stiffness to retain their wonted errors. I will labour as much as I can to cure every of these, committing the success to God. I forbear to write unto her Majesty of these matters, till I may write upon better knowledge. In the mean time I shall not cease in my daily prayers to commend her Majesty to Almighty God. God keep you. From Cawood this 29th August, 1570.

"Yours in Christ,

"Edm. Ebor."

By postscript he took occasion to mention some others of the gentry that came to him that day to dinner, namely, Mr. Layton, Mr. Thomas Gowre, Mr. Place, with one Mr. Davel, who dwelt far off, and came only to welcome him: concerning which last he wished there were many such.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1570.

His Vicar-
General.His Chap-
lain.Confirms
Barnes Bi-
shop of
Carlisle.

Visits.

His com-
missions to
the Arch-
deacons,
with his in-
junctions.
E Collec-
tam. Rev.
Patr. W. Ep.
Carlisl. et
Rev. Mat.
Hutton,
D. D. e Re-
gistr. Grind.
Ebor. fol.
124. a.

The new Archbishop's Vicar General was John Rokeby, (who had been a Prebendary of York under King Edward,) whom he constituted in that office, January 1, in this first year of his translation: and Rodulph Tunstal was his domestic Chaplain; on whom he collated the prebend of Bychel in this church, March 15, 1571, and made him master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene in Ripon, September 24, 1572.

In this his first year, Aug. the 7th, he confirmed Richard Barnes, S. T. P. Bishop of Carlisle, of his province, in the room of John Best, late Bishop, deceased. The said Barnes had been Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, consecrated by Young, the preceding Archbishop, March 9, 1566, in the church of St. Peter's, in York; John, Bishop of Carlisle, and William, Bishop of Chester, assisting.

Our Archbishop began his visitation this present year 1570, giving forth his commission, which bore date the 26th of December, at Bishopsthorp; issuing out commission then to the four Archdeacons of the diocese, and to the Bishop of Man, "for the pulling down and demolishing those *sus- tentacula*, commonly called *roodlofts*, placed at the door "of the choir of every parish church, as footsteps and mo- numents of the old idolatry and superstition." [For it seems those *roodlofts* (at least in many churches) were still remaining in these northern parts.] "And this in pursu- ance of the Queen's injunctions, and an order of her Com- missioners for ecclesiastical causes to that purpose." To each of which commissions a schedule of three articles were annexed, (together with a printed copy of the foresaid or- ders,) which was as followeth:

- 165 "These articles following, we Edmonde, by the permis-
sion of God, Archbishop of York, Primate of England,
and Metropolitan, do command and enjoin to be put in
execution within the archdeaconry of York, by the Arch-
deacon of the same, or his Official, with speed and effect.
"I. *Imprimis*, That the fourme and order appointed in
the printed schedule hereunto annexed, for taking down
roodlofts, be duly and precisely observed within the said

"archdeaconry, as well within places exempt as not ex- CHAP.
empt. I.

"II. *Item*, That every Parson, Vicar, Curate, and other Anno 1570.
Mynister within the said archdeaconry, as well in places
exempt as not exempt, when he readeth morning or even-
ing prayer, or any part thereof, shall stand in a pulpit to
be erected for that purpose, and turn his face to the
people, that he may be the better heard, and the people
the better edified; provided always, that when the
churches are very small, it shall suffice that the Mynister
stand in his accustomed stall in the queere, so that a con-
venient desk or lecterne, with a rowme to turn his face
toward the people, be there provyded, at the charges of
the parish. The judgment and order whereof, and also
the fourme and order of the pulpit, as before, in greater
churches, we do refer unto the same Archdeacon, or his
Official. Provyded also, that all the prayers and other
service appointed for the mynistration of the holy Com-
munion, be said and done at the communion table only.

"III. *Item*, That every Mynister saying any publick
prayers, or ministring the sacraments, or other rites of
the Church, shall wear a comely surplesse with sleeves;
and that the parish provyde a decent table, standing in a
frame, for the communion table: and that no linnen
clothes, called *altar-clothes*, and before used about *masses*,
be laid upon the communion table; but that new be pro-
vyded, where provision hath not so been made afore."

CHAP. II.

Anno 1571. *A metropolitical visitation. A book of canons sent him from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Fears of a premunire. His injunctions to the province, Clergy and Laity, and to the Church of York. Whittingham, Dean of Durham, cited before the Archbishop. Bullinger answers the Pope's bull against the Queen. Contest about a prebend in York. Broxborn parsonage. The Archbishop's demesnes at Battersea. A Bishop of Man consecrated.*

Visits his province.

THE Archbishop the next year instituted a metropolitical visitation, beginning the 15th of May 1571, whereof there 166 seemed, in these parts especially, to be great need. Of this we shall hear more by and by.

The Archbishop of Canterbury sends him a book of canons of discipline.

About August this year, the Archbishop of Canterbury had some business with his brother, our Archbishop; for being old friends and fellow commissioners in ecclesiastical matters, this distance brake not off their friendship. Now he sent to him a book of articles and discipline, seasonable for his intended visitation; the same, I make no doubt, with that entitled, *Liber quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, which is still extant in Sparrow's Collection. It was drawn up in a late synod by the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other Bishops; to which all the Bishops of the province subscribed, either by themselves or proxies; but wanted the Queen's confirmation to authorize the observation of it: though she were privy to it, and did not dislike it, yet that did not seem sufficient to secure against a *premunire* those Bishops or others that should go about to enjoin it. And these were the fears of Archbishop Grindal, to whom his brother the other Archbishop sent it, with that intent to bring it in practice in his province, as it was made for that other. As for the book itself, he declared he liked it very well; and yet hereafter, if he doubted in any point, or wished it enlarged in any respect, he would signify it to his Grace [of Canterbury] afterwards. But he made hesitation, saying, "that he

Discourse between them about it.

“ stood in doubt whether the articles contained in it had CHAP. II.
 “ *vigorem legis*, i. e. *the virtue of a law* ; unless they had Anno 1571.
 “ been either concluded upon in a synod, and after ratified
 “ by her Majesty’s royal assent *in scriptis*, (fine words,”
 added he, “ fly away as wind, [meaning it, as it seems, of
 “ the Queen’s verbal approbation,] and would not serve us,
 “ if we were impleaded in a case of *premunire*,) or else Premunire.
 “ were confirmed by act of Parliament.” But the Bishop
 of Canterbury, in a letter soon after written, told him, that
 he was in more fear than he trusted would follow : for that
 he and the Bishop of Ely had so ordered the matter with
 the Queen, that seeing there was no new doctrine in the
 book, [but only matters of discipline and good order,] she
 seemed to be contented ; and that therefore, if it were re-
 pealed hereafter, there would be no fear of *premunire*-
 matter ; as he might better satisfy himself, by considering
 the statute. Thus Archbishop Parker wrote to him to put
 the book in force. But Grindal did not care to go upon
 such uncertainties.

But he gave forth his own injunctions as well to the The Arch-
 bishop’s in-
 junctions.
 Clergy as to the Laity, in his said metropolitical visitation,
 consisting of twenty-five articles each ; which are of good
 length : and in all of them he shewed a great zeal for the
 discipline and good government of the Church ; which is
 the observation of a very reverend Prelate upon the peru-
 sal of them : the chief and most remarkable whereof are
 these that follow, as they were extracted out of the register Mat. Hut-
 ton, D. D.
 in York by a reverend Divine, and communicated to me.

For the Clergy.

167

“ That for the ministration of the Communion bread, Archbishop
 Grind. Re-
 gist. fol. 153.
 “ they should not deliver it unto the people into their
 “ mouths, but into their hands ; nor should use at the min-
 “ istration of the Communion any gestures, rites, or cere-
 “ monies, not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer ;
 “ as crossing, or breathing over the sacramental bread or
 “ wine ; nor any shewing or lifting up of the same to the
 “ people, to be by them worshipped or adored, nor any

BOOK "such like; nor should use any oil or chrism, tapers,
 II. "spittle, or any other Popish ceremony, in the ministration
 Anno 1571. "of the sacrament of Baptism.

"None to be admitted to the Communion, being above
 "fourteen years old, that could not say by heart the Ten
 "Commandments and Lord's Prayer; nor none, being
 "fourteen years old and upwards, that could not say by
 "heart the Catechism.

"That they should marry no person, nor ask the banns
 "of matrimony of any, unless they could say the Catechism
 "by heart, or would recite the same to the Minister.

"That they should not church any unmarried woman
 "which had been gotten with child out of lawful matri-
 "mony, except it were upon some Sunday and holyday;
 "and except either she before childbed had done penance,
 "or at her churching did acknowledge her fault before the
 "congregation.

"The Communion to be received three times a year, be-
 "sides Ash Wednesday; viz. on one of the two Sundays
 "before Easter, on one of the two Sundays before Pente-
 "cost, and on one of the two Sundays before Christmas.

"The Articles of Religion to be read twice every year;
 "viz. on some Sunday within a month after Easter and
 "Michaelmas.

"The Queen's injunctions to be read in time of divine
 "service in churches and chapels once every quarter, and
 "the Archbishop's injunctions once every half year.

"No Minister (being unmarried) to keep in his house
 "any woman under the age of sixty years, except she be
 "their mother, aunt, sister, or niece.

For the Laity.

"No person, not being a Minister, Deacon, or at the least
 "tolerated by the Ordinary in writing, should attempt to
 "supply the office of a Minister, in saying of divine service
 "openly in any church or chapel.

"The prayers and other service appointed for the min-
 "istration of the holy Communion, to be said and done at

“ the communion table; except the Epistle and Gospel, CHAP.
 “ which should be read in the said pulpit [*i. e.* where read- II.
 “ ing was before appointed] or stall; and also the Ten Anno 1571.
 “ Commandments, when there was no Communion.

“ All altars to be pulled down to the ground, and the
 “ altar-stones defaced, and bestowed to some common use;
 “ and roodlofts altered. The materials to be sold to the
 “ use of the church.

“ At burials no ringing any hand-bells; no months 168
 “ minds, or yearly commemorations of the dead; nor any
 “ other superstitious ceremonies to be observed or used,
 “ which tended either to the maintenance of prayer for the
 “ dead, or of the Popish purgatory.

“ The Minister not to pause or stay between the Morn-
 “ ing Prayer, Litany, and Communion; but to continue
 “ and say the Morning Prayer, Litany, or Communion,
 “ or the service appointed to be said, (when there was no
 “ Communion,) together, without any intermission; to the
 “ intent the people might continue together in prayer and
 “ hearing the word of God, and not depart out of the
 “ church during all the time of the whole divine service.

“ All above fourteen years of age to receive in their own
 “ churches the Communion three times at least in the year:

“ No pedlar or other to set his wares to sell in church-
 “ porch or churchyard, nor any where else, on holidays or
 “ Sundays, while any part of divine service was in doing,
 “ or while any sermon was in preaching.

“ No innkeeper, victualler, or tippler, should admit in his
 “ house or backside any to eat, drink, or play at cards,
 “ tables, or bowls, in time of common prayer, preaching, or
 “ reading of homilies, on the Sundays and holidays; and
 “ no shops to be set open on Sundays and holidays, in
 “ time of common prayer, &c. And that in fairs and com-
 “ mon markets upon the Sundays, there be no shewing of
 “ any wares before all the morning service and the sermon
 “ (if there be any) be done.

“ No persons to wear beads, or pray either in Latin or
 “ English upon beads or knots, or any other like supersti-

BOOK "tious thing;—nor to burn any candle in the church super-
II. "stitiously upon the feast of the purification;—nor super-

Anno 1571. "stitiously to make upon themselves the sign of the cross,
"when they first enter into any church to pray; nor to
"say the *de profundis* for the dead; nor rest at any cross
"in carrying any corpse to burying; nor to leave any little
"crosses of wood there.

"Perambulation to be used by the people for viewing
"the bounds of their parishes in the days of the Rogation,
"commonly called *cross-week*, or *gang-days*: that the Min-
"ister use none other ceremonies than to say the two
"Psalms beginning, *Benedic, anima mea, Domino*; that is
"to say, the 103d and 104th Psalms, and such sentences of
"Scripture as be appointed by the Queen's injunctions,
"with the Litany and suffrages following the same, and
"reading one homily already decreed and set forth for
"that purpose, without wearing any surplice, carrying of
"banners or hand-bells, or staying at crosses, or such like
"Popish ceremonies.

"The Ministers and churchwardens not to suffer any
"lords of misrule, or summer lords or ladies, or any dis-
"guised persons or others, at Christmas or at May-games,
"or any minstrels, morrice-dances or others, at rish-bear-
"ings, or at any other times, to come irreverently into any
"church, or chapel, or churchyard in their dance, or play
169 "any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or
"ribald talk; namely, in the time of divine service, or of
"any sermon.

"The parish clerks were required to be able to read the
"first lesson, the Epistle and the Psalms, with answers to
"the suffrages as was used."

Popish su-
perstition
still in the
north.

By the heeding of which injunctions one may observe,
how old Popish customs still prevailed in these northern
quarters, and therefore what need there was of this gene-
ral visitation; as the frequent use and veneration of crosses,
months minds, obits and anniversaries, the chief intent
whereof was praying for the dead; the superstitions used
in going the bounds of the parishes; morris-dancers and

minstrels coming into the church in service-time, to the disturbance of God's worship; putting the consecrated bread into the receiver's mouth, as among the Papists the Priest did the wafer; crossing and breathing upon the elements in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and elevation; oil, tapers, and spittle in the other sacrament of Baptism; pauses and intermissions in reading the services of the Church; praying *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-nosters* upon beads; setting up candles in the churches to the Virgin Mary on Candlemas-day, and the like.

This provincial visitation continued the next year, viz. 1572, when his Grace, October 10, visited the Dean and Chapter of York, and gave them also injunctions, in nineteen articles; which (that I may bring these matters together) I shall also here set down briefly, viz.

"No Dignitary or Prebendary to let his principal mansion house to any lay person, or to any person, save to them that have dignities or prebends in the said church. So that if they do not inhabit the same themselves, or keep it against their repair to the said church, (which shall be twice every year at the least,) the said houses, according to the ancient laudable custom, shall remain to be inhabited by those that have dignities or prebends, lacking houses of their own. And every Prebendary at his admission, to take an oath to observe this order by consent of Dean and Chapter.

"A survey was ordered to be taken of all the lands and revenues belonging to the common, or to the deanery, or any office or prebend.

"The old statutes to be revised; and those abolished that were either not necessary, superstitious, or unprofitable: and the rest drawn into a book, to be confirmed and read in the chapter-house four times a year.

"Every Prebendary living twenty miles off the cathedral, to appoint his Proctor, one of the Canons, Prebendaries, or Vicars of the church; who should discharge all manner of duties incident to his prebend or dignity.

"The præcentor or his deputy, and the master of the

CHAP.

II.

Anno 1571.

The Arch-
bishop vi-
sits the
Dean and
Chapter.Injunctions.
Grind.
Regist.
Matt. Hutton, D. D.

BOOK "choristers, to provide, that the choristers should be virtu-
II. "ously brought up in the principles of religion; and to be

Anno 1571. "examined thrice every quarter of a year in the English

170 "Catechism, now lately set forth and enlarged." [The au-
thor whereof was Alex. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, Lon-
don, and approved by the synod anno 1562.]

"No charter, evidence, or other writing belonging to
"the church, to be taken out of the treasury, or vestry, or
"library, except he that take it write his name in a book,
"and bind himself to restore it, &c." These injunctions
were dated in the chapter-house, 10th October, 1572.

The Archbishop also ordered the course of preachers
for the cathedral church every Sunday and holiday, and a
table to be put up with the names of them; and so settled
the *ordo perpetuus pro concionibus in ecclesiis*: which was
observed (as Dr. Mat. Hutton hath noted in his book of
Collections, from whence I have transcribed these injunc-
tions) till the year 1685, when John Dolbin, then Arch-
bishop of York, ordered a new one.

Whitting-
ham cited
before the
Archbishop
of York.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Bi-
shops of Winton and Ely, chief of the Ecclesiastical Com-
missioners for the province of Canterbury, had been called
upon by the Queen to have regard to uniform order in the
Church, and to reform abuses of such persons as sought to
make alteration in what was established. Many of these
were Ministers who enjoyed benefices and places of profit in
the Church, and yet lived not in obedience to the rules and
injunctions of it. The men of this rank of the most fame
were, Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburne,
Goff, Whittingham, Gilby. These the said Commissioners
thought very fit to convent before them, and to press their
duty upon them; and if they persisted in refusal of it, to
deprive them. Some part of this work would lie upon the
Archbishop of York: for Lever, Whittingham, and Gilby,
being of the north, and so of his province, were thought to
fall under his cognizance. These two last had been exiles
at Geneva in the days of Queen Mary, and the heads of
those that then opposed the Communion Book. Whitting-

ham was he that had wrote a preface before that dangerous wild book of Goodman, against the lawfulness of women's government, and exciting the deposing of Queen Mary. Canterbury therefore writes to York, to send for both these to appear before their Commission Ecclesiastical at York. Whittingham was accordingly sent for by our Archbishop; and he looked for his appearance within three days, that is, by the 31st of August: of which he certified his brother of Canterbury, and that he would not fail to advertise him what his answer should be to the matters objected. And he added, that he trusted to find conformity in him, having subscribed concerning apparel, in his predecessor's days, as he took it. As for Gilby, he signified to the said Archbishop, that he could not deal with him; for he dwelt at Leicester, out of the province of York, and much nearer to London than to York. So Gilby was left to the Commissioners in the south. Lever had a prebend in the church of Durham; of which he was deprived, I suppose, about this time: but continued Master of Sherborn hospital till his death.

Henry Bullinger, the chief pastor in Zurich, and of the highest reputation there for learning, a great lover of England, took the pains to answer that unworthy bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, lately set forth against the Queen, deposing her from her kingdom, and commanding all her subjects, and other Christian princes, to take up arms against her. This seasonable answer that reverend man sent in writing to our Archbishop, about August this year; as he had also sent copies of it to the Bishops of Ely and Sarum; who were his acquaintance formerly in their exiles. Of this writing he certifies the Archbishop of Canterbury in the correspondence between them, making no doubt but he had seen it. But he hinted, how he stood in doubt, whether her Majesty and the Council could be contented, that it were published in Latin or English, or both. For that possibly they would not have the multitude to know, that any such vile railing bulls had passed from that see. And withal he signified to his brother of Canterbury, that he

CHAP.
II.

Anno 1571.

Lever.

Bullinger
sends him
his answer
to the bull
against the
Queen.

BOOK should be glad to know his Grace's opinion on it. Wherein
II. the said Archbishop soon resolved him, by letting him

Anno 1571. know, that Bullinger's book was printed in Latin, and that not without the advice of the Lord Burghley; and that it was translating in English: and one of the Latin books was sent by him to the Queen, fairly bound. And that there was no alteration at all, but in the 60th page only; which he might compare with his written book.

The Archbishop of Canterbury makes an inquiry concerning an Archbishop of York.

I am unwilling to omit the mention of a more private matter in these two Archbishops' correspondence. Archbishop Parker was a great searcher into the ecclesiastical history of England, and wanted now to know a particular (and one would think a slight) piece of history of the church of York: but such was his exactness in this kind of knowledge, that he sent twice to our Archbishop to be informed about it; viz. what the punctual day was of that great and celebrated installation feast of Archbishop Nevyl, brother to the great Earl of Warwick in Edward the Fourth's time; which was so extravagantly sumptuous and expensive, that the like had hardly ever been heard of, as it is set down in Godwin's Catalogue, under his name, together with the names of the noble guests and officers which attended; who were no less than divers earls, lords, and knights. But this remarkable day whereon this feast happened our Archbishop could not learn: and so he wrote to Archbishop Parker; adding, that the records there at York had been kept very negligently; but that he would cause further search to be made. Perhaps the most splendid entertainments that that brave Prelate had, or was about to make at Canterbury, occasioned this his inquisitiveness.

A prebend in contest between the Archbishop and others.

Toward the latter end of the year, the Archbishop shewed his resolution, as well as his care of providing his church of York with worthy men. For a good prebend there this year falling void, the presentation to which fell in contest between three; viz. the Archbishop, Webster, and Woodroff. The title Webster (who was by calling a cook) claimed by, was some pretended right of the next

advowson made over to him by Young, the last Archbishop; CHAP. II. which, whatever it were, was lodged in Woodroff, by some conveyance from Webster to him. And perhaps neither of Anno 1571. them were innocent of some unlawful dealings herein. But 172 now Webster and Woodroff were themselves fallen to pieces about the right of presenting. The Archbishop notwithstanding esteemed the true right to be in himself: and for this he had the judgment of the best lawyers. For whatsoever the former Archbishop had done to the contrary, it was not in his power to grant away the advowson. For which act our Archbishop passed this just censure on him; "That he did in this, as in some other things, "*præter officium*, in taking away (as much as in him lay) "the nominating and collating of a Canon to the church, "from himself and his successors Bishops, who by common "supposition were thought to be men learned, and most fit "to judge in such cases, and to grant the same to a master "cook unlearned, and therefore less able to judge. It were "more reason," said the Archbishop somewhat sharply, "that every man should deal in his own faculty, according "to the old proverb, *Tractent fabrilis fabri*; *i. e.* Let the "carpenter meddle with his tools: and so likewise, *Tractent culinaria coci*; *i. e.* Let cooks meddle with the affairs of their kitchen. So as Mr. Webster's case, being "both against a reasonable and good law, and having a "corrupt original, both in the Bishop's predecessor and "himself, was a cause odious, and deserved no favour before any judge." But however Webster pretended a right to present; and so did Woodroff. And both presented their Clerks to the Archbishop. Woodroff had presented one or two, whom the Archbishop refused. But matters now so stood, that the more probable right of the two lay in Woodroff. Therefore, for the prevention of law-suits, he chose to close in with an offer made by the said Woodroff; which was, that he would present one such whom the Archbishop should nominate unto him. By which he thought, as he said, that by God's providence that thing was restored to him, which his predecessors

Archbishop
Young censured by
our Archbishop.

BOOK II. against all good order had taken from him. He was content, as he said, to follow St. Paul's counsel, which was to

Anno 1571. take benefit of all occasions, whereby Christ might be the better preached: and thereupon got his own Chaplain into the prebend. But Webster obtained so much interest with the Lord Treasurer, that he procured an earnest letter from him to the Archbishop in his behalf; and, if it might be, to discharge again him that was presented. The Archbishop in his answer to the said Lord, shewed all which is before said: adding, that Webster had no injury done him. For if men might trust either the lawyers spiritual or temporal in those parts that he had talked withal, (besides the common practice used there in like cases,) Woodroff's presentation was good in law; and then *qui suo jure utitur nemini facit injuriam*. And as for equity, it was all on the Archbishop's side, both for nominating the best, and for other causes. And that if Webster were only desirous, as he 173 ought to be, that a very good preacher should be placed in the prebend, then, he said, he had satisfied his good meaning. For he had placed a better preacher in it than Webster presented unto him; and such an one, as, if he had sought both the Universities, he should hardly, of those that were unpreferred, find his like. But if he had other indirect meaning, the same, he said, was not to be favoured.

His protestation to the Lord Treasurer; But yet the Archbishop was concerned, that his great friend, the Lord Treasurer, had interceded with him in this matter, whom by all means he studied to gratify. To him therefore he protested, "that the Queen's Majesty excepted, there was no creature's request upon earth could weigh more with him. And therefore, that in all his requests made to him, either at London (which he confessed were not many) or there, he either did that which he requested, or else satisfied him by answer to his content. In this matter he told him, that his letter came, *quum res non erat integra*: for his Chaplain was then presented, and also under his hand and seal instituted. And so there was a right grown to him, till law reversed

But will not reverse what he has done.

" it. That as for his merits that had it, he lately lay under CHAP.
 " a double quartan, and now under a quartan, which was II.
 " like to hold him to Midsummer, as a fruit of his earnest Anno 1571.
 " study. That he was studious, godly, learned, and elo-
 " quent; and that if his Lordship knew him as well as he,
 " he would favour his cause. That as for himself, he could
 " not in honesty and credit do and undo, nor in conscience
 " remove the better, and take the worse. Wherefore he
 " earnestly and heartily prayed his Lordship, that he
 " would have also consideration of him in this matter, as
 " well as of Mr. Webster. And that he would let it be his
 " own matter, and not his Lordship's. Let him," added
 he, " ask counsel of law above; and that it was a matter of
 " short resolution and small suit. And that if this man
 " now instituted were removed by order of law, both he
 " and the Archbishop would give place, and would take
 " order that every farthing of the profits should be an-
 " swered to him that prevailed. And lastly, his suit to the
 " Treasurer was, that he would not require him to undo
 " his own act, which he was surely persuaded to be lawful,
 " both in law and conscience."

There happened another matter about this time between Excused
 the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop. When he was himself to
 Bishop of London, he made a lease of Broxburn parsonage the said
 to Sir George Penruddock; which lying conveniently for Lord upon
 the said Lord, he had some concern in it, and would have another oc-
 been glad of the lease himself. But understanding Penrud- casion.
 dock had it, charged it upon the Archbishop as some un-
 kindness to him. This made an impression upon the grave
 man, who ever studied to shew himself most ready to serve
 his great and good friend. Therefore by a letter he as- PaperOffice.
 sured him *coram Domino*, that to the utmost of his remem-
 brance, (and he thought he should not forget any matter
 that so much pertained to his Lordship,) he never moved
 him for any lease of that parsonage. For, if he had, or 174
 that he could have but conjectured that he had been desir-
 ous of it, he should have had all his furtherance to the ut-
 termost. He remembered, he [the Treasurer] had once de-

BOOK II. sired a terrier of it, and that he had procured to be made anew, there being no old one in his possession. But in one respect, as he said, it was well: for he did nothing in it that could justly prejudice his Lordship. And then he proceeded to lay the case open, as indeed it was, viz. that upon importune suit of the said Sir George Penruddock, and of the old Earl of Pembroke, he had granted to him one and twenty years in reversion, to begin after twenty-six or twenty-seven years of a lease then in possession were expired. But he told Penruddock then oftentimes, that his grant in that case was void by statute: as it was, and is indeed. He was still importune to have it, with all faults. And so in the end he had passed unto him a void grant. The old lease was granted him by Bishop Bonner; there being about twenty-four years to come. And if the reversion after that term might do his Lordship a pleasure, there were ways enow to bring it to pass: and sure he was, that his grant to Sir George could not hinder the same by any means.

Anno 1571. **His care for the Treasurer and the Queen.** It was but lately come to light, that certain vile Papists had conspired the Lord Burghley's death by some base assassination: but the persons were now apprehended. As **PaperOffice.** soon as the news of it was brought into the north, the Archbishop congratulates the said Lord his friend, and thanks God for his delivery. And then gravely and carefully admonishes him, concerning taking care both of his own safety, (in whom the welfare of the whole realm was so extremely concerned,) and the Queen's. "That as this might be a warning to him to use all wariness and ordinary means for avoiding the like danger hereafter, as his own wisdom could well consider; so he took it to be a necessary warning for her Majesty. For she is the mark," saith he, "they shoot at; and at you, and others of her Council, for her sake. The number," added he, "of odurate Papists, and Italianite atheists, is great at this time; both desperate, and grown, as it evidently appeareth, to the nature of assassins. Wherefore he wished that her Majesty would not be *tam facilis aditu*, as she

“ had been, especially to mean strangers; nor walk abroad CHAP. II.
 “ so slenderly accompanied as she was wont; nor that her Anno 1571.
 “ privy gardens should be so common as they had been.
 “ And at length prayed the said Lord, (to whom he writ
 “ all this,) that he would give him leave to be so bold as
 “ to desire him to signify so much of his poor opinion to
 “ her Majesty. For whose preservation he daily prayed to
 “ the Almighty. To whose grace and protection he also
 “ heartily commended his Lordship.” This was writ from
 Cawood, the 29th Jan. 1571.

There was an house in Battersea in Surrey, appertaining Battersea-house recovered by the Archbishop.
 to the Archbishops of York, together with fourscore acres
 of demean land, belonging thereunto; which house and
 lands were for the convenience of the Archbishops, when
 they came up to Parliament or Convocation, or for other 175
 business at Court: to whom the tenant by his lease was,
 upon notice given, to give way, that the Archbishop might
 there reside with his household, as long as he thought con-
 venient. One Hill now was farmer of these premises by a
 long lease, who had ploughed up the lands, and on purpose
 made the place incommodious for any Archbishop to come
 there any more: so that our Archbishop, nor Holgate, nor
 Young, his two predecessors, could enjoy their lands.
 Archbishop Young endeavouring to recover it, by some
 mismanagement of the suit was cast by Hill, and forced to
 pay sixty pounds damages. Whereupon he used Arch-
 bishop Grindal worse than his predecessors, by keeping his
 demean from him; and withal giving him many evil
 words, and suing his workmen, that cut down some of the
 wood upon the said demean, for his provision at Battersea
 in a Parliament time. This put the Archbishop upon ex-
 amining more fully into the lease: which in the issue he
 found defective, and of no value. And for the better pro-
 viding for the Archbishops for the future, the Queen's So-
 licitor, (afterward Lord Chancellor,) Ayloff, (afterward one
 of the Judges of the King's Bench, and other great law-
 yers, advised that a new lease should be made by the Dean
 and Chapter of York, to the Archbishop for his life, accord-

His success
 in a suit in
 behalf of
 the see of
 York.

BOOK ing to the precedent of former leases of Battersea: which
II. was done accordingly. And another lease was made by the

Anno 1571. Archbishop to two other persons for twenty-one years, for the removing of Hill, that had dealt so contrary to the meaning and intent of his lease, yet without doing any wrong to the old lessees: but in as beneficial a manner as could be for the Archbishop's successors; that is, with condition that the demesns should upon warning be left to every Archbishop, when he should be at his house at Battersea, or within sixty miles thereof. This lease occasioned some difference afterward between our Archbishop, when removed to Canterbury, and his successor Edwin Sandys, as we shall see under the year 1579.

The Archbishop confirms a Bishop of Man.

Thomas Stanley, the last incumbent of the bishopric of Sodor, or the Isle of Man, being dead, the Earl of Derby, in the year 1570, nominated and presented, according to custom, by letters to the Queen, John Salisbury, to succeed in the said see, who was late Suffragan Bishop of Thetford, and now Dean of the cathedral church, Norwich; and humbly prayed her to accept and admit his nomination: and thereupon the Queen sent her letters to the Archbishop of York, (in whose province that bishopric lies,) to proceed to the confirmation of him. These letters of the Queen bore date September 29, from Gorhambury; and accordingly he confirmed him April 7, 1571.

Exercises for the interpretation of Scripture set up at Northampton. PaperOffice. 176-180

There was this year a very commendable reformation instituted and established, for religion and good manners, in the town of Northampton, by consent of Scambler, the Bishop of the diocese, the Mayor and his brethren, and other the Queen's Justices of the Peace within that county and town. One pious practice whereof I shall here take notice of, because we shall have occasion hereafter to speak many things of the like practice, and wherein our Archbishop was not a little concerned. Among other religious observances, now set up and used in this town, there was every other Saturday (which soon after was observed every Saturday) in the morning, an exercise of the best learned of the Ministers, both of the town and country, for the right interpre-

tation of the holy Scriptures. The manner was thus. Certain of the Ministers, who were appointed, (discoursing orderly one after another,) handled some text, (given, as it seems, by the Bishop,) opening the same plainly and briefly before the people. And all to be despatched by eleven of the clock. Then (the congregation dismissed) the Ministers did withdraw into some convenient place; and there conferred among themselves, as well touching doctrine, as good life and manners, and other orders meet for them to observe.

CHAP.
II.

Anno 1571.

The particular order of these exercisers was, that every one, at his admission to be of this combination, should by subscription of his hand declare his consent in Christ's true religion with his brethren, and submit himself to the discipline and order of the same. The names of those that were to speak, to be written down in a table, for any that would to know. The first that spake began and ended with prayer. His province was to explain the text he read; then to confute any false and unsound expositions thereof; then to give the comfort to the audience that the place ministered just occasion of: but not to digress, dilate, nor amplify the text whereof he treated, into a commonplace, further than the meaning thereof necessarily required. He or they who spake after, had liberty to touch at what the first speaker omitted, either in his explanation or confutation. The exercise not to exceed the space of two hours: and the first to finish what he had to say within three quarters of an hour: the second and third not to exceed one quarter each of them. One of the Moderators always to make the conclusion.

The orders
thereof.

After the exercise was ended, the President for the time called the learned brethren unto him, and required their judgment concerning the exposition of the Scripture that had been then given. And if any matter had been untouched, then to be declared. And if any of the speakers were infamed, or convicted of any grievous crime, he was then and there reprehended.

The office
of the President.

After the consultation, any of the brethren might pro-

BOOK pound their doubts and questions, collected out of that place
II. of Scripture that day expounded; and signify the same unto
Anno 1571. the President and the other brethren, and declare the same
 in writing unto the first speaker. And order was taken for
 the satisfying of the said question at the next exercise.

The con-
 sultation,
 how ended.

The consultation to be ended with some short exhortation,
 to move each one to go forward in his holy office, to apply
 his study, and to increase in godliness. The exercise
 finished, the next speaker was nominated publicly; and the
 text he should expound, read. If any presumed to break
 these orders and rules, and seemed to be contentious, the
 President was presently to command him in the name of
 God to silence. And after the exercise, the unadvised per-
 son to be censured by the brethren there gathered together,
 that he and others, by his example, might learn modesty
 hereafter.

CHAP. III.

181 *The Bishop's letter concerning the Lord President of the north. Writes for an Ecclesiastical Commission. Writes to the Lord Treasurer against concealments; and concerning a High Sheriff for Cheshire. His thoughts of a proclamation for orders in the Church; and the Council's letters thereupon.*

Anno 1572. **HENRY** Earl of Huntingdon was in the year 1572
 His satis-
 faction in
 the Lord
 President. made Lord President of the Council in the north, a pious
 and sincere Protestant; and one, of whose coming to that
 place the Archbishop of York was very glad, that he
 might have one heartily and affectionately to back his la-
 bours in the Church. And indeed they cordially loved one
 another, and drew one way. The Archbishop in one of his
 letters to Sir William Cecil, now Lord Burghley and Lord
 High Treasurer, gave this account of his government:
 "My Lord President's good government here among us

“daily more and more discovereth the rare gifts and virtues CHAP.
 “which afore were in him, but in private life were hid from III.
 “the eyes of a great number. That the old proverb was Anno 1572.
 “verified in him, *magistratus probat virum*.” Then the
 Archbishop interceded for him for his more easy living there;
 wishing that some of her Majesty’s houses and grounds in
 those parts might be procured for him towards his necessary
 provision: for without that, as he added, he could not
 see but that he should far overcharge himself. He knew,
 he said, his Lordship was his good friend; which made him
 [the Archbishop] bold sometimes to put his Lordship in
 mind thereof.

After this we may hear, if we please, what account the His own ac-
 said Earl gave of himself, in one of his letters to the same count of his
 Lord Treasurer, who indeed had been the means of his doings
 sending into the north in that honourable station, which since he
 some about the Queen had not much liked of. “Whereas,” came to be
 saith the said Earl, “some seemed to dislike his Lordship’s Lord Presi-
 “haste in preferring him to that place, he [the Earl] was dent.
 “sorry for it with all his heart; yet he trusted he had done
 “nothing to the offence of any: but if he had, before they
 “should grieve at his Lordship for his favour shewed to
 “him, they should tell him his fault. That he had com-
 “mitted indeed many errors; but this,” he said, “he dared
 “boldly to affirm in the fear of God, that since his coming
 “thither, he had in all causes had a mind to do that which
 “might advance the glory of God, best further the good
 “service of her Majesty, and be most fit for the common
 “good and quiet of that people. That if he had failed in
 “the performance of any of those, it was want of skill, and
 “not of good-will to do the best, would be his fault.”

The Archbishop now wrote to the Queen (and so he The Arch-
 signified to the Lord Treasurer in the month of January he bishop de-
 would do) for the renewing of the Ecclesiastical Commission sires a new
 for his province; a thing highly necessary for those parts, Commis-
 for the more effectual suppressing of corrupt religion, and sion Ecclesi-
 giving encouragement to the Gospel. And among other astical.
 reasons why he desired a new Commission, this was one, 182

- BOOK II.** that the Lord President might be put in, as others were ;
 that some of the old Commissioners were dead, and others
- Anno 1572.** of them removed out of the province ; whereby the number
 was diminished. And perhaps other reasons might have
 been added by our Archbishop, as I find were by Young
 his predecessor, who had but a few years before requested
 of the Secretary the same thing : as, that there was not due
 regard had in placing such as might serve in all the places
 of that Commission, by reason he was not acquainted with
 the state of that country at the time of the granting of the
 said Commission. And particularly, that whereas Nottingham
 was parcel of the diocese of York, and more subject to
 the malicious practices of the enemies of God's true reli-
 gion ; yet there was none of that country put into the said
 Commission. Nottingham, as the said late deceased Arch-
 bishop shewed, was the extreme part of his diocese, and
 so further from due means of reformation and correction.
 That it was a nigh neighbour to the counties of Derby and
 Lancashire, where the most part of the lewdest sort had re-
 mained and were cherished. There were also within Not-
 tingham some places where these seditious people received
 great relief, having already infected very grievously some
 of good calling in that country. And the case so falling
 out, he thought it very requisite that a special regard should
 be had thereto.
- Anno 1573.** The Archbishop had now observed great abuses offered to
 the Clergy of his diocese by a parcel of needy, unjust men,
 who pretended commissions from the Queen, to recover
 from them penalties incurred. She had indeed granted by
 her letters patents to her gentlemen pensioners, penalties
 forfeited by the Clergy, under pretence of concealment of
 lands and rents given for superstitious uses, belonging now
 by act of Parliament to the Crown. Whereupon they sent
 their deputies about through the kingdom ; who, being indi-
 gent men, used great extortion, and wofully oppressed and
 vexed the poor Clergy. This caused our Archbishop to
 make complaint thereof to the Lord Treasurer ; who, how-
 ever he inwardly liked not the thing itself, yet the letters

Archbishop
Young.

Notting-
ham.

Anno 1573.
He inter-
cedes for
his Clergy
oppressed
by conceal-
ments.

patents being passed, he wrote back to the Archbishop, that the gentlemen pensioners might enjoy the penalties forfeited by the Clergy, since so it was appointed by the Queen, and bestowed upon them. The Archbishop then shewed his Lordship, that he intended not they should be abridged of it; but that he found fault with their manner of proceeding, which was troublesome, chargeable, and dishonourable; in that they summoned all the Clergy, as well faulty as innocent, and others also of good worship and credit, to appear before them, as the Queen's Commissioners, whereas they had no such Commission: and likewise that they compounded with the Clergy for offences past and to come; which tended not, as he said, to the restraint of abuses, but was rather a means to increase them. And lastly, that they were men noted heretofore for evil dealing and bribery. He desired therefore, that for the preventing of these troubles, the gentlemen pensioners would send him down, in articles, a form of proceeding to be observed by their said deputies, whereby the mentioned inconveniences might be avoided. I have put the letter into the Appendix, wherein the Archbishop shewed this his fatherly care of his Clergy.

CHAP.
III.

Anno 1578.

Gentlemen
pensioners.

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Num. II.

Sir Rowland Stanley, together with his friends, laboured to obtain to be High Sheriff of Cheshire for the ensuing year: a person he was, doubted to be corrupt in religion; and the rather, for contemning the order of the Ecclesiastical Commission. For upon some disagreement between him and his wife, divers and sundry processes were issued out from the Lord President and our Archbishop, by virtue of the Ecclesiastical Commission; all which he had contemned. Of which contempts they had determined, about the end of the term, to certify the whole board of the Council, and to pray assistance. It was also taken notice of, that when the Lord President was last in Cheshire to take his *vale* of the Earl of Essex going into Ireland, Stanley would not vouchsafe to salute him; burdened belike with a guilt of conscience. Upon these and other reasons, to be shewn by and by, the Archbishop sent up to the Lord Treasurer to stop him from being Sheriff. This he moved, not for

The Arch-
bishop la-
bours to
binder one
Stanley
from being
High
Sheriff.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1573.

respect of any private quarrel of his, nor upon any extraordinary credit given to one Mr. Robert Fletcher, an informer against the said Knight, (because he knew enmity to be between them,) but he rather chose to offer to his [the Treasurer's] consideration, whether the said Sir Rowland were a fit man to supply that office this year upon the former reasons, as also upon these that follow; viz. That there was a suit depending between him and the Archbishop and his Court: and he thought that by being Sheriff, he might have power in his hands to obtain his will the better against the Archbishop; and therefore it was, that his friends sought that place now for him. The cause was this: Bebington, a benefice in Cheshire, being void, and the presentation being in certain feoffees, Sir Rowland laboured to get one Myrrick, an unlearned Welsh Doctor of Law, and one who had lived long in *concubinatu*, to be preferred to it, on purpose that Sir Rowland might have the profits of it. But to prevent Myrrick's coming in, one Mr. Robert Fletcher, a gentleman in those parts, (either one of the feoffees of this advowson, or that had an interest with them,) procured one Mr. Gylpin of Cambridge to be presented. By which means the choice became free to the Ordinary; and he presented Gylpin, as the best learned.

A case between Stanley and the Archbishop.

Upon this, Sir Rowland sued the *Quare impedit* at Chester; and some just fear there was of indifferent justice in those particular jurisdictions; especially when a stranger is one party. For this reason Fletcher wrote to the Archbishop, that he would use all the means he could to prevent Sir Rowland's being Sheriff, of whose ambitious and malicious mind he spake; for that he could not attain to the placing of his unworthy clerk Myrrick in Bebington, nor yet could by any manner of ways bring him to do that, that neither in truth nor honesty he might do. And that since no way
184 might serve him, he and his complices did work by all ways and means they could to make him Sheriff in Cheshire, and thereby to deface his Grace, in admitting of Mr. Gylpin, or to work him [Fletcher] to their purpose, in making him feel his tyranny. Then Fletcher propounded to the Arch-

bishop to apply to the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Burghley, and Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary, to discover unto them Sir Rowland's suits against him, [the Archbishop,] and his proud doings and corrupt religion. He also recommended Mr. Edmund Treifford of Treifford to be Sheriff; whose sound religion and godliness of life, together with his great living in Cheshire, might justly obtain the place, as his father had in times past: there having also been good proof of him in some late service in Lancashire. Thus far Fletcher.

CHAP.
III.

Anno 1573.

All this the Archbishop communicated unto the Lord Treasurer, and added, "that he knew it was odious to hinder any man's preferment; but yet he knew also, that it was good to let the highest magistrate understand of the conditions of those that are to be preferred, that they may consider whether they be worthy of preferment, according as circumstances may minister occasion. He is seldom a good Sheriff," said the Archbishop, "that seeketh to be a Sheriff. Many Sheriffs abuse their offices, to the bolstering out of their own evil private causes." But the whole matter he referred to his Lordship's good consideration. Dated from York, Octob. 21.

In the correspondence between the two Archbishops, and old friends, he of Canterbury wrote unto his brother of York, concerning two things happening this year. The one was, his late noble entertainment given at Canterbury, (as he was a very magnificent Prelate,) which he described at large: which the latter said he had so lively set forth, "that in the reading thereof he thought himself to be one of his guests, and as it were beholding the whole order of all things done there. And that for an hundred years to come, and how long after God knew, none of their coat was like to do as he had done." The other matter the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to him about was of a more public concernment. The Queen had set forth a proclamation Octob. the 20th in behalf of the orders appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; that they should be sincerely and uniformly kept throughout all the realm: expressing how the

A proclamation for observing orders in the Church.

The Bishops blamed.

BOOK fault, (that such diversities had been lately taken up in many
II. churches, and thereupon contentions, and unseemly dispu-

Anno 1578. tations and dissensions arisen,) in her opinion, was most in
the Bishops, to whom the special care of ecclesiastical
matters appertained, and who had their visitations episcopal
and archidiaconal, and their synods, and other such meet-
ings of the Clergy, first and chiefly ordained for that pur-
pose; which was now only used of them and their officers
to get money, or for some other purposes. This proclama-
tion was followed by a letter from the Lords of the Council,
November 7. (and that by the Queen's order to them,)
to require the said Bishops to take a more vigilant eye to
this uniformity throughout their dioceses; and either per-
sonally themselves, or by their Archdeacons, or other able
and wise men, to see, that in no one church of their dioceses
there be any deformity or difference used. And if any
185 should refuse, to call such before them, and by censures and
ecclesiastical laws to see them punished.

The Coun-
cil's letters
to the Bi-
shops there-
upon.

The Arch-
bishop's
thoughts
thereof.

This was the sum of the Council's letter. Of this affair
the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote his thoughts to our
Archbishop; who was not a little disturbed at the reflections
that were made upon them [the Bishops] without any dis-
tinction. For though, as he said, some Bishops had not
shewed that industry and care for uniformity that was
requisite; yet others used the best diligence they could: of
which number he reckoned himself. For thus he discovered
his mind in his answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"The late proclamation, and the Council's late letters,
"seem to lay a heavy burthen upon our shoulders; and that
"generally and equally, without respect of difference;
"whereas indeed there is not like occasion of offence given
"of all. I assure your Grace it is to me a great grief, and
"would have been tenfold greater, had they not thereby so
"well beaten down the other arrogant innovating spirits;
"which I trust shall work some benefit to the Church, if
"the captains be not countenanced, as they have been
"by those that are no Bishops," [meaning undoubtedly some
of the great men of the Court, and very likely some of

those very Counsellors that were so apt to blame the Bishops.] And then he added, "that as for his own diocese, CHAP. III.
 "in very deed that uniform order allowed by the Book of Anno 1573.
 "Common Prayer was universally observed there," [and therefore that reprimand, given in such general terms to all the Bishops, was unjust in respect of himself.] "He thought
 "some of his province had some novelties; but he had
 "written to them to reform them without delay, or else he
 "would"—[meaning, call them into the Ecclesiastical Commission, and proceed to censures.]

And whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury had signified His judgment of the innovations in London.
 to him somewhat concerning his old diocese of London; that his successor there had been doing somewhat that had
 drawn disquiet upon himself by occasion of these dissensions; the Archbishop of York expressed that he was sorry that
 it should so happen. "But surely," added he, "the Bishop
 "of London is always to be pitied. For if even [the severest ecclesiastical censures] were the penalty of these
 "curiosities, yet would he never lack a number of that
 "generation." And he declared, his judgment at least was, that these ill affected to the orders of the Church should not
 enjoy any benefit from it. Of these were Dr. Penny; who, he said, was a chief doer in these matters; [he meant, in
 promoting Cartwright's doctrine and books;] and who of a preacher was become a layman and a physician: and he
 marvelled he should be suffered to enjoy a good prebend in Paul's. And the like was to be said of Wiburn, Johnson,
 and others. "They are content," said he, "to take the
 "livings of the English Church; and yet affirm it to be no
 "Church. *Beneficium datur propter officium*. If they will
 "do no office, let them receive no benefit. He thought
 "long to hear what would follow after that great inquisition
 "at London:" and concluded with this pious and suitable prayer, "God send us all humble and quiet spirits, and
 "thankfully to acknowledge God's great mercies towards 186
 "us." This was writ from Bishopthorp, Decemb. 9. This
 great inquisition, as the Archbishop called it, was that
 inspection that was now set on foot in London into the

BOOK order and conformity of the Ministers there, upon the
II. Council's letters to the Bishop for that purpose.

Anno 1573. The Queen had a forest in Yorkshire, called *the forest of*
Galtres, where stood the town and lordship of Sutton ;
 herein were by estimation two hundred acres of *carramel*
 and thorny ground. One Mr. Barwike desired of her
 Majesty liberty to enclose forty acres of the said thorny
 ground by the space of six years, and to spring the same ac-
 cording to the statute; for which he would pay her 10*l.* a year.
 Whereupon an inquisition was taken in York by Gargrave,
 Fairfax, Dawbeny, and Sygrave, Commissioners appointed by
 the Queen; who certified that he might have and enclose the
 said acres, and that her game would be better preserved.
 Upon the return of this inquisition, the matter, for the
 further speeding of it, lay before the Lord Treasurer, and
 Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer;
 who, before they would proceed in that matter, sent a letter
 to the Archbishop of York, dated Feb. 29. to know his
 opinion, what wrong or hurt he thought might ensue, if
 Barwike should have such a lease. To which our Archbi-
 shop very honestly gave this answer; (which I mention the
 rather, because hereby he shewed his unbiassed mind, and
 his fatherly care of the poor people in all respects, when it
 lay in his way to do them service;) "That he had made in-
 "quiry concerning the same, and was very credibly in-
 "formed, that the same lease should be very hurtful divers
 "ways, and especially unto the inhabitants of the town of
 "Sutton; with whom Mr. Barwike was noted to have dealt
 "very hardly: for that the same poor inhabitants had, out
 "of the same, hedge-boot for fencing in of their corn fields,
 "and other usual fences; and also a great part of their fire-
 "boot of the tops and lops of such runt-oaks as grow in the
 "said two hundred acres: which oaks, as well as the thorns
 "in that forest, were called by the name of *carramel*
 "mentioned in the particular. Besides, that it was ac-
 "counted the usual, best, and in a manner the only good
 "pasture that the said inhabitants had for their draught-
 "oxen and milch-kine: for that in four acres of that

His season-
 able inter-
 posing in
 behalf of
 some poor
 commoners.

“ground there was not the quantity of one acre of thorny
 “or wood ground, the rest being plain ground and good
 “pasture. So that if this two hundred acres (being ac-
 “counted but for sixscore acres) should be all enclosed ac-
 “cording to the said particular in six years, the said inha-
 “bitants (as he was informed) should be then in great
 “distress, during the time that the same might be kept
 “enclosed by the statute; and Mr. Barwike in that time
 “should have great commodity of the herbage thereof.
 “And that it was greatly feared of the inhabitants there,
 “that if it were once enclosed, he would by suit obtain
 “that it should always continue several.”

CHAP.
III.

Anno 1573.

The Archbishop added, “that he was further informed,
 “that it was lately moved at a Justice Court holden at
 “York for the said forest, to know what hurt could come
 “by enclosing the said parcel of ground. And thereupon,
 “within two days after, there came to the officers of that
 “Court great numbers of people, to shew that it should be
 “hurtful to them, and to make suit for the stay thereof.
 “And as he was informed, there was a supplication exhi-
 “bited to the Lord President, to pray his Lordship to be a
 “mean for the stay thereof. And lastly, that he was
 “further informed, that the same *thorny ground* was near
 “unto the lawnd of the forest, and was a very good covert:
 “and that the enclosure of it would be hurtful, as well to
 “the Queen’s game in that forest, as otherwise.” Such was
 his seasonable intercession for the poor commoners.

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1574. *His and the President's good government. Papists decrease. Rejects an ignorant Clerk. Sherborn hospital. His care for it. Lowth, a disorderly preacher. Correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury and him. Consults about entertaining the Queen. An earthquake in the north. Visits his church. The Lord President mentioned by him with honour for his good service. He prefers Ramisden, the Lord Treasurer's Chaplain. His letter to the Archbishop on this occasion.*

All things
in peace in
the north.

THE northern parts were now so well governed by our Archbishop, that all was in very quiet and peaceable condition in the ecclesiastical state: and going hand in hand with the Lord President, the civil state was also as quiet. For it must be marked, that these two great officers, the one for the Church, the other for the State, thwarted not, nor interfered, nor were jealous or envious of one another; but such was the prudence of the Archbishop, as well as the discretion of the Lord President, that they were unanimous in God's and the Queen's business, and by the joint endeavour of both, those parts were kept in peace and due order. And so in the beginning of the year 1574 he expressed it to the Lord Treasurer: "We are in good quietness, God be thanked, both for the civil and ecclesiastical state." And in another letter to him, he gave a fair character of the Lord President, viz. of his good government, of his splendid housekeeping, and of his fear for his [the President's] private concerns on that account. "That he served very honourably, and chargeably, as he had heretofore signified unto the Treasurer, and feared he surcharged himself. But if it were otherwise, he might say, *Amice timui*. Adding, "that he trusted God had prepared him to be a good instrument for this commonwealth. And that he, the said Lord Treasurer, had daily experience of his good government, by his own advertisements thence."

By the care and diligence of the Archbishop the number of Papists daily diminished, especially in his diocese; who were a few years ago so many and prevalent in the north parts; as appeared by that insurrection that happened under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and many other gentlemen, as well in Yorkshire as in Lancashire, Cheshire, and other shires thereabouts. In Michaelmas term the Archbishop, with the Ecclesiastical Commission, took account of divers Papists; and sent a certificate up in November of the proceedings against them. His Grace conferred earnestly and learnedly with the Priests that were taken up; who yet were but under easy restraints. Dr. Vavasor, an old acquaintance of the Lord Treasurer, and a fixed, stubborn man, who had been a prisoner for above half a year in his own house in York, and others imprisoned in other parts, did now expect deliverance, because Fecknam, Watson, and others had that favour shewn them above, who had been prisoners in the Tower or Marshalsea. For they reckoned the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the north must follow their steps in the south. And accordingly they petitioned for their liberty to the Council in the north. But the Archbishop's judgment was, that it was not convenient to do the like there, considering that a great relapse would certainly follow. They found but five obstinate Papists: whom they committed, together with Vavasor, obstinate, sophistical, disdainful, and a scoffer, as the Archbishop described him. But to see the Archbishop's proceedings more particularly with them, and the present state of Popery in these parts, I shall exemplify a letter in the Appendix, which his Lordship wrote to the Lord Treasurer upon this argument.

He shewed his faithfulness in his inspection over his church, by taking what care he could that none but men of some ability and learning might be admitted to the cure of souls. And for this purpose he provided that such as came for institution to any living should be first well examined; and such as were found unlearned he rejected, notwithstanding their presentations. One instance of this happened

CHAP.
IV.

Ann. 1574.

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The condition of the north as to Papists.
An Ecclesiastical Commission there.

Num. III.

He rejects an ignorant Clerk.

BOOK this year, which I shall mention the rather, to observe
II. what gross ignorance sometimes such as pretended to serve

Anno 1574. God in his Church were in these times guilty of. One
Archbishop Grindal's William Ireland was presented to the Rectory of Harthil;
Reg. May the 28th. who coming to the Archbishop was examined by the Arch-
bishop's Chaplain. In his presentation were these words,
vestri humiles et obedientes; which the Chaplain required
him to construe, to understand his ability in Latin. But he
expounded them, *your humbleness and obedience*. The
Chaplain asked him again, Who brought up the people of
Israel out of Egypt? he answered, King Saul. And being
asked, who was first circumcised, he could not answer.
Wherefore the Archbishop rejected him. And one Hugh
Casson was presented to, and obtained the said benefice of
Harthil, and lived to the year 1624. And so was Rector
there fifty years.

The Archbi-
shop's dis-
temper.

The Archbishop was now-a-days afflicted with the cholic,
stone, and strangury; which were very grievous when
they came: but God gave him some *intervalla*; else they
were intolerable, as he spake of his distempers himself.

His care a-
bout Sher-
born hospi-
tal.

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There was an hospital called Sherborn house, lying a
little east of Durham, built by Pudsey, some time Bishop of
Durham, for sixty-five lepers. The Master of it now was
the learned and pious Mr. Lever, once Master of St. John's
college in Cambridge, and a great preacher in King Ed-
ward's days; afterwards under Queen Mary an exile. The
former Master of this hospital was deprived for Papistry by
Grindal in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, then
the Queen's visitor of the bishopric of Durham, as it seems.
This man had made unreasonable leases and grants, by
means whereof the house was like to go utterly to decay.
But for the remedying, if possible, thereof, and for the
benefit of the hospital, Pilkington, the present Bishop
of Durham, had made a certain instrument for the dis-
annulling of those leases: but it wanted the Queen's confir-
mation. Lever the Master brought the matter before the
Lord President. And here the Archbishop, as in the
beginning of the year he interposed with the Lord Trea-

surer in behalf of the Savoy, and for the bettering of the estate of that hospital in the south, so now he was as industrious to do service for this in the north. Therefore he earnestly writ to the same Lord Treasurer, (the Archbishop's true friend, and a person ready to assist in all good works,) acquainting him, that the cause was heard before the Lord President and the Council: and that upon the hearing of it, it was thought by the learned in the laws, (as he was informed, and was fully persuaded to be true,) that the aforesaid method was the only means to preserve that hospital from utter ruin; which, he said, were a pitiful case. He prayed his Lordship therefore, among his manifold weighty businesses, to take opportunity to further this suit for the relief of Christ's poor members, according to his accustomed goodness in all such cases. "For my own part," added he, "I think often that those men which seek spoil of hospitals, be it by leases or any other fetch of law, did never read the xxvth chapter of Matthew: for if they did, and believed the same, how durst they undergo such an adventure?" And then he subjoined, in behalf of all such places founded for charity, "that if any hospitals were abused, as he thought some were, it were a more Christian suit to seek reformation than destruction." These matters he referred to his Lordship's good consideration, and so commended him to the grace of God. Writ from Bishopthorp near York the 3d of February. By these frequent hints and seasonable admonitions, he was an instrument and spur to the Lord Treasurer to do a great deal of good. And lastly, the Archbishop reported well of the present governor of this house; that it had been and still was by him very well ordered, both for corporal and spiritual nutriment of the poor members thereof.

Though there were not so many Puritans in these northern quarters as in the south, (the Ecclesiastical Commissioners being chiefly employed in taking cognizance of Papists,) yet some there were; whereof one was named Lowth, of Carlisle side; who for many disorders was had up before the Commissioners. This man wrote letters full

CHAP.
IV.

Anno 1574.

His dealing
with some
innovators,

Lowth.

BOOK of slander; terming the Archbishop's doings and the other
II. Commissioners to be like the Spanish inquisition: and

Anno 1574. though he had fifteen or sixteen years exercised the func-
tion, yet he proved to be ordered neither Priest nor Min-
186 ister. He made suit to the Queen for a pardon, or to the
Archbishop of Canterbury, which was intolerable, as our
Archbishop said; and writing to his brother of Canter-
bury, he prayed him to stay any such pardon, if he could.

His advice
about an-
swering a
Latin book
of disci-
pline.

The people which disapproved the present government
of the Church, and set up for another model, had now
printed a book of their *discipline* in Latin. Of this book
the Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have given our
Archbishop notice, and advised with him about an answer.
To whom he signified, that Elmer, Archdeacon of Lincoln,
were a fit man to give an answer to that book; but he
thought that neither he nor the Dean of St. Paul's would
take the pains: of the latter, he said, he was sure he would
not. He added, that some thought Mr. Still (afterwards
Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, and a Bishop)
were a fit man to do it, since he wished it done; and that
the Dean of Paul's and Mr. Watts, Archdeacon, should
have the view of it before it were published. This was
his advice to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the said
Archbishop soon got the thing done, and had it by him,
though he would not so soon publish it, before it was well
considered by some persons of judgment.

Reports of
various
sects dis-
turb him.

There came now into the north great talk of new sects
and heresies sprung up in and about London, of Judaism,
Arianism, and the like; perhaps aggravated by Papists in
these northern parts; whose practice it was to object
against the Reformation, the springing up of so much er-
ror and heresy, since the Church of England had forsaken
their Roman Catholic communion. These rumours gave
the Archbishop some disturbance; and that he might
know the truth and certainty hereof, the better to under-
stand the present state of that Church, in the reformation
whereof he bore so considerable a part, and whose welfare
he so earnestly desired, thought it convenient to make it

one of the matters of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; whose answer to it we shall hear by and by.

CHAP.
IV.

The Queen was likely this next summer to make a progress into the north, and then would see York, as she had some years before into Kent, and came at last to Canterbury; where she was most nobly treated by Parker the Archbishop. Grindal therefore began to consider how to receive her Majesty, and to entertain her according to her dignity; and so as to obtain her gracious acceptance. The Archbishop of Canterbury had done it before very honourably and expensively: wherefore our Archbishop wrote to him, March the 4th, to communicate to him what the method of his reception of her was; for that the Lord Treasurer had signified to him the Queen's progress into those parts the summer ensuing. He said that it would be a great comfort to them all to see her Majesty among them, and to him especially: only he was sorry that his ability was so small as it was; but he would strain himself to his utmost; trusting that his good-will should be accepted where ability failed. He was, as he added, to pay in Michaelmas term next, for the last payment of his first-fruits, no less than 380*l.* which how well it would stand with a progress, his Grace could consider, especially in one that had not *communibus annis* above 1300*l.* yearly value. Lastly, he 187 prayed the Archbishop to send him some notes of instruction, both of charges for one or two days' diet, and also for other circumstances; especially at what place her Highness was to be met by him; at the entry of his diocese, or otherwise.

Anno 1574.
He be-
thinks him-
self how to
entertain
the Queen.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, March the 17th, gave him to understand, that the information of the Queen's coming was likely to be true: but that as for his own doings, that should not need to be an example to him; being yet, as he said, in his fruits, and having no more yearly revenue growing unto him. But he thought verily his good-will would be taken, as her Highness did very lovingly accept his service when she came to Canterbury. Then he proceeded to relate how he received her: that he met her,

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
writes to
him.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1574.
Relates how
he received
the Queen
at Canter-
bury.

as she was coming to Dover, upon Folkston Down; which he did with all his men, and left her at Dover. At Canterbury he received her, together with the Bishops of Lincoln, Rochester, and his Suffragan of Dover, at the west door of the cathedral church: where, after the Grammarian had made his oration to her on horseback, she alighted; and the Archbishop and the rest with him kneeled down and said the Psalm *Deus misereatur* in English, with certain other collects briefly; and that in their chimers and rochets. Then the Archbishop related all the other ceremonies, viz. of conducting her under a canopy into the choir unto a traverse, where she sat while the even-song was said; and how they afterwards waited upon her to St. Augustin's, where she lodged; the noble supper he gave her courtiers and attendants the same night; and the dinner he gave her Majesty the next day, when she went to the great church to hear a sermon; and his most magnificent feasting her the day after in his great hall, together with her Privy Council, the French Ambassadors, ladies, gentlemen, and the Mayor of the town and his brethren.

Shews him
the ground
of the re-
port of
strange he-
resies
sprung up.

Next, as to the reports of strange sects and heresies sprung up in London, which our Archbishop had inquired after; the Archbishop of Canterbury discovered that to be occasioned from Corranus, a Spanish Divine and Reader in the Temple; who spake not wisely, he said, of Predestination, and suspiciously of Arianism. But that this was all he knew that gave occasion of those reports that came thither to York, except the Precisians in London.

An earth-
quake in
the north.

On the 26th of February, about five at night, happened an earthquake in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and some other northern counties. It did no great harm, but the concussion much terrified the people, fearing that some public calamity might follow. This our Archbishop spake of, and remembered there was such an earthquake in Croyden in Archbishop Cranmer's time; not long after which, as he supposed, King Edward died. This he esteemed of such moment, that he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury about it, and wished the certain time of that earth-

quake might be learned, as though he were jealous it might import the death of the Queen. To which the other Archbishop made only this pious reply, that as to that prognostic, *It is the Lord, let him do what is good in his eyes.* CHAP. IV.
Anno 1574.

William Duxfield, Rector of the church of Bothal, in the 188 county of Northumberland, was appointed by the Archbishop, March the 10th, Keeper of the spiritualties and jurisdiction of Hexham. A keeper of the spiritualties of Hexham. Visits his church.

In the beginning of the year 1575, viz. April 26, the Archbishop visited the Dean and Chapter of his cathedral church of York; Matthew Hutton, D. D. being then Dean, John Gibson, Præcentor; Will. Palmer, M. A. Chancellor; William Chaderton, S. T. P. Archdeacon of York; John May, S. T. P. Archdeacon of East-riding; John Lowthe, A. B. Archdeacon of Nottingham; Ralph Coulton, S. T. B. Archdeacon of Cleveland; Edmund Bunney, S. T. B. Sub-dean; Anthony Ford, Succentor.

And the see of Canterbury now vacant, Edmund Freke, Bishop of Rochester, elect of Norwich, by the death of Parkhurst, the last Bishop there, was confirmed by our Archbishop at Bishopthorp, November 14. Confirms a Bishop of Norwich.

The Lord President of the north, in October 1575, having occasion to travel up to Court, the Archbishop thought fit to salute the Lord Treasurer in a letter on this occasion; still taking all opportunities to recommend the said Lord President's government there; telling the Treasurer, that he thought his Lordship found true by experience that which he writ to him at the President's first entrance into his office; which was thus much in effect, that this office had made manifest to many those excellent virtues and good gifts, which afore were in a manner hid in him: and then mentioned a late eminent service toward Scotland, which, in his opinion, had made a good proof thereof: wherein, although the highest commendation was to be ascribed to her Majesty as the fountain; yet his Lordship, he said, as a good instrument, was not to be defrauded of his praise; and that, as far as he could learn, all good men in those parts did much rejoice in so happy an end of so unfortunate an accident. That if any misliked, they were of

BOOK
II.

Auno 1576.

the worst sort of men, who in all commonwealths, he said, were *cupidi rerum novarum*. But this, as he added, was more than needed to his Lordship, to whom the President's good service and godly wisdom was very well known. And yet he thought it not amiss, that his Lordship should partly understand what he [the Archbishop] and others of those parts unfeignedly thought of his Lordship's good government among them; fearing nothing but that he surcharged himself in serving her Majesty in so honourable and chargeablewise as he did: and it proved too true in the end.

Broils with
the Scots
upon the
borders
made up.

This Scotch matter before spoken of was, that in the Middle March towards Scotland a sudden bickering happened, about July, between the borderers; Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle March, meeting with Carmichel, Warden of Liddisdale in Scotland, both were attended with a rabble of thieves and malefactors belonging to the borders; who took some occasion to quarrel, bearing a deadly feud one to another: where the English first beat back the Scots, and took Carmichel prisoner. Afterwards a fresh company of Scots coming on, the English were put to flight, and Sir George Heron, Knight, Warden of Tindal, and others, were slain; Forster himself the Governor, and the Earl of Bedford's eldest son, and other gentlemen,

189 taken prisoners, and carried into Scotland. Murray the Regent was hereupon so threatened by the Queen, that he came unarmed to the very borders of both kingdoms, and there met the Earl of Huntingdon, the foresaid Lord President of the north, and the English Commissioner: and by his prudent managery, this scurvy accident was wisely made up, and the Regent brought to promise to repair the honour of the English nation by the best offices he could; and sent Carmichel into England; who was kept awhile at York a prisoner, and after sent home with honour and certain presents: and thus amity was renewed between the Queen and the Regent by the Earl's good and dextrous management of this affair.

Camd. Eli.
zabeth, p.
212.

The Arch-
bishop pre-
fers Ramis-
den, the Lord Treasurer's Chaplain.

The Lord Treasurer retained one Mr. Ramisden for his Chaplain: who, having the parsonage of Spofford, in the

Archbishop's diocese, when he came down to his living, brought some letters from the said Treasurer to the Archbishop; and upon his return carried letters from the Archbishop back to the Lord Treasurer. The said Lord, as he was desirous that his honest dependents should be raised, the same mind he bore towards this his Chaplain. And the Archbishop, glad to shew his respects to the Treasurer, did in a letter declare his good opinion and liking of Ramisden; and that for the serving of the Church in some larger sphere, he intended to help him to an archdeaconry; which Chaderton, Head of a college in Cambridge, was disposed to relinquish to his Grace's disposition, seeing he might not be tolerated to abide from thence any longer. The Lord Treasurer shewed how well he took this intention of the Archbishop's to do this kindness to his servant; but was no ways importunate, but leaves the Archbishop well to advise of the great charge of an Archdeacon, and whether Ramisden was well qualified for the office. For thus he wrote to the Archbishop in this affair:

CHAP.
IV.

Anno 1575.

"If your Grace shall dispose this archdeaconry upon Mr. Ramisden for my sake, I have cause to thank your Grace; but yet, except he seem meet for such an office, both in learning and discretion, I would not wish him occupy such a charge: as, if he were not able for it, my name and credit would suffer. And therefore he signified, that he left it wholly to the Archbishop, not being able of himself to discern what is requisite in a man to occupy such an office as had large jurisdiction, and was called *oculus Episcopi*. He added, that though he liked not the unruly reprehenders of the Clergy at this time, yet he feared the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both by Bishops and Archdeacons, gave too great an occasion to those stoical and irregular rovers to multiply their invectives against the state of our Clergy. And therefore he wished there were more caution and circumspection in all these canonical jurisdictions and consistories; that the exercises thereof might be directed at edification, and not to make a gain of that which was meant to punish or pro-

How the
Treasurer
accepted
the kind-
ness.

BOOK II. "hibit sin. And lastly, that he might percase shortly at
"his coming up treat more of this matter."

ANNO 1575.

Nominated for the see of Canterbury. The Lord President's character of him upon his remove. His successor. His election and confirmation. A convocation. Articles then framed. Restores a silenced preacher; but imposed upon. Intercedes for St. John's college. Bucer's Scripta Anglicana dedicated unto him. His wonderful escape of death by an arrow.

Concluded
upon for
Canter-
bury.

THE archbishopric of Canterbury lay now void since the decease of the most pious and reverend Matthew Parker, who died in August last. The Queen, after three months' deliberation who was fittest to succeed in that metropolitan station, pitched upon Grindal, recommended to her by the Lord Treasurer, his friend; who therefore gave him the first notice of it in a letter dated Nov. 25, in these words: "I do let your Grace understand, that I do think assuredly her Majesty will have your Grace to come to this province of Canterbury, to take care thereof; and that, now at this Parliament. Wherefore I mean to give order to the officers of the temporalities to take care of the preserving thereof. And where the officers would be felling of woods, they shall not." But speaking with one Marsh, late Receiver, he told him, that the last Archbishop was wont at Christmas to fell wood for his *fuel* and *coal*; and so were it necessary to be done for his Grace, if he should have that place. The Treasurer therefore, out of his friendship to our Archbishop, and care of his affairs, desired him by his letters, or otherwise, to appoint him somebody near at hand to attend on him for this and such like causes. So as when her Majesty should certainly resolve, as he meant to procure her to do within three

or four days, he [the Lord Treasurer] might direct order for his Grace's benefit. CHAP. V.

This honour was not of our Archbishop's own ambitious seeking: nay, he had many inward motions to decline it. He was possessed with an humble spirit, and low conceit of his own abilities for so high a function in the Church; but was swayed by the vocation thereto, and the fears of giving offence. But I chose to give the reader his own words in his answer to the Treasurer; which was not writ till after fifteen days' consideration. Anno 1575. This honour the Archbishop sought not.

"I understand by your Lordship's letter of the 25th of November last, which I received the 26th thereof, what your Lordship thinketh of her Majesty's inclination for my remove. If her Majesty should so resolve, (although I have had heretofore many conflicts with myself about that matter,) yet have I in the end determined to yield unto the ordinary vocation; lest in resisting of the same, I might with Jonas offend God, occasion a tempest, &c. beseeching God to assist me with his grace, if that weighty charge be laid upon me; to the sustaining whereof I find great insufficiency in myself. And I most heartily thank your good Lordship, that it pleaseth you to have such a care over me, and to take such pains in giving direction for the extern commodities pertaining to that place. I have appointed one William Marshal my servant to attend upon your Lordship from time to time, and to follow your Lordship's direction in all things, as the case shall require, &c. His letter to the Treasurer. 191

*From Bishopthorp,
Decimo Dec. 1575.*

"Your Lordship's in Christ,
"Edm. Ebor."

And now our Divine is arrived to the top of his promotion in three removes; that is, from a private man to the highest advancement in the Church, and in the State too. As a standing memorial whereof, both to himself and others after him, he caused to be painted upon glass four coats of arms, and to be set up at Bekesbourn near Canterbury, where formerly was a palace of the Archbishops of that A memorial of his advancements.

BOOK
II.

Anne 1575.

diocese. The first was the coat of Grindal by itself; the second, significative of his first advance, was the coat of the see of London, impaled with Grindal; the third, the see of York, impaled with Grindal; and the fourth, that of Canterbury, impaled also with Grindal. And though that palace hath been now long demolished, yet these four panes of glass are yet preserved in a gentleman's house in that parish, as some remembrance still of this good man.

But well had it been for our most reverend Father had he continued at York, and never removed a step higher to Canterbury; since he lived here so quietly, had such a share in his Sovereign's favour, and governed so well in those northern parts: but soon after his translation, he met with much sorrow, and fell under the Queen's frowns, as by the sequel of his story will appear.

The Lord
President's
character
of the Arch-
bishop upon
his remove.

The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the north, was now doubly concerned; both at the removal of so good a man from that see, and for another able person to succeed there. For thus did he express his mind upon this occasion to the Treasurer: "I hear that my Lord Archbishop is in election for Canterbury; of whom I must say, without offence to others, that I know none worthy to be preferred before him to that place for many respects; and yet, while I serve here, I am as loath he should be changed. But that place requireth such a sufficient man; and therefore I shall be glad if her Majesty appoint him to the place. But I beseech your Lordship of your help, that such one may succeed him as will be comfortable to the godly, and a terror to the adversary. Thus much I am bold shortly to touch unto your Lordship, leaving the rest to your better consideration. For I will not presume to name any: but next to a sound judgment, and zeal to religion, (which are two most necessary points to be in a Bishop,) he that shall be in this place, had need to be a man which otherwise should be both wise and stout." And such indeed was his successor. Though an unhappy matter fell out at the very first between them, that hindered, I think, so good an understand-

ing as had been between the former Archbishop and him: which was, that the Lord President in this juncture had made an interest above to obtain the grant of the Archbishop's house at Bishopthorp; which this successor would not be brought to yield unto: and therein gave one instance of his stoutness. But to name him.

Dr. Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, March 8, succeeded Grindal in the archbishopric of York, another worthy man, and once an exile, as was Grindal, and both sprung from the town of St. Bees in Cumberland. But the case of dilapidations made these two old friends, countrymen, and fellow-sufferers, somewhat angry one with another. But Sandys, desirous of quiet and peace, according as the servant of God ought to be by the Apostle's rule, prayed the Lord Burghley to take the reference of the case upon himself. He had, as he said, ever deserved well of his predecessor; but that he had used him hardly many ways, especially in matter of dilapidation; which matter he had set over wholly to his Lordship's determination. He knew, he said, his Lordship favoured the Archbishop, and that he had been and was his best friend and preferer: yet he was so persuaded of his Lordship's wonted good-will towards him, [the present Archbishop of York,] and of his unspotted and known indifferency in all matters, that he would most willingly put the whole determination of that matter into his Lordship's hands; yea, if it stood upon his life. Finally, his hope was, he would take the matter into his hands to end it. And as Sandys thus referred himself to this just and noble Peer, so I make no question but Grindal did also: and he made a seasonable pacification between both, after a year or two contesting between themselves. But return we to our Archbishop.

About two afternoon, January 3, Mr. Marsh exhibited to the Dean her Majesty's letters of *congé d'élire*, together with letters missive under her signet, commending the most reverend Father in God, Edmund Archbishop of York, to be elected Archbishop of Canterbury: which were read with all duty and reverence. Whereupon they

CHAP.
V.

Anno 1575.

192

His successor's contest about dilapidations.

His election. Registr. Decan. et Capit. Eccles. Cathedr. Cant.

BOOK proceeded touching the same election, as followeth: "Mr.
11.

Anno 1575. "mon seal to cite the Dean and all the Canons and Preben-
daries to appear at the chapter-house on Tuesday, January
" 10, betwixt nine and ten forenoon, then and there to pro-
ceed to the said election." On which day, at two o'clock
afternoon, the said Archbishop was elected, and certificates
thereof under their common seal were sent to the Queen's
Majesty, and to the said Lord Archbishop elect. Also a
proxy was made to Mr. Dean, Dr. Yale, Dr. Newenson,
Mr. Simpson, Mr. Bungay, and Mr. Incent, to exhibit the
said certificates of election to the said Archbishop, &c. And
in April following, the said Dean and Chapter shewed their
respect to their new Archbishop by making this order: It is
agreed, that the Lord Archbishop shall against the next
Easter be presented by the Treasurer of the church with
twenty fat wethers, in token of the Chapter's good-will at
his now entrance into the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

193 Our Archbishop was confirmed, February 15 following,
by virtue of the Queen's letters patents commissional to
Sandys, Bishop of London; Horn, Bishop of Winchester;
Cox, Bishop of Ely; Davies, Bishop of St. David's; Gest,
Bishop of Sarum; John Incent being principal Register to
the Archbishop. John Bishop of Hereford was also in the
Queen's said letters commissional: but he seems to have
been absent at the confirmation of the election by reason of
his age.

The Arch-
bishop's
Proctor.

The oath of allegiance was taken, not by the Archbishop
in person, but, according to the common practice in such
cases, by Thomas Watts, his Proctor, in these words; "I
" Thomas Watts, Procurator for the most reverend Father
" in God, Edmund, Archbishop of the church and see of
" Canterbury, in the name of the said most reverend Fa-
" ther in God, do utterly testify and declare in my con-
science, that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme
" governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness's
" dominions;" and so on, according to the usual term of the
oath.

The next day following, viz. February 16, in a certain upper chamber of the Dean of St. Paul's house, London, in the presence of Robert Whitehorn, Public Notary, the Archbishop being then present, caused to be obliterated and broken a certain silver seal, which he used when he was Archbishop of York, having engraven on it the effigies of St. Peter, and the arms of the metropolitan church of York, and the arms of the said most reverend Father, with this inscription, *Sigillum Dni Edmundi Grindalli Archiep. Ebor. anno 1573.* Edwin, Bishop of London; Thomas Godwin, S. T. P. and Dean of Canterbury; Tho. Yale, LL. D. John Walton, Gentleman, and many others, present. This particular was thought good to be put into the Archbishop's Register.

Which Thomas Yale was a learned civilian, and Vicar General to the Archbishop, and Principal Official.

On the 19th day of February was a public entertainment made by the Archbishop at Lambeth; where, it being a Parliament time, no doubt great numbers of the nobility and gentry dined with him. Among the rest of the guests was the Lord Gilbert, the Earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son; to whom the Archbishop then related his father's honourable reception of him at Rufford, in his coming up from York: which the said Lord mentioned in a letter the next day wrote to the said Earl; and added, that he thought his Lordship would have a very good friend of him.

The first year of this Archbishop was held a Convocation of the province of Canterbury. The Convocation had been prorogued from time to time and place to place, from the year 1571 unto this present year; when it reassembled, and had a session Friday, February 10. Edwin, Bishop of London, being President, by virtue of letters dated February 8. to him, from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, Keeper of the Spiritualities, (the see being vacant,) commissionating him to act in the synod, and to continue and prorogue it from time to time. In the same session, the said President accordingly, with the consent of his fellow Bishops, prorogued the Convocation to the 17th 194

CHAP.
V.

Anno 1575.

Breaks his
seal for the
see of York.

His Vicar
General.

A treat at
Lambeth.

Epiat. Com-
mit. Salop.
in Offic.
Armor.

A Convoca-
tion under
this Arch-
bishop.

BOOK of the said month: in which interim our Archbishop of
II. York was translated to Canterbury, and so the Bishop of

Anno 1575. London's presidentship ended.

Comes to
the chap-
ter-house.

The said 17th day, being the second session, our new Archbishop of Canterbury came to the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and there produced the Queen's writ, dated February 16, for continuing of the Convocation: which being read, he caused the Prolocutor, and some other of the Lower House, to come before him; and willed and commanded, that they should consider among themselves, if any things were needful to be reformed, which concerned Christ's religion and the state of the Church: and whatsoever they should thereupon devise, to reduce it into writing, and to exhibit it in the next session. And then he willed and commanded them likewise to bethink themselves of a subsidy for the Queen, to be granted by the Clergy, and the manner and form of granting the same. These matters proposed by the Most Reverend were accordingly considered, and had their effect.

A subsidy
granted.

For at the third session, February 24, the Bishops being in Henry the Seventh's chapel, the book or grant of the subsidy was read before them: and the Clergy of the Lower House having been called to hear, going for a little space to their own house, returned it back with their consent to the same.

Matters to
be treated
of, pro-
pounded by
the Arch-
bishop.

And as to the other matter offered by the Archbishop relating to religion and the Church, it came into consideration Friday, March the 2d, when the Bishops met at the chapter-house of St. Paul, and calling up the Prolocutor and five others of the Lower House, the Bishop of London declared to them, that he and his brethren had certain *ardua negotia*, i. e. weighty businesses with them to be handled, concerning the state of the Church of Christ; upon which, by reason of the absence of the Most Reverend and others of the Fathers, they could not conveniently treat at that time, and therefore required them to be present at the next session.

The Convocation, having been divers times adjourned,

at last, on Saturday March the 17th, met at Henry the Seventh's chapel: where the Most Reverend being present, commanded and caused to be read certain Articles conceived in writing: which after they had been read over, the Archbishop and his brethren the Bishops gave their assent and consent to, and subscribed their names with their own hands.

CHAP.
V.

Anno 1575.
Articles of
religion
read and
consent-
ed to.

In these Articles resolutions were taken for the condition of Ministers, and the providing for order in the Church. And after good deliberation, at length they were framed, and agreed unto by the whole Synod; and bore this title: "Articles whereupon it was agreed by the most reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other the Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in the Convocation or Synod holden at Westminster by prorogation in the year of our Lord God, &c. 1575. touching the admission of apt and fit persons to the ministry, and the establishing of good order in the Church." They were published and printed by the Queen's Majesty's authority. Besides which printed copy, I have seen two manuscripts also of these Articles: one in 195 the Paper Office; where they are fourteen in number: and there is a writing added, importing, that they were subscribed by the Archbishop and Bishops, or the Proctors of the Bishops absent, according to due order of law. The other MS. copy of them was in the possession of William Petyt, Esq. late Keeper of the Tower Records: here the articles are fifteen in number. This is also an authentic paper, pertaining once to Whitgift, then Prolocutor, a writing of his own hand being on the back side of the said paper, viz. *Articles in Convocation 1575.* from which copy they are exactly transcribed in the Appendix. There is also a third copy of them, which I have seen among the Synodal Collections of the reverend Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle; consisting also of fifteen articles. These were transcribed out of the Journal of that Convocation by Dr. Heylin. But there was a note in the margin, hinting the reason the fifteenth article was not printed: viz. *Eo quod*

Num. IV.

BOOK *domina nostra Regina, (ut dicitur) non assensit eidem :*
II.

i. e. "because the Queen" as was said, "gave not her assent to it."
Anno 1575. "sent to it."

The import
of them.

They imported, "That those that were to be made Ministers must bring testimonials, and give account of their faith in Latin, and subscribe the Articles of Religion made in the Synod anno 1562. Deacons to be twenty-three years of age, and Priests twenty-four. That Bishops celebrate not Orders but on Sundays or holidays. That they give Orders to none, but of their own diocese, unless dimitted under the hands and seals of the Bishops in whose dioceses they were. That unlearned Ministers formerly ordained be not admitted to any cure. Diligent inquisition to be made for such as forged letters of Orders. That Bishops certify one another of counterfeit Ministers. None to be admitted to Orders, unless he shew to the Bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice. The qualification of such as were to be admitted to any dignity or benefice. All licences for preaching bearing date before the 8th of February 1575 to be void : but such as were thought meet for that office to be admitted again without difficulty or charge. Bishops to take care for able Preachers. None to be admitted a Preacher, unless he be at least a Deacon first. That the Catechism allowed be diligently taught, and the Homilies duly read, where there be no sermons. Every Parson, Vicar, and Curate, being no Master of Art nor Preacher, to have the New Testament both in Latin and English, or Welsh ; and to confer daily one chapter of the same. And Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, to appoint them some certain task of the New Testament to be conned without book ; or to be otherwise travailed in, as should be by them thought convenient : and to exact a rehearsal of the same, and how they have profited in the study thereof. No commutation of penance, unless upon great and urgent causes. Private Baptism to be only administered by lawful Ministers in case of necessity, and by none other. That Archdeacons, and others having

“ordinary jurisdiction, do call before them such as be de- CHAP.
 “tected of any ecclesiastical crime; and convince and V.
 “punish them. That Bishops take order that it be pub- Anno 1575.
 “lished, that marriage be solemnized at all times of the 196
 “year; so that the banns be first lawfully published, and
 “none impediment objected.” But this last, and that other
 about private Baptism, are omitted in the printed Arti-
 cles.

This business done, the Convocation was prorogued Synod pro-
 by the Queen’s command to the 6th of November next. rogued.
 And from time to time, and from year to year, by several
 writs of prorogations, no Synod sat till Jan. 17. anno 1580.

But our Archbishop took care soon after to notify and to The Archbi-
 enjoin the diligent observation of the foresaid Articles upon shop’s man-
 all the Clergy of his province; issuing out this mandate in date for the
 April 1576, viz. Articles.

*Mandatum Archiepiscopi Cantuar. ad publicandum Arti-
 culos in Convocatione stabilitos.*

*Edmundus Divina Providentia Cantuarien. Archiepisco-
 pus, &c. venerabili confratri suo Edwino eadem providentia
 London. Episcopo, salutem, et fraternam in Domino cha-
 ritatem. Cum in sacra Synodo provinciali, &c.* Importing,
 “that whereas in the last Synod, among other things, with
 “their mutual and unanimous consent, they had ordered
 “and established certain Articles, tending to the setting forth
 “the glory of God, the increase of divine worship, the
 “profit of the Church of England, the honesty and decency
 “of the clerical order, and the tuition and defence of the
 “Queen and her kingdoms, entitled, *Articles whereupon it*
 “*was agreed*, &c. he committed them to his brotherhood to
 “be published throughout the whole province of Canter-
 “bury, that none might be ignorant of them, and annexing
 “the true copies of them to these presents: firmly com-
 “manding and enjoining him, under his seal, and with his
 “letters, to send true copies of the said Articles to all and
 “singular his reverend brethren the Bishops Suffragans of
 “his province, and to the keepers of the spiritualities, where

BOOK "the sees were vacant : and they to publish and denounce
II. "the said Articles in each of their cities and dioceses, and

Anno 1576. "cause them to be observed by all that were concerned, and
"duly to be executed. The same command he gave to
"him, the Bishop of London ; to see the Articles performed
"and observed in his diocese." This mandate bore date
the 20th of April 1576.

The like mandate went out to Tho. Lawse, Commissary
General of Canterbury, to publish the said Articles in the
city and diocese of Canterbury.

Alex. Nevyl
dedicates
certain
writings to
the Archbi-
shop,

It may not perhaps be worth mentioning the deference
that was now in December this year 1575 paid our Arch-
bishop by a grave and learned man, viz. Alexander Nevyl,
but that he was one that had the favour and esteem of the
Archbishop's immediate predecessor, and was among the
number of the learned men he entertained in his family.
Him he employed in writing a commentary of the late re-
bellion in his own country of Norfolk, and likewise some-
what of the antiquities of Norwich, the chief city of the said
county. Both these tracts the author having now finished
197 in terse Latin, the one entitled, *De Furoribus Norfolcien-*
sium, Ketto Duce, the other *Norvicus*, he dedicated to
Archbishop Grindal : where, in the Epistle Dedicatory, he
gave him this character, *Isque vir sis, qui in omni vita cum*
prudencia perinsigni incredibilem quoque comitatem con-
junxeris : i. e. "That he was the man that through all his
"life to a singular prudence had joined as extraordinary an
"affability." And a little after, he speaks of his *dulcissimis*
suavissimisque moribus : i. e. "most sweet and courteous
"manners."

We shall now proceed to the view of the acts of this new
Archbishop of Canterbury, and to recover as much as we
can of the knowledge of them at this distance of time and
scarcity of materials for such an undertaking.

The cause
of a Preach-
er in the
diocese of
Chichester,
referred to
him by the
Council.

One of the first things our Archbishop did judicially was
the restoring of one David Thickpeny, the Curate of Bright-
helmstone in Sussex, in the diocese of Chichester. His Bishop
had inhibited him to perform that office there, for certain

causes, chiefly in compliance with the ecclesiastical orders, and giving just grounds of suspicion, that he was of the *family of love*. Thickpeny appealed to the Lords of the Council against his diocesan. The Council referred his case to the Archbishop, to be by him examined, and finally determined. The cause came before the Archbishop at Lambeth: where the Bishop of Chichester being present affirmed, that he had indeed inhibited him for just and lawful causes, as he believed; and especially, for that Thickpeny, upon probable arguments, was and is suspected for a favourer of the novel doctrine of the heretics called the *family of love*. The said Clerk, on the other hand, declared before the Archbishop, that he was none of that sect, and that he abhorred them, and that he was ready to purge himself of any such accusation; and lastly, submitting himself to the order and reformation of the Archbishop: who hearing what the Bishop of Chichester could object against him, judged it nothing in effect, but only his suspicion of this man's being of that family; and shewing no sufficient ground of his said suspicion; and the accused man, on the contrary, openly protested against it, and offered his oath. He also considered, that this man was well learned, and had a very good testimony of his parishioners. These things inclined him to move his diocesan to restore him to his serving again of the cure, by his own authority; which he refused to do. Whereupon the Archbishop, weighing the sufficiency of the man, and finding that the Bishop rather upon private affection than any just ground (as he asserted) had displaced him, and oftentimes admonishing this Clerk, that he should use all dutiful submission to his Ordinary, made this final order, March 25. "That within twenty days following, the said Thickpeny should submissively purge himself of the suspicion of his foresaid error after this manner:

"That the said Thickpeny under his hand-writing shall deliver unto the said reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Chichester, or to his Chancellor, if he cannot con-

CHAP.
V.

Anno 1575.

Family of
Love.

BOOK
II.

“ veniently come to the Bishop’s presence, his said purgation
“ in form following :

Anno 1576.

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The form of
his submis-
sion en-
joined.

“ Whereas your Lordship hath conceived an evil opinion
“ of me, as one favouring the late lewd errors of the *family*
“ *of love*, I do protest before God and your Lordship,
“ that I do from the bottom of my heart detest and abhor
“ the said sect, and all their errors ; and shall so do by the
“ grace of God during my whole life. And I do here
“ promise in the faith of a Christian, that from henceforth I
“ shall detect and declare to your Lordship, with as conve-
“ nient speed as I may, all such as I shall certainly know to
“ be of that fond family and heresy ; and all such their
“ books as shall come to my hands touching the same
“ doctrine. And that I shall with all mine endeavour set
“ forth God’s true religion and doctrine by public author-
“ ity established within his realm of England, and domin-
“ ions of the same, agreeable to the Articles entitled, *Articles*
“ *whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops*
“ *of both provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convoca-*
“ *tion holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562.*
“ *according to the computation of the Church of England,*
“ *for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the*
“ *establishing of consent touching true religion. Put forth*
“ *by the Queen’s authority.*”

And moreover the said most reverend Father enjoined the said Thickpeny, that two several Sundays before he be admitted to serve the cure at Brighthelmstone, he publicly preach ; and in each sermon openly and plainly declare his mind against the foresaid errors, and confute them. All and singular which things being after the manner aforesaid faithfully performed by the said David Thickpeny, the said most reverend Father yielded and granted to him to serve the cure of souls in the same church.

The Archbi-
shop im-
posed upon.

But the sincere Archbishop was too easily imposed upon by the protestation of this deceitful man, to revoke so soon an order of his fellow Bishop against one of his own diocese, who was thereby better acquainted with him and his doings,

than the Archbishop could be by testimonials, or his own asseveration. For behold the sequel! The said Minister soon came down to Brighthelmstone; and on Sunday morning, Apr. 1, came into the parish church, and, interrupting the Minister that was then saying divine service, uttered these speeches; "Brethren, beloved, I am here to signify unto you, that by virtue of a decree taken by my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, I am restored to this my former cure and place; and have brought down wherewithal to countervail, and as it were counterpoise, all mine adversaries. God be glorified therefore. And because here are some which understand that well enough, I will publish it only in the Latin tongue." Then taking a sheet of paper written on two or three sides, he read only five or six lines, some on one side of the paper, and some on the other, pretermittting the most part. And at the time of Evening Prayer, he took the Book of Common Prayer, and went into the *pulpit*, and there in the *pulpit* began the Evening Prayer, until he came to the Psalms. And then made a sermon: which finished, he came down out of the *pulpit*, and baptized a child; and so omitted the rest of the Evening Prayer, not wearing the surplice. Neither kept he the order of the Book of Common Prayer. For Apr. 8. 1576. that is, but the Sunday sevensnight after he first came down, baptizing a child, he omitted divers things belonging thereto: nor had he worn the surplice at any time after his coming from London. On the said day he brought to the Bishop a letter, certifying that he favoured not those that professed the house of the *family of love*. Then the Bishop required him with convenient speed to send him a copy of such authority as he had to serve longer at Brighthelmstone, and to preach. But two or three weeks passed, and he did it not, and still preached, and inveighed against such as had troubled him, saying he would not name them, or describe them, as he had done heretofore, but they knew well enough whom he meant; and so forth: plainly noting the Bishop, as divers were ready to testify.

This account of Thickepeny's behaviour the Bishop of

BOOK Chichester sent up to the Archbishop. Whereupon the

II.

Anno 1576.

His concern for
St. John's
college.

Archbishop cited him up again, to answer to those objections and complaints of his ill behaviour.

Our Archbishop's care for the good estate of learning and religion prompted him with a concern for St. John's college in Cambridge; (as it had once before;) a college that had been famous in King Edward's time, and before, for divers persons of excellent learning and true religion residing there, among whom were Cheke, Ascham, the Levers, the Pilkingtons, and Cecil, now Lord Treasurer. This college at this time, and a good while before, was vexed with factions and much unquietness. And a great inconvenience the said college laboured under, (whence in a great measure their confusions arose,) was, that there was no original authentic book of statutes in the treasury, as by statute there ought to have been, and was in all other colleges duly observed. And the copies of the statutes that went then abroad in that house were rased, blotted, interlined, and corrupted with marginal additions; so as indeed no man could certainly affirm what was statute and what not. Some of the Universities of the best credit and discretion acquainted the Archbishop with these things; and withal that they thought the readiest way of reformation would be, if a visitation by a commission from the Queen might be procured, and the statutes of the college reduced to some certainty, and in some things to be altered by the report of the visitors, understanding the state of the house. To set on foot therefore so good a design, the Archbishop forthwith in a letter, dated April 23, from Lambeth, moved the Lord Treasurer in the behalf of this college, which he called *his old nurse*, and *that famous college*; that he would do a very good work at his convenient leisure to procure such a visitation from the Queen, together with such good instructions as he should think requisite in such a case: referring the matter to his Lordship's good consideration, and recommending the names of some, who, in his opinion, were fit to be visitors, wherein he might alter and add, as he thought good. These were

the Lord Treasurer, the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Whitgift, Dr. CHAP.
Watts, Dr. Hawford, Dr. Ithel, Dr. Byng, and Mr. Goad, V.
Heads of Houses. Accordingly in the latter end of the Anno 1576.
year a commission was sent down to the college, and the
matters rectified, and some of the college punished.

This commission for the college had been requested the 200
year before of the Treasurer. For I find Dr. Thomas The case of
Ithel, Master of Jesus college, and Chancellor to Cox, Bi- the college.
shop of Ely, wrote a letter to the said Lord Treasurer, by
that Bishop's order, to desire a commission for the refor-
mation of the statutes of that house. The Bishop their vi-
sitor had perceived how contentions grew and were nou-
rished here, and, in a visitation he had made, contrived
means for the putting an end thereunto; but his power was
not strong enough without some greater influence from
above: he therefore employed Dr. Ithel, who knew well
how the matters of the college stood, to acquaint the said
Lord with a full and particular account how things were
found. As, that there was in the house great bandying
against government; that they professed openly to maintain
a popular state in the college; and for that purpose the se-
niors held together, without whom the Master could do no-
thing. That when disorder was to be punished, they would
hardly, and sometime not at all, be brought to consent to
the inflicting of any punishment, but would maintain their
old liberty, as they termed it. For these causes the Bishop
of Ely desired a commission, to reform the statutes of the
house in some points: and that the Commissioners might
have authority to hear and determine all controversies dur-
ing the time of the imperfection of the statutes that then
they had. That he [the Lord Treasurer] himself would be
a Commissioner, being the High Chancellor of the Uni-
versity. And he, and such of the Commissioners that he
should choose for that purpose, should have authority with
his consent, (and not otherwise,) to remove any officer or
Fellow from their office or fellowship, if occasion should
be found; and, without election of the Master and Fellows,
to place such persons in their rooms, as might be to his ho-
nour, and those that met. That such a commission was

BOOK
II.

not without example. The Bishop's opinion was, (as Ithel signified to the Lord Treasurer,) that there might be good hope of reformation, and better government in the college this way, and hardly otherwise: because the officers and Fellows at this time, if the power lay in them, would choose only such as would be most agreeable to maintain liberty. I have added this relation of the present state of the college, to shew how necessary this suit of the Archbishop to the Lord Burghley was.

Bucer's
English
works dedi-
cated to the
Archbishop.

Buceri Scripta Anglicana came forth this year in folio, comprising all Bucer's dissertations, readings, and disputations while he was in England, together with other matters relating to that learned German Confessor, and some time King Edward's Public Reader of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. They were set forth by Conradus Hubertus, a learned man of Strasburgh; and by him dedicated to our Archbishop in an epistle dated February 22, 1577, *anno ineunte*; choosing him for patron to the book, both because he had been one of Bucer's chief friends and acquaintance at Cambridge, and also had procured most of the pieces then published, according as he had promised Hubertus before, when he was at Strasburgh, that he would get him the remainders of Bucer's works. And he was as good as his word. For soon after his return into England, he sent over to the said learned man an account of Bucer's life, death, burial, exhumation, or digging up again, and reburial; together with other volumes wrote by Bucer's own hands, and his disputations with Young.

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Some of these pieces sent over by Bishop Grindal, Hubert caused soon after, viz. anno 1561, to be printed at Argentine, by John Oporinus, in 8vo. namely,

A catalogue
of pieces
concerning
Bucer, sent
over by Bi-
shop Grin-
dal, and
printed.

De Obitu Doctissimi et Sanctissimi Theologi Doctoris, Martini Buceri, Johan. Checi ad D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium. Epist. I.

De eadem prolixius, Nicolai Carri Novocastrensis, ad Johann. Checum. Epist. II.

*Oratio funebris Gualteri Haddoni, LL. Doctoris, Aca-
demiae Cantabrigiensis Oratoris.*

Concio D. Matthæi Parkeri, S. Theologiæ Professoris,

*ibidem in Funere Buceri habita, atque ex Anglico in Latini- CHAP.
num versa.* V.

*Judicium Clariss. et Doctiss. cujusdam Theologi, de D. Anno 1576.
Martino Bucero.*

*Johannis Checi ad D. Gualterum Haddonum, LL. Doc-
torem. Epist. III.*

*D. Petri Martyris Vermilii etiam de Obitu D. Mart.
Buceri ad Conradum Hubertum. Epist. IV.*

*Epigrammata varia cum Græce tum Latine conscripta,
in Mortem D. Martini Buceri.* With divers other pieces
relating to Paulus Fagius; and the digging both him and
Bucer out of their graves, and burning their dead bodies in
the days of Queen Mary, together with the honourable re-
stitution of them under Queen Elizabeth. The copies of all
these seem to have been gathered up and conveyed over to
Hubertus by our Archbishop, as likewise of the rest which
made the *Scripta Anglicana*. Which therefore in his
Epistle Dedicatory he made a public acknowledgment of.
*Pars aliqua laudis tuæ bonitati, Antistes, debetur, qui me
Anglicanis Scriptis adjuveris.*

In the said epistle he takes occasion to mention that re-
markable accident that befell him being a boy; when once
walking abroad, an arrow from above fell upon him, and
struck so directly upon his breast, that had not there been
a book, which by chance he had put there, and broke the
force of the arrow, it had certainly deprived him of that
life, which, said Hubert, afterwards bore such good fruits
in the Church of Christ. And he was of opinion, that that
arrow pointed out the storm, which, upon the death of
King Edward, brought such bitter calamities and mourn-
ing upon the realm of England, and likewise those great
things the Lord Jesus did by him in the churches of Eng-
land after his return home from his exile, and the honours
that happened afterwards to him, namely, his advancements,
first to be Bishop of London, next to be Archbishop of
York, and now of Canterbury.

Grindal's
danger by
an arrow.

The con-
jectural inter-
pretation
thereof.

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CHAP. VI.

Looks after his Courts. Court of Faculties. His regulation of dispensations. The advices of his learned lawyers for reformation of abuses; viz. Jones, Harvey, Aubrey, Yale. Two of his officers contend for precedency. A new Ecclesiastical Commission.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1576.

Looks to
his Courts.The Court
of Faculties.

BUT now to look upon the Archbishop in matters that nearer concerned his function. First of all he looks to his Courts; to remedy, as much as possible, abuses and disorders there, where men would especially look for justice and equity and despatch.

The Court of Faculties had been often complained of, and the former diligent Archbishop Parker had laboured a reformation therein. As for the dispensations that issued out of that Court, the present Archbishop set them in two ranks: first, such as in his judgment were utterly to be abolished; and secondly, such as he was willing to leave to the consideration of the Lords of the Council, whether to abolish or retain them. Concerning both which, in the month of April, he wrote a very discreet paper, (and that, as appears, by order from above,) to be presented to the Lords of the Council, which was as follows:

I. Dispensations left to the consideration of the Lords of the Council.

1. *A commendam.* It is to be considered, whether this kind of dispensation may have continuance, being used in this case only, where certain of the smallest bishoprics want sufficiency for maintenance of the Bishops; and therefore have need of some supply.

2. *A plurality.* It is also to be considered, whether this dispensation may have continuance. So as only learned men, being Bachelors of Divinity, or Preachers lawfully allowed, may enjoy the same; the distance between the benefices not exceeding twenty miles. With a proviso also,

that the party dispensed withal preach at the benefice whereupon he commonly dwelleth not, thirteen sermons every year, according to the Queen's injunctions; and also keep hospitality there eight weeks in every year at the least.

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VI.

Anno 1576.

3. *Legitimation.* This kind of dispensation, which is the enabling of men base-born to take ecclesiastical orders and promotions, seemeth not convenient to be used, but where there is good proof of great towardness in learning, and of godly disposition in the party so dispensed withal: for that bastards seldom prove profitable members of God's Church. Which is likewise to be considered of in the said case.

4. *Non-residence.* To be considered, whether this dispensation may be granted for some short time only, for recovery of health, or such like urgent cause, and not during life, or for any long time; as it hath been heretofore used.

5. *Licence to eat flesh.* Whether this dispensation be to be continued for some persons.

6. *Creation of Notaries.* Whether this faculty be to be retained still in actuaries and scribes.

7. *De non promovendo.* Whether in case of the Prince's service this dispensation may be granted to a Doctor of the Civil Law, to enjoy some kind of ecclesiastical promotion, notwithstanding he be not within orders.

II. *Dispensations to be utterly abolished.*

1. Trialities, and faculties for more benefices, or for so many as the parties could get.

2. Dispensation for children and young men under age, to take ecclesiastical promotions.

3. Dispensations, called by the name of *perinde valere*, making grants good which by law were void, and a right grown to some other person.

4. Dispensations to take all Orders of the Ministry at one time.

5. Dispensations to take Orders out of their own diocese at any other Bishop's hands.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1576.

The Bishop's judgment concerning Faculties approved by the Council.

6. Licences to marry without banns asking, and out of the parish church of any of the parties.

These propositions of the Archbishop concerning his Faculties, were allowed and approved of by the Queen's Council, according to his judgment about them; as I find in an authentic writing signed by the hands of divers Lords and others of the Privy Council, under these two titles aforesaid:

I. Dispensations to be utterly abolished, as not agreeable to Christian religion in the opinion of the Lords of the Council. And then follows the mention of trialities, and the other dispensations abovesaid, disallowed by the Archbishop.

II. Dispensations left to the consideration of the Lords of the Council, and by them allowed, as they be here qualified. And then follows the mention of *commendams*, and the rest set down in the Archbishop's paper, and in the Archbishop's very words. Signed by these names, N. Bacon, Will. Burghley, E. Lincoln, Tho. Sussex, Arundel, F. Bedford, Fr. Knollys, Jam. Croft, Walter Mildmay. Dated 20th June 1576.

Now for the better understanding of the state of this Faculty-office, and the various dispensations granted out of it, and the respective fees, a table thereof was drawn out for the inspection and consideration of the Privy Council: which I have exemplified in the Appendix.

Num. V.

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Studies the regulation of his other Courts.

And as these were his cares for the reformation of his Court of Faculties, so he was bent much, now upon his first access to this see, upon the regulating of the rest of his Courts, *viz.* the Arches, the Audience, and Prerogative. In order to this by his letters he required several of the most learned Civilians and Judges of those Courts, as Jones, Aubrey, Harvey, Yale, &c. to deliberate well with themselves, and then to shew him their opinions in writing of the present abuses, and their judgments for the rectifying and redressing thereof. And for the clearer and fuller understanding of these things, I shall not think much of the

pains to set down here some of their letters to our Arch- CHAP
VI.
bishop.

And first, Dr. Henry Jones on the 25th of April delivered Anno 1576.
his sense of these matters in these words: "After my duty Dr. Jones's
opinion
thereupon.
"most humbly premised unto your Grace. For as much MSS. G.
Petyt Ar-
mig.
"as it pleaseth the same, intending to reform abuses, and
"to establish good order for the due ministration of justice,
"and taking away of delays, in proceeding in causes in the
"Courts of the Arches, Audience, and Prerogative; and
"therefore to require me to declare what disorders I do know
"in the said Courts, and which way, in mine opinion, the
"same may be best reformed, touching the advocates, proc-
"tors, and registers thereof: it may please your Grace to
"understand, that divers Archbishops, your Grace's pre-
"decessors, have in times past, minding the like refor-
"mation, made very good statutes for the Court of the
"Arches, as well touching the upright and due ministra- The Arches.
"tion of justice with all convenient expedition, as the du-
"ties of the advocates, proctors, and registers, in avoid-
"ing of all delays in suits, and of evil name and fame in
"their own lives, with a sharp punishment for the trans-
"gressors thereof. And every person at his admission
"taketh an oath to observe the same, so far as they be not
"contrary to the laws of the realm. Yet all the Judges of
"the said Court for my time have neglected to see the
"said statutes duly kept and put in execution, as they
"were bound, and should have done. The which thing I
"take only to be the very cause of all evil disorders and
"abuses in the said Court. And if your Grace did hear
"the said statutes read for the Court, and all persons that
"belong to the same, I trust they should satisfy your
"Grace in all respects. So that nothing were better, in
"mine opinion, to reform the whole Court, and the abuses
"therein, than to cause the Judge of the said Court to see
"carefully the said statutes put in execution, and kept by
"every one of the Court according to his duty.

"And as concerning your Grace's Court of the Audi- The Audi-
ence.

BOOK II. "ence, there be some good statutes made for the same,
 Anno 1576. "touching good order and expedition to be had in mat-
 "ters: the which be not well kept; neither any person of
 "that Court striveth to keep them. It were to be wished,
 "that your Grace should supply them by the statutes of
 "the Arches, and cause all persons that will exercise in
 "the same Court to be sworn likewise for the keeping of
 "them. Then the Judge may better cause every man to
 "do his duty, and proceed in matters without frivolous
 "delays.

205 "And for the Prerogative Court, I know of no statutes
 The Prero- "that have been made by any Archbishops for good order
 gative. "in the same, either touching the Judge, Advocates, Proc-
 "tors, Register, or expedition in causes without all delays:
 "notwithstanding it hath as great need of statutes and
 "good orders as any of the other Courts, and rather more;
 "for commonly in the other Courts the matters be not of
 "such weight as they be in the Prerogative Court. And
 "although the nature of matters of that Court doth vary
 "somewhat from the proceedings of the other Courts; yet a
 "great number of the statutes of the Arches may well
 "serve for good order, and cutting off all delays in suits
 "in the same Court. And your Grace may add other sta-
 "tutes to them as occasion shall serve. And in mine opin-
 "ion it were well to provide, that when a caution is en-
 "tered to stay the probation of a will, or the granting out
 "of letters of administration, till he be privy that entered
 "it, being in that city, it were well to stay so small a time,
 "as to hear what the party can allege. *Item*, Not to grant
 "out the second letters of administration before the first be
 "called in, or declared to be void. *Item*, That letters of
 "administration be not granted out in haste to any per-
 "son that comes in postways for them, but rather stayed
 "for a few days. *Item*, Always sufficient bonds to be
 "taken, when letters of administration be granted out to a
 "person, and especially during the minority of children.
 "*Item*, That the proctor that will have a testament

“ proved, wherein divers executors be named, be sure of
 “ their consent in whose name he desireth the probation. CHAP.
VI.

“ And thus much I thought of presently to certify your Anno 1576.
 “ Grace, whom God have always in his blessed tuition.
 “ From the Doctors’ Commons, the 25th of April.

“ To your Grace at commandment,

“ most humbly,

“ Henry Jones.”

Upon the back side of this letter is writ by Archbishop
 Grindal’s own hand, *Dr. Jones of the Arches.*

The next Civilian was Dr. Harvey, who on the 28th of
 April sent into the Archbishop his *Remembrances* touch-
 ing reformation of certain disorders in his Courts of the
 Arches, Audience, and Prerogative.

“ First, That the statutes of the Arches be not truly ob-
 “ served; whereupon earnest order is to be taken with the Dr. Har-
vey’s opin-
ion.
 “ Dean of the Arches and the Judge of the Audience for
 “ the observance thereof.

“ Secondly, *Item*, That the said statutes be chiefly
 “ broken, in that some of the proctors prosecute controver-
 “ sies in the Arches without the assistance and advice of any
 “ advocate, wherein they be greatly noted to advance their
 “ own gain, and hinder others, contrary to the estimation
 “ of the said Courts, and the very good meaning of a sta-
 “ tute of the said Court of Arches in that case provided.

“ Thirdly, *Item*, For the sure observation of the said
 “ statute, order may be given, that none of the Judges of
 “ the said three Courts should seal any citation, or admit in
 “ Court any libel or allegation in writing, without the sub-
 “ scription of an advocate. Nor that any proctor should
 “ attempt the defence of any defendent without the advice
 “ of an advocate. For this is the true meaning of the said
 “ statute.

“ Fourthly, *Item*, It is greatly to be wished, that order
 “ may be taken for the advocates, to have the writing of
 “ some special things exhibited to the Courts; whereby the

- BOOK II. "advocate might have for the better relief to set one *clerk*
 Anno 1576. "on work. For although by the learning and labour of the
 "advocates divers writings be penned and corrected; yet
 "the gain of the fair writing thereof remaineth altogether
 "in the proctors. And if this thing were earnestly pro-
 "vided for, then the good estate and estimation of all the
 "Courts would be greatly amended in divers respects. But
 "if the order be not taken substantially touching this point,
 "the matter may grow worse than it is.
- "Fifthly, *Item*, That order may be given that nothing
 "may be exhibited in writing in any of the said Courts,
 "but in the Latin tongue; and that without abbreviatures,
 "or cutting off syllables, which the law civil reproveth.
 "For it is a cloak of ignorance, and hindereth the proctors
 "and their clerks from sufficient knowledge in the Latin
 "tongue.
- "Sixthly, *Item*, That the same statute and order should
 "be prescribed to the Court of Audience and Preroga-
 "tive.
- "Seventhly, *Item*, It were to be wished, that the writing
 "of public acts and examination of witnesses should not
 "be committed but to such as were of an approved ho-
 "nesty, and of convenient grave years. And herein a good
 "inquiry is to be made, that many intolerable faults be not
 "committed.
- "Eighthly, *Item*, That it is worthy of a good consideration
 "to know what the Register of the Audience payeth yearly
 "for the exercise of that room: for it is a provocation to
 "commit many evils, besides a slanderous example, that
 "the Register of that Court should be subject to a yearly
 "pension.
- "Ninthly, *Item*, If a reformation be thought necessary
 "to be established for the said three Courts touching the
 "former articles, then it may be thought expedient also, for
 "avoiding inconveniences of the alteration and inequality,
 "that the like reformation and orders be procured to be
 "exercised within the Courts of the Bishop of London,

“Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s, and the Archdeacons CHAP.
 “which exercise jurisdiction within London, as the state of VI.
 “every Court requireth. Anno 1576.

“Tenthly, *Item*, For the due consideration of the abuses
 “and redresses, it were expedient, that some persons of in-
 “tegrity and skill were appointed to inquire of these and
 “others too long to be rehearsed. They to determine or
 “signify of the order and manner of the redress.”

In the same MS. volume whence I extracted this, is a dis-
 course also *De Decano Arcuum, et Vicario Generali*: which,
 by Archbishop Grindal’s own hand upon the paper, ap-
 pears to have been also of Dr. Harvey’s writing, for the
 Archbishop’s use.

Dr. Aubrey also wrote very largely to the Archbishop, 207
 April ult. concerning the same subject; which beginneth Dr. Au-
 thus: “My duty humbly remembered unto your good brey’s
 “Grace. For the satisfying of your Grace’s command- opinion.
 “ment by your letters of the 7th of this present, in my
 “opinion there are, by sundry your predecessors, very
 “many good ordinances already made, for the good order
 “of your Court of the Arches: which by your Grace, and
 “as your leisure may serve, and by others of your ap-
 “pointment, may be considered. And such as by the al-
 “teration of the time, and of the general state of the realm,
 “are not meet for the present time, or are grown to disuse;
 “as all those of appeals, tuitories, and such other, may be
 “cut off, and the rest may remain in force by your Grace’s
 “authority, with such now as your Grace shall think need-
 “ful or convenient to be added, &c.” And then he pro-
 ceeds at large to particulars.

Dr. Yale also, who was Judge of the Court of Audience, The opin-
 thus signified his mind to the Archbishop, for the reforma- ion of Dr.
 tion of that Court. “In your Grace’s Court of Audience, Yale.
 “as in all other your Courts, so things be out of order,
 “that few things be as they should be; [matters] of obe-
 “dience confounded; place and callings little regarded;
 “those persons most insolent which ought to be most sub-
 “miss; those most neglected which ought to be most reve-

BOOK "rent; popularity of late so prevailing, that severity of
 II. "good government is condemned; good orders and statutes
 Anno 1576. "sworn, rejected; gainful customs contrary to oaths, for
 "laws received; used pains and diligence is turned to loose-
 "ness; more griping of gains than ever before; handling
 "of causes is made an art of gain, and prolonging of suits
 "a point of cunning; styles and customs formed for com-
 "modity, observed as laws; oaths and perjuries by custom
 "made current: with many mo lamentable disorders, too
 "long particularly to be recited; which all good men do
 "wish reformed, and now do hope the same.

"For redress whereof mine opinion is, that necessary it
 "is to give out statutes to rule all your Grace's Courts,
 "with few additions respecting the several nature of causes
 "that be handled in your several Courts: and that the
 "same statutes may be better observed than they are, and
 "to avoid such horrible perjuries as wilfully be committed
 "in the voluntary neglecting of them, being sworn publicly
 "unto by Judge, Advocate, and Proctor; that greater
 "pains and more severe punishments be imposed upon all
 "the Judges not urging due observation thereof; and upon
 "all other transgressors. For if any one of your Grace's
 "Courts, careless of duty, for friendship, fame, gain, or
 "any other respect, by winking, do leave your practi-
 "tioners to their own lawed practised liberty, thidder will
 "they all run, and therein their old customs will contain
 "the good orders of the rest. This effectually finished, I
 "trust, would induce a general reformation, beneficial to
 "the subjects, godly and honourable to your Grace. And
 "this might take speedy execution, if it like your Grace
 "forthwith to make choice of two or three to collect of
 "the statutes of the Arches so many as be good and
 "godly, supplying in few words reformation in things ne-
 "cessary. And the same to reduce unto one book, to be
 208 "committed unto your Grace's liking; and then considered,
 "to be given as laws to be observed in all your Grace's
 "Courts.

"Tho. Yale, Auditor."

Upon occasion of the Archbishop's inquiries into his Courts, as hath been already shewn, some controversy hap-
 CHAP. VI.
 Anno 1576.
 pened between two of his officers for precedency, viz. his
 Vicar General, who was also his Chancellor, Dr. Yale, Clerk con-
 tend for
 and his Official of the Arches, Dr. Bartholomew Clerk; precedency.
 very learned and ingenious men both. This begat two singular discourses in writing, which I have seen among the MSS. of Mr. Petyt of the Inner Temple. The first is a learned argument of Dr. Yale under his own hand, entitled, "*To the reasonless Challenge of the Official of Canterbury Court of the Arches, claiming Superiority above the Vicar General, the Official Principal, and the Chancellor of the Bishop of Canterbury.* Where it shall appear both by law, and reason, and custom, that the said Official is neither equal to the Vicar General, nor superior to the Official Principal, and much inferior to the Chancellor." This provoked another paper composed by the said Dr. Clerk, very fairly and learnedly by him written, which he entitled, "*The reasonable Answer of the Official of the Arches, who never made challenge to Superiority: but being challenged by him that pretendeth himself Vicar General, and nameth himself Official Principal, and weeneth himself Chancellor of Canterbury, is driven to defend the ancient dignity of the Court of Arches, and Official thereof; not with triple titles and gay terms, but by reason, law, and statute.*" On the back of this paper is written with Archbishop Grindal's own hand, *Decan. de Arcubus*, 23d May 1576. Whereby it appears this controversy came before him, and the papers on both sides writ for his information.

A new Commission for ecclesiastical causes was now necessarily to be granted forth by the Queen for the Archbishop; who was next under the Queen the chief inspector and corrector of matters pertaining to religion, for the peace and good order of the Church. The Queen therefore despatched this Commission, April 23, 1576. To the Archbishop were joined in the Commission the Bishops of London, Winton, Ely, Wigorn, St. David's, Norwich, Chi-

BOOK II.
 Anno 1576. chester, Rochester, and the Suffragan of Dover; together with Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretaries of State; Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron; Thomas Godwin, Dean of Canterbury; Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's; Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster; John Whitgift, Master of Trinity college, Cambridge; Thomas Sackford; Thomas Wylson, LL. D. Master of St. Katharine's; Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls; Sir Thomas Bromley, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Henry Nevyl, Thomas Watts, Davy Lewis, Thomas Yale, Bartholomew Clerk, John Hammond, Civilians, and many others. The cause of this Commission is specified to be divers seditious and slanderous persons, that daily invented and set forth false rumours, tales, and slanders against the Queen and her good laws and estates, and published divers seditious books; meaning thereby to move and procure strife, seditions, and dissensions among the Queen's loving
 209 and obedient subjects. The Commissioners were empowered to take cognizance of these, and to inquire into and determine all enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, offences, assaults, frays, quarrels, done in churches or churchyards, or against the divine service, or the Ministers of the same. Also, to search out, correct, and punish such as wilfully absented themselves from the Church and divine service: and commanding, that the penalties and forfeitures by such incurred be duly levied. Also, to visit, reform, and redress in all places, all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, spiritual and ecclesiastical, and the like. Also, to frame and advertise the Queen of such good orders and statutes, as they should judge meet and convenient for the use of such cathedral and collegiate churches, grammar schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations as were founded either by King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Queen Mary, or the late Cardinal Pool; the statutes whereof were either none at all, or imperfect, being made at such time as the crown and regiment of the realm was subject to the foreign usurped authority of the see of Rome. And in order thereunto, to cause the statutes of those places, touching their

erections and foundations, to be brought in and exhibited before them; that so the Queen might alter, make, and establish other statutes, rules, and ordinances, according to the act of Parliament thereof made in the first of her reign. Also, she deputed and appointed them, or any three of them, to take the oaths for the Queen's superiority, spiritual and ecclesiastical, over all states and subjects within her realm, given to her by two acts, of all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Ministers Ecclesiastical, and other persons compellable by any of the said acts: and in case of refusal, to certify the Queen under their seals. This is but a short and imperfect abstract of this Commission, being too long to be here inserted at length. But the nature and form of these instruments being now somewhat more rare, having been so long disused, I think it not amiss to place it among the papers in the Appendix.

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VI.

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Out of the Cotton volume whence I extracted it, I find this further light into this Commission, by what is written down in two or three pages after, if indeed it belong to the same Commission. These are said to constitute the Court. First, the Commissioners, the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, Elmer, and other Bishops, and divers others, Doctors, Knights, and Esquires. Register and Actuary, Edward Barker, and his deputy, Mr. Bedel, a Crier, the Bishop of London's Gentleman Apparitor. The Court was kept the next day forenoon and afternoon, after the Delegates' Court, in the Consistory of St. Paul's. All these offices were in the Queen's gift, and at her disposition. The Archbishop for his state sat in Commission at his palace at Lambeth with other Commissioners associates every Thursday in the forenoon; and on other days in the Consistory, as the Bishop of London or other Commissioners did.

The Commissioners
and officers
and session.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1576.

CHAP. VII.

- 210 *Redmayn, the Archbishop's Chaplain, becomes Archdeacon of Canterbury. Consecrates two Bishops. The Queen's letters for the Bishop of Man. A metropolitical visitation. Commissions for visiting. Injunctions and Articles. Puritans. His course with them.*

The Arch-
bishop's
Chaplain
made Arch-
deacon.

THE Bishops of Rochester hitherto of the Queen's reign had held the archdeaconry of Canterbury *in commendam*. Now Freke, the present Bishop, being to be removed to another see, the Archbishop laboured to break that custom, which he saw had great inconvenience in it; and that the annexing of that office to the see of Rochester had done very much harm in the diocese of Canterbury. And having a learned and deserving man his Chaplain at this time, (William Redmayn by name,) and who had proved himself a good preacher by a sermon before the Queen, the Archbishop had solicited her once and again, (whilst he was in her Majesty's presence,) that he might have the archdeaconry: he obtained also Secretary Walsingham to do the like. And now in April he acquainted the Lord Treasurer what steps he had made in this business, adding that his good liking of this suit known to her Majesty (mentioning to him also the *very good sermon*, as he styled it, he had lately made at Court) would much forward his cause: which no question he did out of his real respects to this Archbishop. And his request took effect. Which Redmayn was of such desert, that he was afterwards advanced by the Queen to the bishopric of Norwich.

Bishops
consecrated.

In the month of April our Archbishop consecrated two Bishops. The former was John Piers, Dean of Sarum, lately elected to the see of Rochester; whose election the Archbishop confirmed April the 4th; and the next day in his chapel at Lambeth performed to him the office of consecration, assisted by Edwin Bishop of London, and Robert Bishop of Winchester. And Apr. 15. following, he

consecrated John Merric, M. A. Bishop of Sodor or Man, CHAP. VII.
 assisted then also with the Bishops of London and Winton. Anno 1576.
 For though the diocese of Man was in the province of York, yet York being now vacant, the Archbishop of Canterbury performed the consecration of the said Bishop, by special letters from the Queen in that behalf.

Which letters, recognizing the title of the Earls of Derby The Queen's letters for the consecration of the Bishop of Man. Grind. Register.
 to nominate Bishops to this see, and the form of the Queen's acceptance, may perhaps be worth reciting in this place.
*Cum per dilectus et perquam fidelis consanguineus noster Henricus comes Derby, ex indultis et largitionibus progenitorum nostrorum, Regum et Principum hujus regni nostri Angliæ progenitoribus suis comitibus Derby ab antiquo fact. et clargit. eidem comiti, hæredibus et successoribus suis rite et legitime confirmatis, et longo usu stabilitis, jus habeat patronatus, nominationis, præsentationis, et dispositionis episcopatus in insula de Man Eboracen. Provinciæ, in qualibet ejus vacatione; ita quod dict. episcopatu quacû- 211
 que ratione vacante bene liceat eidem comiti, hæredibus et successoribus suis quamcunque personam dignitati hujusmodi idoneam et habilem ad eundem episcopatum nominare, &c. ipsumque in episcopatum hujusmodi confirmare, munusque consecrationis eidem conferre, inaugurationem quoque sive installationem in realem et corporalem ejusdem episcopatus possessionem cum suis dignitatibus, præeminentiis, privilegiis, juribus, et immunitatibus quibuscunque petere et obtinere, &c.* Then the said letters proceeded to set forth, how the said Earl of Derby had by his letters to the Queen under his seal presented this Merric to the said bishopric; humbly praying, that she would graciously accept and admit the said presentation. Therefore, (as the instrument proceeds,) *Sciatis, &c.* Know ye, that we do accept the said presentation, and yield our assent and favour. Then signifying her pleasure, that he, the Archbishop, should confirm and consecrate him Bishop of Man.

This year he entered upon his metropolitanical visitation. Visits metropolitanically.
 His visitation of his own church at Canterbury, visiting both the cathedral church and members thereof, commenced

BOOK II. May the 16th, 1576. The names of the present Dean and Prebendaries were as follow :

Anno 1576.

Thomas Godwin, DD. Dean.	Geo. Bullen
Thomas Willoughby	John Bungey
William Darrel	John Hill
Steven Nevinson	Anthony Rush
Andrew Peerson	Thomas Lawse
Will. King	John Winter.
Paul French	

After some entrance made, Richard, Suffragan of Dover, and Thomas Godwin the Dean, were commissioned by the Archbishop to prorogue this visitation to March the 1st: and thence he sent out another instrument to prorogue it to the 10th of June next following: then prorogued again from the 10th of June to the first of March following. The reason of which prorogations perhaps might be, the cloud the Bishop lay under from the Queen, of which we shall hear hereafter.

Commissions for visitation.

Commissions were also issued out from the Archbishop for the visiting of other sees; which he committed partly to his own officers, and partly to the Bishops of the sees themselves, according as he approved of them. This visitation was adjourned from time to time for the greater convenience: so as it was on foot for divers years.

St. David's. Thus he issued his commission for the visitation of the church, city, and diocese of St. David's, to Richard Bishop of St. David's, and Lewis Guin, M. A. his Vicar General, March 28, 1576.

Wells. Another commission to visit the church of Wells, to Gilbert the Bishop, and Thomas Yale, LL. D. dated August 17, 1576.

Bristol. Another commission to visit the church, city, and deanery of Bristol, to Tho. White, LL. D. Chancellor of Edmund Bishop of Sarum, and to Toby Matthew, D. D. Arch-
212 deacon of Bath, June 14, 1576. to whom, by another commission, was added Felix Lewis, LL. D.

Chichester. Another commission went forth to visit the church of

Chichester. For though I do not find the commission entered in the register, yet there is an inhibition to Richard the Bishop of the said diocese to forbear to visit, dated Apr. 9, 1576, and another inhibition to the Dean and Chapter, and another to the Archdeacon.

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VII.

Anno 1576.

Another commission to visit the diocese of Bangor, to Bangor. Nicolas Bishop of Bangor, and Tho. Yale, LL. D. dated May 2, 1576.

Another for the city and diocese of Gloucester, to Laurence Humphrey, and Herbert Westphaling, S. T. PP. Rob. Lougher, LL. D. and Arthur Sawle, M. A. dated July 14, 1576. But Westphaling and Lougher only visited, and gave injunctions in Latin to the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, Dec. 1, 1576. The sum whereof consisting in eight articles were to this tenor:

“ That those that were as yet called *the statutes of the church*, should be still so reckoned, esteemed, and observed by the Dean, Prebendaries, &c. That every first Lord’s day of the month, there should be a Communion celebrated in the said church of Gloucester: and that all the Prebendaries and lesser Canons and other Ministers come oftener to it: whereby they might celebrate the memory of our Lord’s death, and give a testimony of their brotherly charity and mutual love, and might shine forth to others in their good examples. That every time the Communion is celebrated there be a sermon, or some exhortation by the Dean or some Prebendary. That there be a general chapter, at least in every year, at the feast of St. Andrew, the day before the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin, and the day before John Baptist; to deliberate concerning affairs, for the profit and honour of the Church. That in all those general chapters, the Dean, or Vice-Dean in his absence, the other Prebendaries assisting, call before them all the Petty Canons, and prescribe and enjoin them some portions of the holy Scripture to be read, learned, or according to their power to be explained by them, against the next general chapter. That the Dean, Prebendaries, and Petty Canons (unless

Injunctions
for Gloucester.

BOOK II. "sickness hinder) use those hoods, that habit, and those

"caps which it becomes ecclesiastical persons to use, and
 Anno 1576. "not oppose the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, or ordina-
 "tions, or articles, made by certain of the Queen's Commis-
 "sioners, viz. Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Ed-
 "mund Bishop of London, Richard Bishop of Ely, Ed-
 "mund Bishop of Rochester, Robert Bishop of Winton,
 "Nicolas Bishop of Lincoln, Jan. 25. in the seventh year of
 "the Queen. That no grant of any feode, fee, or farm be
 "henceforth made to any by Dean and Chapter, under the
 "seal of the church, either for the term of life or for term
 "of years, before all those grants of fees which have been
 "already made be vacant, under pain of deprivation. And
 "because the nave of the church, and the churchyard in
 "many places, wanted reparation, that they should lay out
 "every year twenty mark out of the goods of the church,
 "till all were fully repaired." These articles the Archbi-
 shop did allow, subscribing his hand thereunto.

213 Yet another commission went forth this year, dated Sep-
 Hereford. tember 1, to visit the church, city, and diocese of Hereford,
 to John Bullingham, S. T. P. John Langford, and —
 Loyd, LL. DD. — Thornton, B. D. and Robert Philles,
 Clerk.

Bangor. The church as well as diocese of Bangor was also visited
 this year: and these injunctions were then given to the
 Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church, and others of
 the Clergy of that diocese, by the most reverend Father in
 Christ, Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all
 England and Metropolitan, in his metropolitical visitation of
 the said diocese of Bangor, as it is expressed in the register.
 Which were as follow :

Injunctions "Imprimis, That the Dean and Prebendaries of the said
 for the dio- "cathedral church, and every of them, which are bound
 cese. "by the Queen's Majesty's visitors' injunctions to preach in
 "the said cathedral church, do and execute the said sermons
 "in their proper persons, every of the times to them espe-
 "cially appointed; except for reasonable causes they obtain
 "of the Bishop of the said see, to perform such sermons,

“ and every of them, by some other learned men ; upon the
 “ pain of 20s. to be levied of the fruits of their living, to
 “ the use of the cathedral church, so often as herein any of
 “ them shall offend.

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2. “ *Item*, That the said Dean and Prebendaries shall
 “ make the said quarterly sermons, and every of them, upon
 “ the days limited in a certain table hereunto annexed,
 “ upon the foresaid pain. And that the said table shall be
 “ set up in a frame within the choir of the said cathedral
 “ church, that the days of such sermons may be publicly
 “ known.

3. “ *Item*, That every other Prebendary having any
 “ church or churches to his or their prebends annexed,
 “ shall make in their proper persons one sermon in the said
 “ cathedral church yearly upon a sermon-day also to be
 “ limited by the Bishop there ; except upon reasonable
 “ causes, to be allowed by the said Bishop, he or they be
 “ permitted to do the same by some other learned man ;
 “ upon the pain aforementioned.

4. “ *Item*, That the said Dean and Prebendaries diligently
 “ and carefully look quarterly, that schoolmasters, ushers,
 “ and scholars of the grammar school there erected, observe
 “ and keep the statutes and ordinances of the same school.
 “ And that once every year a full and perfect account be
 “ made of all the revenues belonging to the said school,
 “ before the Bishop there, or his substitute, the first week
 “ of November yearly, without any fraud, delay, or collu-
 “ sion.

5. “ *Item*, That every Archdeacon of the said diocese
 “ within his jurisdiction do diligently exhort the Parsons,
 “ Vicars, and Curates, to apply the study of holy Scripture,
 “ to avoid idleness and unseemly apparel. And the defects
 “ and disorders in that behalf from time to time, by himself
 “ or his Official, to detect and present to the Bishop.

6. “ *Item*, That every Minister or Priest in the said
 “ diocese, not licensed to preach, having any benefice with
 “ cure, execute in his own person, once at the least every half
 “ year, in every his benefice with cure, the whole service of

BOOK " the Church : and also then and there minister the holy
 II. " Communion, upon pain to forfeit of the fruits of every
 Anno 1576. " such benefice 5*l.* for every such default, to be employed
 " by the Bishop to the poor of the same parish.

*A Table of the times appointed for the ordinary sermons,
 which the Dean and certain Prebendaries of the Church
 of Bangor are yearly bound to make in the same.*

The Dean, Dr. Rowl. Thomas] must preach the first Sundays of	Christmas day, Easter day.
The Archdeacon of Bangor, Dr. Edm. Mewrick.		January, April, July, October.
The Archdeacon of Anglesea.		February, May, August, Novemb.
The Prebendary of Llanvain, Richard Owin.		March, June, September, December.

" In witness and testimony of all which premises, we,
 " Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury abovesaid, to these
 " presents have put our seal, yeoven in our manor of
 " Lambeth the 25th of Febr. in the year of our Lord 1576.
 " and in the second year of our translation."

Landaff.

The last commission issued out this year from the Archbishop was for visiting the church of Landaff; which bore date March 12. The Commissioner was William, the Bishop of the said see.

Asaph,
Exeter,
Bath and
Wells.

Commissions were also issued out this year for St. Asaph, Exeter, and Bath and Wells.

The visitation of the next year (for I will here set them down together) were these that follow.

Winton.

A commission was granted to Robert, Bishop of Winchester, dated May 2, 1577, to visit the said church.

Oxon.

Another dated May 25, 1577, for visiting of the church, city, and diocese of Oxon; and Herbert Westphaling, S. T. P. and John Kennel, L.L. D. appointed thereto.

But these visitations proceeded not further, as yet, by reason of the troubles the Archbishop about this time fell into, until the year 1580, when we shall hear more.

Articles for
this visita-
tion.

For all this metropolitical visitation the Archbishop pre-

pared general articles to be inquired of, in all and singular cathedrals and collegiate churches within the province of Canterbury. The first was concerning the ministration of justice indifferently and incorruptly, in the Bishops and their officers; and concerning their due punishment of vice and public crimes without corrupt commutations: concerning good government, and aiming at God's glory, and godly quietness of the Church, in Bishops, Deans, and Chapters. Account to be made concerning grants, patents, and advowsons, sales and offices, confirmed by the Chapters: concerning the residence of Deans and Archdeacons, and other dignitaries of the churches: concerning the celebration of divine service and sacraments according to the Queen's injunctions: concerning grammar schools, and the pious bringing up of the youth: concerning due obedience of officers and Ministers of the cathedral churches: concerning simony, swearing, adultery and uncleanness in officers and Ministers, or other crimes: concerning reparations, &c. These articles shall be found at full length in the Appendix, as some remaining testimonials of our Archbishop's pains and diligence in his government.

These visitations of the churches and dioceses of his province brought in considerable benefit for procurations: which were to be returned in, from the visitors in commission, to the Archbishop. And sometimes the Archbishop did require a bond of those he deputed his commissioners for the due payment. Such a bond did William Bishop of St. Asaph give of 100*l.* penalty. The condition of which was, "That whereas the most reverend Father in God, by his letters of commission, had granted full power to the said reverend Father, William Bishop of St. Asaph, to visit for him, and in his name, the said diocese, and to receive, perceive, and take to the use of the most reverend Father in God, all manner of procurations due to be paid unto the said Most Reverend, in respect of his said metropolitick visitation; which said procurations so due do amount to the sum of 55*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* If the said William do well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, &c."

CHAP.
VII.

Anno 1576.

Ap-Num. VII.

Procura-
tions.

Grind. Reg.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1576.
The Puri-
tans set up
their disci-
pline.

Letters from
the Court
to the Arch-
bishop
hereupon.

Hitherto concerning the Archbishop's visitation of his province *jure metropolitico*. Now proceed we to some other particular matters. Many now were very zealous for the new way of discipline in the Church, conformable to that practised at Geneva by *Elders*: which was quite different from the ancient and present government by *Bishops* and their officers. The same laboured to bring in a new form of public prayer in the room of the English Liturgy. These persons who were for these innovations had their separate religious meetings, and more privately had exercised their discipline hitherto. But now they brake out in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire to act these matters more openly, to the making of great hubbubs and disturbances, by their endeavour of setting it up in the parish churches. In the beginning of June, the news of this came to the Court; and the Queen was highly offended at it. No less than three letters were sent from Court to our Archbishop concerning these matters. The 7th of June the Earl of Leicester signified to him the said disorders. Soon after that, Mr. Secretary Walsingham informed him of the same, and that by the Queen's special commandment. Presently after, the Lord Treasurer also gave him notice thereof, and withal the names of two of the chief stirrers of these matters, *viz.* Paget and Oxenbridge. What the Archbishop hereupon did, was, that upon the first letters he received hereof, he wrote both to the Bishop of Peterborough and of Coventry and Litchfield, (in whose dioceses those counties were,) to see these things reformed; or to require assistance from above, if need were, either from himself or the Ecclesiastical Commission. And within a few days he wrote again to the Bishop of Peterborough, to inquire diligently of the doings of Paget and Oxenbridge, and to cause them to be sent up with expedition. But fearing the said parties were supported by some men of countenance in those countries, being of the laity, therefore he signified to the Lord Treasurer, that the Lords of the Council themselves had need, in his opinion, to take some pains with such; that the better success might follow: and what his thoughts

further were of these matters, he would suddenly come to CHAP.
Court, and discover to the Lord Treasurer. VII.

Anno 1576.

CHAP. VIII.

Zanchy's letter to the Archbishop, congratulatory. Johannes Sturmius. The Archbishop's mediation for him. Inhibitions issued from his Courts. New trouble about his Court of Faculties. Exercises or prophesyings. Regulates them. Dr. Julio; the Archbishop's judgment in his cause. His excellent letter to the Queen concerning the exercises. Whether Leicester were offended with the Archbishop for Julio's business. The Archbishop under the Queen's displeasure. Embering days and Lent. The observation of them commanded. Colliton Haven. Bishops made.

IT was about this time, in the month of July, that Hierom Zanchy Zanchy, the learned Italian, now Professor at Heidelberg, ^{congratulates the} and formerly acquainted with our Archbishop in the days Archbishop. of his exile at Strasburg, sent a congratulatory epistle to him, occasioned by his advancement to the see of Canterbury; which their common friend Mr. Knolles had given him lately to understand. "And for his singular piety, "humanity, and virtue, and out of that respect which he "ever bore towards him, he could not, he said, but congratulate to him that new and most honourable preferment "he was arrived to, than which the whole realm could not "afford a greater: and he heartily wished him joy of his "honour; because those divine blessings he esteemed as "testimonies of his constant piety towards God, and of the "unchangeable kindness of God toward him. Nor did he "less congratulate the whole kingdom, which had gotten "from the hand of God such a Primate, by whose care and "vigilancy it might be more and more furthered in true religion and godliness. He doubted not but that accession

BOOK II. “ of the highest dignity, next after the Queen, would be a

“ perpetual incitement to him ; whereby he might be stirred up to do his duty more diligently than ever. He beseeched God to increase his gifts upon him, and to
217 “ grant him firm and lasting health for his sound government of the Church.” The reader may, if he pleases, read the epistle of this learned man to the Archbishop, in

Num. VII. the Appendix.

His friendship to
Sturmius.

And here to this foreign acquaintance of the Archbishop's, while he was at Strasburg, let me mention another of the same rank, namely, Johannes Sturmius, a man of excellent learning and sincere religion, and the chief Governor of that University while Grindal was a sojourner there ; and now also the Queen's agent in those parts. This Sturmius, out of zeal for religion, and compassion to the state of the professors of it in France about the year 1562, had not only lent considerable sums of money himself of his own, but took up more at interest of the merchants of that place, for the supply of the Prince of Condé, and Coligny the Admiral of France : at what time also the Queen herself lent them men and money. Sturmius was now pressed with this debt. The good Archbishop could not but remember his old friend, and pity his misfortune, brought upon him by that means. And Sir Amias Pawlet being now in September going in ambassage toward France, (whereby an occasion might be offered of helping this gentleman,) he took this opportunity to intercede with the Lord Treasurer ; shewing him, “ how he [the Archbishop] was moved as well
“ with the old years, as also with the singularity and excellency of the man, earnestly to desire his Lordship to recommend his case unto Sir Amias. That whereas some
“ order had been proposed by the present Prince of Condé for the satisfaction of the said Mr. Sturmius, by assisting
“ him in obtaining a certain quantity of salt in Languedoc or Provence, in lieu of the said money, by Sir Amias's
“ good means unto the Duke of Alençon and the said
“ Prince, that purpose might take effect, or some other order be devised for his relief. So as thereby he might

“take some comfort and pleasure of his life, now in his old
 “years; and with more quietness finish many good works,
 “which he [the Archbishop] knew had been purposed and
 “begun by him.” And that the said Lord Treasurer
 might know perfectly the state of his case, he withal sent
 him certain notes taken out of his own letters to the Arch-
 bishop, containing not only the sums of money which he
 took up and lent, but divers other circumstances; which
 when his Lordship should read he hoped would the more
 move him to favour his cause. Such an earnest mediator
 was our Archbishop in the behalf of his old friend, valuable
 for his learning and piety, and to be pitied for the misery
 into which only compassion and zeal for true religion had
 plunged him.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1576.

The Archbishop's Courts were spoken of before: for
 the amending and reforming of which, he made it one of his
 first cares. Now in November he had occasion given him
 to look into a particular abuse of them; which the rest of
 the Bishops, and other Ordinaries of his province, had much
 complained of: which was that of inhibitions, taking cog-
 nizance of causes that lay before their Courts, and bringing
 them into his own; which was ordinarily done to the
 vexation of many, and the stopping the execution of justice:
 for Churchwardens were troubled for presenting, and of-
 fenders escaped by commutations. This the Archbishop
 liked not, and perceived it to be an abuse done by his offi-
 cers; and therefore despatched this mandate to the officers
 of his Courts:

An abuse of
his Courts
by inhibi-
tions.

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“*Salutem in Christo.* I perceive by the complaints of
 “my brethren, the Bishops, and other inferior ordinaries,
 “that the ready unadvised inhibitions from my Courts do
 “not only hinder the correction of sin, but very slanderously
 “discredit the Courts, injuriously molest, and much dis-
 “courage the Judges, the Churchwardens and others, by
 “order and oath detecting faults. I require you therefore,
 “that in matters of correction you temper your inhibitions,
 “neither suffering Judges by lewd bodies to be abused, nor

Writes to
his Courts
thereupon.
Regist.
Grind.

BOOK "sworn men for their presenting to be troubled: but rather
II. "assist them in all justice, and by all means further the

Anno 1576. "just correction of the evil, nowise discharging offenders
"by nullities of process, where faults punishable do appear,
"but minister due punishment without any commutation.

"I will you further, that you send out no double quarrels
"for admission to any benefice that is not void, both *de jure*
"and *de facto*: willing you to give public notice at your
"next Court for the premises; that the same may be by
"all men the better observed. From Lambeth, the 7th of
"November, 1576.

"Edm. Cantuar."

The Arch-
bishop ac-
counts for
his Facul-
ties to the
Council.

Cott. Li-
brar.
Cleopatra,
F. 2.

I will subjoin here (though I will not undertake for the year wherein it happened) a new trouble the Archbishop had about his Court of Faculties, the Queen and Council having taken notice of some abuses in it, and requiring him, as it seems, to give some account of matters transacted in it. In the answer the Archbishop sent, he shewed himself very indifferent for it, and if the Queen and Council so pleased, they might dissolve it for him; but he vindicated himself in the Faculties that had passed thence by his allowance: and he caused a scheme to be drawn out that gave a particular account of it in Latin.

First, Mention was there made of the names of his two chief officers of that Court, his Commissary Dr. Drury, and his Register Mr. Lark. Next, the fees thereof; whereof half to the Queen, and the other half divided between the Lord Chancellor and his Register, and the Archbishop and his Commissary and Register. Then followed, what things he observed, and had made his rules to govern him, when he granted his dispensations, *viz.*

I. For pluralities, that they were given to persons only qualified by the statute, with the limitation of the distance but thirty miles one benefice from another.

II. As to his dispensations for a minor, they were not given to any at least under sixteen years of age, and who resided student in the University.

III. For the dispensations for non-residence, they were CHAP. VIII.
 not given to any, but at the entreaty and approbation of Anno 1576.
 their ordinary Bishops, and by their private letters; and upon these conditions, that the Ordinary assigned salaries to the Curates that served those churches, consideration 219
 being had of the quality and quantity of the cure of that church.

IV. As for dispensations for eating flesh, they were rarely granted, and this upon the physician's testimonial. And for the most part the Archbishop remitted part of his fees. And in all these dispensations he refused more than he admitted.

V. As for licences for solemnization of matrimony without banns asking, they were granted to those only who with sureties gave bonds in 100*l.* that there was no impediment, nor any precontract on either side, nor any suit depending of or concerning this contract.

VI. For letters dimissory, they were seldom granted, and to none but with these conditions; that the person were fit for his age, manners, birth, knowledge, and moderately learned in the Latin tongue, and skilled in sacred Scriptures, nor brought up in any servile trades; which was laid to the conscience of him who was to ordain him, in the said letters.

And moreover, in conclusion, the Archbishop added these words, shewing how little he insisted upon the benefits of this Court, *Et non ille contradicet, si tota hæc Curia interciderit, si ita visum fuerit Dominae Reginae, et suis consiliariis; et si possint ita placari, qui cum hac Curia offenduntur*; i. e. and that he would not say nay, if this whole Court ceased, if it so pleased the Queen and her Council, and if they who were offended with this Court might so be pacified.

I shall now proceed to relate a matter well-meant by the Archbishop, and therefore wherein he took much pains; but it proved the cause of much trouble, sorrow, and affliction to him, as long as he was Archbishop, laying him under the Queen's lasting displeasure. The matter was this:

The Queen's
offence with
him about
prophecies.

BOOK he well perceived the ignorance of the Clergy, and the
 II. great need there was of more frequent preaching for the in-

Anno 1576. struction of the people in the grounds and truth of religion.

In order to which he encouraged a practice that was taken up in divers places of the nation, and particularly in Northamptonshire, and allowed by many Bishops in their dioceses: the manner whereof was, that the Ministers of such a division, at a set time, met together in some church belonging to a market or other large town; and there each in their order explained, according to their ability, some particular portion of Scripture allotted them before. And after all of them had done, a Moderator, who was one of the gravest and best learned among them, made his observations upon what the rest had said, and determined the true sense of the place. And all was to be despatched within such a space of time. And these were commonly called *exercises* or *prophesyings*. At these assemblies there were great confluxes of people to hear and learn. And by this means the Ministers and Curates were forced to read authors, and consult expositors and commentators, and to follow their studies, that they might speak to purpose when they were to appear in public: and hereby they considerably profited themselves in the knowledge of the Scripture. But the inconvenience was, that at these meetings happened at length confusions and disturbances: some affecting to shew their parts, and to confute others that spake not so appositely perhaps as themselves. They also sometimes would broach heterodox opinions. And some that had been silenced from their preaching for their incomppliance with the established worship, would intrude themselves here, and vent themselves against the Liturgy and hierarchy; some would speak against states or particular persons. The people also fell to arguing and disputing much upon religion: sometimes a layman would take upon him to speak; so that the exercises degenerated into factions, divisions, and censurings. Hence they began to be by some cried out against, and disliked.

The Archbishop hereupon laboured to redress these mis-

chiefs and irregularities, by setting down rules and orders for the more useful management of these exercises; which bore this title, (as I find by the paper in one of the Cotton MSS.)

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1576.

Prescribes
rules for the
prophecies.
Cott. Libr.

Orders for reformation of abuses about the learned exercises and conferences among the Ministers of the Church.

1. "*Imprimis*, The said exercises are to be used only in such churches and at such times as the Bishop of the diocese shall under his hand and seal appoint.

2. "*Item*, That in all such assemblies for the said conferences or exercises, either the Archdeacon, if he be a Divine, or else some one other grave learned graduate, at the least, to be appointed and allowed by the Bishop as before, be present, and moderate the said exercises.

3. "*Item*, That a catalogue of names be made and allowed of those that are judged meet to be speakers in course in the said exercises; which are known to be able to speak aptly, and to the profit and edifying of the hearers: and such parts of the Scripture entreated of as the Bishop shall appoint.

4. "*Item*, That the rest of the Ministers, not able to speak publicly with commendation, be assigned by the Moderators some tasks, for the increase of their learning, to be comprised in writing, or otherwise, concerning the exposition of some part of Scripture. And those tasks to be read privately before the Ministers only, and not before the laity.

5. "*Item, Ante omnia*, that no lay person be suffered to speak publicly in those assemblies.

6. "*Item*, That no man speaking in the said exercises shall be suffered to glance openly or covertly against any state, or any person public or private. If he do, the Moderators shall immediately interrupt him, and put him to silence; and notice to be made of the cause of interruption to the Bishop; and the party interrupted not

BOOK "to be again admitted without the Bishop's approbation,
II. "and the knowledge of his offence.

Anno 1576. 7. "*Item*, That no man be suffered in the said exercises
"to make any invectives against the laws, rites, policies,
"and discipline of the Church of England established by
221 "public authority. If any attempt the contrary, he is
"immediately to be commanded to silence. And the Mo-
"derator or Moderators are therein to satisfy the auditory.
"And the speaker shall not be admitted to speak any more,
"till he, after public satisfaction made, shall obtain a new
"admission and approbation of the Bishop.

8. "*Item*, Forasmuch as divers Ministers, deprived
"from their livings, and inhibited to preach, for not obey-
"ing the public orders and discipline of the Church of
"England, have intruded themselves in sundry places to
"be speakers in the said exercises; and being excluded
"from pulpits, have in the said exercises usually made
"their invectives against the orders, rites, and discipline of
"the Church, which hath been the cause to move divers
"to a mislike of the said exercises, (being of themselves, if
"they be well used, very profitable for many respects,)
"every Bishop is to take strict order in his diocese, that
"hereafter none be suffered to be speakers in the said exer-
"cises, which remain deprived or inhibited for the causes
"aforesaid; except they shall have before conformed them-
"selves to order: neither any other which shall not, both
"by subscription and daily practice, conform himself to
"public orders and discipline of this Church by law esta-
"blished.

"Edm. Cantuar."

The Queen
likes not of
them.

All this pains did the Archbishop take to rectify and
take away the abuses of these religious exercises, rather
than wholly to abolish them. However the Queen liked not
of them, nor would have them continued; as seeing prob-
ably how very apt they were to be abused. Nor did she
like that the laity should neglect their secular affairs by re-

pairing to these meetings; which she thought also might fill their heads with notions, and so occasion dissensions and unquiet disputes, and it may be seditions in the state. And the Archbishop being at Court, she particularly declared herself offended at the numbers of preachers, as well as at the exercises, and warned him to redress both: urging, that it was good for the Church to have few preachers, and that three or four might suffice for a county; and that the reading of the homilies to the people was enough. In short, she required him to do these two things, viz. to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the religious exercises. The speeches she used to him were somewhat sharp; and she was very resolute to have no more exercises of this sort, and cared not for any great increase of preachers; but that the licences for preaching should be more sparingly granted out; and she expected the Archbishop should give especial orders for both.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1576.
Her orders
to the
Archbi-
shop here-
upon.

This did not a little afflict the grave man. He thought the Queen made some infringement upon his office, to whom the highest trust in the Church of England, next to herself, was committed: and therefore, that she was somewhat too peremptory to require this to be done without advising at all with him in a matter so directly respecting religion and the souls of her subjects: nor could he in conscience comply with her commands. Therefore when he came home he resolved to write at large his mind to her.

The Arch-
bishop
writes to
the Queen
about them.

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And he had to back him two great men at the Court, the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester: the latter whereof was not perhaps so much to be depended upon; but he delivered his letter to the Queen, dated December 20; for which the Archbishop thanked him. Therein he signified, "how exceedingly dismayed and discomforted he was by her late speeches to him. Not so much, because they sounded hardly against his own person, who was, he said, but a particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all, because they tended to the public harm of God's Church, whereof she ought by her office to be the nurse, and also to the heavy burdening

BOOK II. " of her own conscience before God, if what she demanded
 Anno 1576. " should be put in strict execution. Therefore, because it
 " was not her pleasure then, as he wrote to her, to hear
 " him at any length concerning the said two matters then
 " propounded, he thought it his duty by writing to declare
 " some part of his mind unto her; and beseeched her with
 " patience to read over what he had writ with his own rude
 " hand; adding the words of St. Ambrose, *Scribo manu*
 " *mea quod sola legas: i. e.* that he writ it with his own
 " hand, that she alone might read it."

He expostu-
 lates with
 her about
 preachers: Then he proceeded in his argument: and first he ex-
 postulates with her about keeping in the Church but a
 few preachers; shewing her, " that in any one thing, no-
 " thing was more plain in the Scriptures, than that the Gos-
 " pel of Christ should be plentifully preached, and that
 " plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest.
 " That public and continual preaching of God's word was
 " the ordinary means and instrument for the reconciliation
 " of men unto God. That by preaching, due obedience
 " unto Christian Princes and Magistrates was planted in
 " the hearts of subjects: for obedience," he said, " pro-
 " ceeded of conscience, and conscience was grounded
 " upon the word of God; and the word of God wrought
 " its effect by preaching. That if her Majesty came to the
 " city of London never so oft, what gratulation, what joy,
 " what concourse of people was there to be seen? Yea,
 " what acclamations and prayers to God for her long life.
 " Whence comes this," said he, " Madam, but of the con-
 " tinual preaching of God's word in that city, whereby that
 " people have been plentifully instructed in their duty to-
 " wards God and you? On the contrary, what bred the
 " rebellions in the North? Was it not Papistry, and igno-
 " rance of God's word, through want of often preaching?
 " That whereas it was thought, that the reading of the
 " godly homilies might suffice; he acknowledged the read-
 " ing of the homilies had its commodity; but that it was
 " nothing comparable to the office of preaching. That the
 " preacher could apply his speech, according to the diver-

“sity of times, places, and hearers; which could not be
 “done in homilies. That exhortations, reprehensions, and
 “persuasions were uttered with more affection, to the mov- CHAP. VIII.
 “ing of the hearers, in sermons than in homilies. Besides, Anno 1576.
 “the homilies were devised in King Edward’s time only to
 “supply necessity, for want of preachers, and were, by his
 “statute, not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, 223
 “whensoever they might be had. And finally, that they
 “never were thought in themselves alone to contain suffi-
 “cient instruction for the Church of England.”

For the second point, concerning learned exercises and And about
the exer-
cises.
 conferences among the Ministers, he told her Majesty by
 his pen, “that he had conferred with divers of his bre-
 “thren, the Bishops, by letters, who thought the same as
 “he did, that it was a thing profitable to the Church, and
 “therefore expedient to be continued. And he hoped her
 “Majesty would also think the same, when she should be
 “informed of the manner and order thereof; and what au-
 “thority it had of the Scripture, and what commodity it
 “brought with it; and what incommodities would follow,
 “if it should be clean taken away. Then he proceeded to
 “give her an account of the exercises; and how that many
 “Bishops, as of London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Litch-
 “field, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, St. David’s,
 “had signified by letters to him of the profit and benefit
 “that had accrued by these exercises: as, that the Min-
 “isters of the Church became more skilful and ready in
 “the Scripture: that it withdrew them from idleness; and
 “that some suspected in doctrine were brought to open
 “confession of the truth. Ignorant Ministers driven to
 “study, if not for conscience, yet for shame. The opinion
 “of the laymen of the ignorance of the Clergy, removed.
 “That nothing, by experience, beat down Popery like it.
 “That where afore there were not three able preachers,
 “now were thirty, meet to preach at Paul’s Cross; and
 “forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures.
 “That only men backward in religion, and contemners of
 “learning, set themselves against it. That the dissolution

BOOK II. "of it would breed triumph to the adversary. Abuses
 Anno 1576. "might be reformed, and that which was good might remain. As for that inconvenience that was urged by
 "some, that one and the same place of Scripture had divers senses put upon it according to the various understandings of these exercises; this appeared worse than it
 "was indeed, so that all senses were agreeable to the analogy of faith: for the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church did the same, and commonly expounded one text
 "of Scripture diversely; yet all to the good of the Church. In fine, that he was forced with all humility to profess,
 "that he could not with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the Majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of the said exercises, much less could he send
 "out any injunctions for the utter and universal subversion of the same. That if it were her Majesty's pleasure, for
 "this or any other cause, to remove him out of that place, he would with all humility yield thereunto, and render
 "again that which he had received of her. That he considered with himself, that it was a horrible thing to fall
 "into the hands of the living God; and prayed her to bear with him, though he chose rather to offend her Majesty, than to offend the heavenly." But let the reader take the whole of this excellent and memorable letter, as he
 Num. IX. shall find it set down in the Appendix, from an authentic copy sent by the Archbishop himself to the Lord Treasurer, endorsed by that nobleman's own hand.

224 For though Fuller hath printed it already, yet it is very faulty, false, and imperfect. He mistook also in assigning the time when it was writ; which he is confident was in the year 1580, whenas it appears to have been writ four years before, viz. in December 1576; for that is the date it bears in the copy aforesaid. And here we may correct him in one error more; which is, that about the time of the writing of that letter he saith Leicester took occasion to quarrel with the Archbishop, and would have gotten Lambeth-house from him; and that that was indeed the reason of the Queen's displeasure, that nobleman having secretly imbibittered her

against him. But by what is said before, he and the Archbishop seemed now to be good friends, since the Archbishop made him the deliverer of his letter to the Queen.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1576.

No sooner was his letter to the Queen sent, (though not yet delivered,) but he was earnest to know what effect it had with her. Therefore, on the 16th of December, he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, to understand whether she had yet read it, or no; and how she liked or disliked it. He confessed it was somewhat long; nor could it be otherwise, if any proofs were used. He prayed his Lordship, that if he understood at any time any thing concerning the premises, worthy the advertisement, to let him hear from him.

Desires to
know the
success of
his letter.

The next day the Lord Treasurer assured him, that he would be careful of this cause of the Church. The Earl of Leicester also wrote to him, seeming to object only against the lay-people's being present at these meetings. But the Archbishop said, he saw no reason why they should be excluded, seeing St. Paul gave so great commendation to that practice which was used in the primitive Church, especially for the benefit that grew thereby to the hearers. For the Earl's kindness to him in this affair he wrote him a letter of thanks: and having a mind to talk more largely with the Treasurer about this business, (whom he thanked for his being so careful in this cause of the Church,) he prayed him to appoint a time, when he would come to take a dinner with him, and let him know beforehand of his coming; not meaning, as he added, that his diet should be more sumptuous, but more wholesome.

1 Cor. xiv.

And here (since there was at least such an outward shew of kindness in that Earl mentioned before towards the Archbishop) I must take notice of a conjecture that went current in after-times, of the cause of this good Prelate's falling so much into the Queen's displeasure; namely, that she was provoked against him by that Earl, who had taken offence at the Archbishop, for denying to give a favourable sentence in behalf of one Dr. Julio, the Earl's physician, who had married one that was wife to another man. And so

Whether
Leicester
was the
Archbi-
shop's ene-
my upon
the account
of Dr. Julio.

BOOK II. Camden delivers to posterity, "that he condemned the unlawful marriage of Julio with another man's wife, Leicester in vain opposing." Which that historian seems too lightly to have taken up from the malicious author of Leicester Commonwealth, who saith, "that this Archbishop's overthrow was principally wrought by this tyrant [he means Leicester] for contrarying his will in so base a command."

225 This Julio, surnamed Borgarucius, was an Italian physician; and who pretended much to religion; for the sake of which he had left his country, and settled himself in England. He became known here, among others, to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, and to the Lord Cobham, who in the year 1569 took care of certain affairs of the said Julio, being then occasionally at Gravesend, where he was in danger of his life from a certain Spaniard, together with two more, his fellow foreigners, named Baptista and Pescara; and this chiefly for their religion, as this Julio wrote to Cecil about this time; adding that this Spaniard was as illy affected to others, besides them, who had any ways merited well of religion, for the promoting the word of God. He seems to have been a man of good learning, wrote a good hand, and a handsome Latin style. For his learning the great Earl of Leicester also gave him his countenance, and made him his physician: and for some other reason too, (if you dare give credit to the author of Leicester's Commonwealth,) namely, for his skill in poisoning; and that he could make a man die in what manner and shew of sickness you would, sometimes by a flux, sometimes by a catarrh: for which art the Earl was said to make use of him in poisoning of many. But whether this were true or no, I know not. But, to come nearer to our purpose, this is certain, this Italian had married a woman who was wife to another man: for which he was brought to answer in the civil courts. The Master of the Rolls had taken notice of this unlawful act of his; and was the chief manager of this cause against him, and had detained this

Some account of this Julio.

His skill in poisoning.

woman for five months at his house; which makes me think she might be of some quality, and related to him. Of this, Julio complained in a letter to the Secretary, that the Master of the Rolls had so long time disturbed that mutual due benevolence, and that near conjunction of life, that ought to be between man and wife, and endeavoured to break it off: a thing, as he said, against the word of God, the law of nations, public laws, and good manners. This case depended some years. At length, in the year 1573, there was a commission of delegates, to judge of the matter between Julio and his pretended wife, who indeed was willing to be delivered of him. She was summoned in the month of October to appear before the Bishop of London, to tell the cause of her desertion of her husband, when the Master of the Rolls was to be present. Julio in the mean while, (as though he thought his cause just,) gave the Lord Treasurer a letter, beseeching him to write to the said Bishop and the Commissioners, that he might not any more be disturbed by that powerful and crafty man, as he called the Master of the Rolls, and that he might be commanded for the future not to retain his wife from him, nor to keep her in his house, nourishing her up in his Popish superstitions. And he concludes his request to the said Lord, as though himself and his cause was good, to favour him herein *pro ea solita benignitate qua soles bonorum causas amplecti*; i. e. according to that accustomed kindness wherewith he was wont to espouse the causes of good men.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1576.

This cause, it seems, had found some favour on Julio's side 226 some time before, Dr. Valentine Dale being Judge, overawed perhaps by some great man. But it was spun out for some years, and depending till Grindal became Archbishop of Canterbury: and coming before him, notwithstanding the Earl's solicitation, he was not to be swayed contrary to his judgment and conscience, but gave it against Julio: and hence the conjecture sprung that the Earl was displeased with him, and owed him an ill turn; which at

BOOK II. length he did him with the Queen. But leaving this doubtful upon the reason above said, we now proceed in the difference between the Queen and the Archbishop.

Anno 1576.

The exercises put down by the Queen's command.

The issue in short was, that all the Archbishop could say or write moved not the Queen from her resolution, but she seemed much offended with him, and resolved to have him suspended and sequestered; and seeing he would not be instrumental in it, sent her own commandment by her letters to the rest of the Bishops, wholly to put down these exercises, as we shall hear under the next year.

Ember days and Lent enjoined.

It was about this time, in the month of December, that the Queen and her Privy Council signified to the Archbishop her pleasure for the punctual observation of the Ember days and season of Lent: at which times, abstinence from flesh should be strictly observed by all; which he was commanded to signify to the rest of the Bishops; the thing being so advantageous for the breeding of seafaring men, so necessary in these times of danger: which was the reason urged for the observation of it; and not upon any superstitious account, as some might imagine. And of this all Ministers were commanded to instruct and excite their people in their sermons. The Council's letter to the Archbishop ran in this tenor:

The Council's letter to the Archbishop to that intent.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. The Queen's Majesty, of late entering into consideration, how that, notwithstanding sundry good statutes and laws made heretofore by common consent in Parliament to the contrary, the observation of the embering and fifty days is not so duly looked unto as it ought to be, and as is requisite in policy for the maintenance of *mariners, fishermen*, and the navy of the realm, hath thought convenient for that cause, first in her Highness's own household, to give strait charge unto the officers for the observation of them: and it is ordered, that they shall be more carefully looked unto and continued than heretofore they have been. The like we have signified, by her Majesty's special appointment, to the Lord Mayor

Grind. Reg.

“ of the city of London, and other her Majesty’s officers CHAP.
VIII.
 “ and loving subjects abroad ; to the intent that by an un-
 “ feigned observation in all places throughout the realm, of Anno 1576.
 “ the said law already provided and meet to be put in exe-
 “ cution in this respect, the state might take such benefit
 “ thereby as was at the time of the making intended :
 “ which we can assure your Lordship is the only cause
 “ why at this time the observation of them is so much
 “ urged. Howbeit for that it may be, that this her Ma-
 “ jesty’s good meaning may either be misconstrued by
 “ some, and depraved by others, as though any super-
 “ stition (wherewith her Majesty, God be thanked, is not to 227
 “ be touched or suspected) were thereby intended ; for the
 “ meeting with and answering such slanderous conceits
 “ as may be spied and mistaken among her Highness’s sub-
 “ jects, we have thought good to require your Lordship to
 “ give order within your province, that the Ministers and
 “ Preachers, which are or shall be admitted to that func-
 “ tion, be commanded, in their sermons and exhortations to
 “ the people, to instruct and teach them to be willing and
 “ obedient to conform themselves and their *families* to the
 “ observation of the said laws, as in duty they are bound :
 “ and further declare unto them, that the same is not re-
 “ quired for any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore
 “ used, (which utterly are detested,) but only to maintain
 “ the *mariners* and *navy* in this land, by setting men a
 “ fishing. Which thing is so necessary for the realm, espe-
 “ cially in these dangerous times, as no means are to be
 “ omitted, whereby it may be thought the same may be ac-
 “ cording to the laws brought to pass, and perfected ac-
 “ cordingly.

“ And for that the exhortations and doctrines of good
 “ and dutiful Ministers may do much good in this matter,
 “ both to remove scrupulousness and misconceits of some
 “ few, and also to induce the greater and common number
 “ to obey and observe the said laws, we have thought good
 “ to signify so much unto your Lordship ; that by the
 “ good assistance of you, and others under you, the matter

BOOK II. "might be furthered, and take such good success for the
 Anno 1576. "benefit of this realm as we desire. From Hampton Court,
 "the 13th of December 1576.

"Your Lordship's right assured loving friends,

"W. Burghley, A. Warwick,

"R. Leicester, F. Knollys,

"Jam. Croftes, Fra. Walsingham."

The Archbishop, in obedience to this seasonable command from above, sent his letter to the Bishop of London, to communicate the Queen's and the Lords' pleasure, in these words :

The Archbishop's letter for observation of the same. Grind. Reg. " *Sal. in Christo.* I have received a letter directed to
 "me from the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable
 "Privy Council. The tenor whereof is as followeth. [Then
 "the Council's letter is repeated.] These are therefore to
 "require your Lordship, not only to transmit a copy as
 "well of the Council's said letters inserted herein, as is
 "above specified, as also of these my letters to all our bre-
 "thren the Bishops of this province, as in such cases here-
 "tofore hath been used and accustomed; requiring them
 "and every of them to accomplish the contents thereof ac-
 "cordingly, as to every of them appertaineth; but also
 "that your Lordship do likewise cause the same to be ac-
 "complished throughout your diocese and jurisdiction, so
 "far forth as in you shall lie. Thus I end, commending
 "your Lordship to the grace of God. From Lambeth,
 "21 December 1576."

228 Colliton haven. Collections for the repair thereof. The Queen made use of our Archbishop also in one particular more this year. Colliton haven at Seton in the county of Devon wanted repair. The Queen had sent her letters to Matthew, late Archbishop of Canterbury, for that purpose; who gave a mandate to the Bishops and others within his province to have contribution made severally within their dioceses. And the sums of money so raised were to be delivered to Thomas Weston and William Mor-

ris, merchants of London, appointed by her Majesty's letters patents to be general receivers. These receivers were charged to have received greater sums than they gave in by their particular accounts. To find out the truth whereof, and that such frauds of charity might not go undiscovered, the Lords sent to this our Archbishop, to despatch his letters to all the Bishops, that forthwith they send notes of all such sums of money as had been severally collected, and delivered into the hands of the said Weston and Morris. And this the Archbishop accordingly did.

CHAP.
VIII.

Anno 1576.

The new Bishops confirmed or consecrated this year were two. On the 8th of March, being Friday, Edwin Bishop of London was confirmed Archbishop of York, in Lambeth chapel, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, by virtue of the Queen's letters commissional, and authority of Parliament.

Sandys confirmed
Archbishop
of York.

The election of John Elmer, or Aylmer, S. Th. P. to the see of London, in the abovesaid Edwin's room, was confirmed March the 22d, in Bow church, in the presence of Thomas Yale, LL. D. the Archbishop of Canterbury's Vicar General; when one Lane was Proctor to the said elect, and took the oath in his name, according to custom. He was consecrated March the 24th, in Lambeth chapel, by the Archbishop, assisted by Edwin Archbishop of York, and John Bishop of Rochester.

Aylmer consecrated
Bishop of
London.

BOOK
II.

Anno 1577.

CHAP. IX.

229 *Whitgift consecrated Bishop of Worcester. The Bishops commanded to put down the exercises: and unlawful Ministers forbid. The Archbishop confined and sequestered. The metropolitical visitation goes on. Popish recusants increase. Orders to the Archbishop for inquiry after them: Faculties in Ireland, whether still to issue out of the Archbishop's Court. The Lord Treasurer's advice to the Archbishop concerning his submission. His humble address to the Star-chamber. The judgment of the learned concerning prophecies. The inconveniences of the Archbishop's sequestration. Remains sequestered. Two civilians appointed to officiate for him.*

THE Archbishop lay under a cloud at Court; but chose rather to endure it, than basely to comply to the wronging of his conscience; which he pleaded in that matter of the exercises. The Queen had some work for him to do, and then she will express her displeasure in a more public manner.

Whitgift
made Bi-
shop of
Worcester.

The bishopric of Worcester being now void by the death of Nicolas Bullingham, the late pastor of that see, the Queen was pleased to put in his place Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, that great light of the English Church, and that afterwards was preferred to the archbishopric; and now lately had signalized himself for an excellent scholar and divine, and a zealous promoter of the peace of the Church, by the full answer he gave to the Admonition to the Parliament, and his Defence of his answer against Cartwright. The confirmation of his election was April 16, 1577, in Bow church, before Dr. Yale. And was consecrated on Sunday April 21. following, by the Archbishop, assisted by John Bishop of London, Robert Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Bishop of Chichester; in presence of John Incent, Register; Bartholomew Clerk,

L.L. D. Dean of the Arches; Will. Drury, Master or Keeper of the Prerogative Court; William Lewin, Commissary of the Court of Faculties; William Redmayn, Archdeacon of Canterbury; George Row and Thomas Blage, domestic Chaplains to the said most reverend Father.

And here may I be allowed to mention one matter, though of no great account, yet shewing a privilege of the Archbishops of Canterbury with relation to the Bishops of his province deceasing: which was, that upon the death of every such Bishop, his best ring, save one, and all his seals, became due to the Archbishop. This was now claimed by Grindal; and his Vicar General accordingly sent a letter to the widow of the late deceased Bishop of Wigorn, to demand the ring and seals, as followeth:

“ After my hearty commendations premised; whereas
 “ as well by ancient custom above the memory of man used
 “ and observed, as also by singular prerogative of the
 “ church of Canterbury, the Archbishops of Canterbury
 “ for the time being have from time to time had, and so
 “ ought to have, after the death of every Bishop of the
 “ province of Canterbury, the best ring saving one, and all
 “ the seals of every Bishop so dying; forasmuch as it
 “ hath pleased God to call to his mercy the Lord Nicolas
 “ Bullingham, Bishop of Worcester, your late husband,
 “ these are to pray and require you, that before the feast of
 “ the Nativity of St. John Baptist next ensuing, you deliver,
 “ or cause to be delivered, to Dr. Wilson, Dean of Worces-
 “ ter, the said ring and seals of the said Bishop of Worces-
 “ ter, to the use of the now Archbishop of Canterbury, ac-
 “ cording to the custom and prerogative aforesaid. Thus
 “ fare you well. From my house at London, the 27th of
 “ April 1576, [miswrit for 1577.]

“ Your friend,

“ Tho. Yale.”

Now did the Queen herself in the beginning of May send her letters to the Bishops, to do that which the Archbishop

The Queen
forbids all
prophes-

BOOK
II.

Anno 1577.
cyings or
exercises
and unlaw-
ful minis-
ters.

could not be persuaded to do, *viz.* to forbid all exercises or prophesyings: as also all preachers and teachers not lawfully called; of which there was no small number: who procured unlawful assemblies, and read and ministered the Sacraments by new rites and forms; and called together people out of their own parishes, and far distant: where they held disputations, and broached new devised opinions; which in some places they called prophecies, and in others, exercises. Whereby many people neglected their honest labour, and were brought to idleness, and seduced, and divided into variety of opinions; and hence encouraged to the violation of the laws, and breach of common order; to the offence of such as desired to serve God according to the order established in the Church. She commanded the Bishops therefore to take order throughout their dioceses, that no other rites and ceremonies should be used in the Church, but such as were according to the order established by law; nor that any be suffered to read or preach, or exercise any function in the Church, but such as were lawfully approved and licensed. And where there were not any sufficient for learning to preach, there to limit the Curates to read the public homilies. And because the said assemblies, called exercises, were not appointed nor warranted by her Majesty or her laws, she straitly charged them to cause the same to cease, and not to be used; and if any continued them, to commit such to prison, as maintainers of disorders: charging them to be careful and vigilant in these things, lest she should be forced to make some of them examples themselves. This remarkable letter to the

Num. IX.

Sir Rob.
Cotton's
thought of
Grindal's
disgrace.

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Twenty-
four Argum.
&c.

Bishops may be read at length in the Appendix.
Of this disgrace put upon the Archbishop, and of the injury religion seemed to suffer by it, Sir Rob. Cotton, a wise man, had these words: "In those days there was an emulation between the Clergy and the Laity; and a strife, whether of them should shew themselves most affectionate to the Gospel. Ministers haunted the houses of the worthiest men, where Jesuits now build their tabernacles; and poor country churches were frequented with the best

“ of the shire. The word of God was precious: prayer CHAP. IX.
 “ and preaching went hand in hand together; until Archbi-
 “ shop Grindal’s disgrace, and Hatfield’s [Hatton perhaps] Anno 1577.
 “ hard conceit of prophesying, brought the flowing of
 “ these good graces to a still water.”

The Archbishop made a shift to rub out till June; when The Arch-
 for the old fault, and no compliance, (though the Queen bishop con-
fined and se-
questered.
 and also several of the Lords in the Star-chamber had
 required him,) the said Lords confined him to his house,
 and sequestered him for six months. This was an extraor-
 dinary thing, to tie the hands of an Archbishop of Canter-
 bury, who is the great mover under the Prince in ecclesi-
 astical matters, and the government of the Church; the
 Archbishop being now also in the midst of his visitation.
 But Dr. Yale, his Vicar General and Principal Official, and His Vicar
General
acts for him.
 Judge also of his Audience, acted now for him. Howbeit in
 the month of November Yale fell dangerously sick, and no
 hope of his recovery: which occasioned the Archbishop to
 write to the Council, “ that the discontinuance of the causes
 “ depending, incident to Dr. Yale’s office, which were many,
 “ would be injurious to the Queen’s subjects; therefore
 “ that he thought it necessary, that the office should be
 “ supplied by some other to be appointed by the Lords
 “ of the Council, during the time of his sequestration.”
 The answer the said Lords gave him was, “ that they
 “ thought it necessary, that his Lordship should make
 “ choice of two persons, to take the charge of the office,
 “ with all other things incident to Dr. Yale’s office, and to
 “ execute the full, until further order should be taken in
 “ that behalf by her Majesty.” This was dated Novemb. Cleopatra,
F. 2. Cott.
librar.
 12, 1577. This looked like a favour of the Lords, shewing
 hereby their respect to the Archbishop, however under this
 present disgrace. And he accordingly, as it seems, nomi-
 nated Dr. Drury and Dr. Huse.

And by the help of these, now in the office of Vicar Ge- The deane-
ry of Bock-
ing visited.
 neral and Principal Official, he proceeded and went on with
 the visitation of some part of his peculiars. For soon after,

BOOK these two civilians deputed John Mullins, Archdeacon of
 II. London and Rector of Bocking, and John Stil, D.D. Rec-
 Anno 1577. tor of Hadleigh, to visit the churches and chapels, and
 people of the deanery of Bocking; as appears by the Re-
 gister.

Aubrey and
 Clark exe-
 cute the of-
 fice of Vicar
 General.

But it was not long that Drury and Huse executed this
 office; for I find not long after, it came into the hands of
 Dr. William Aubrey and Dr. William Clark; and that, as
 it seems, by the Queen's commandment, as we shall see by
 and by.

Letters to
 the Archbi-
 shop, to in-
 quire for re-
 cusants.

However the Archbishop lay under sequestration, yet his
 hands were not so wholly tied, but he was sometimes em-
 ployed, especially in his own diocese, as he was by virtue of
 a message to him, Nov. 18. from the Lords, to inquire
 after recusants, who began now to shew themselves more
 formidable, by the great increase of them in the nation:
 and as in other dioceses, so especially in that of Oxford:
 perhaps the more for want of a Bishop there. Whereupon
 232 in obedience to this order, he wrote this letter to the Dean
 and Chapter of that church, or him that had the care of
 the spiritualities.

The Arch-
 bishop's let-
 ter to the
 Dean and
 Chapter of
 Oxon about
 recusants.
 Grind. Re-
 gist.

"Salutem in Christo. I have received letters from the
 "Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council;
 "the tenor whereof ensueth, After our right hearty com-
 "mendations unto your good Lordship, &c. These are
 "therefore to require you, taking unto you such assistance
 "as you shall think convenient in that behalf, to make dili-
 "gent inquisition, as well by the searching of the records,
 "as by the public fame in the country, and by all other
 "convenient ways and means that you can, of the names of
 "all such persons within the diocese of Oxford, as refuse to
 "come unto divine service, and also of the value of their
 "lands and goods, according to the effects of the said let-
 "ters. And that you will certify me what you shall find in
 "that behalf with all expedition possible.

"I am informed, that the diocese of Oxford is more re-
 "plenished with such recusants, for the quantity thereof,

“than any other diocese of this realm. Thus fare you
 “heartily well. From my house at Lambeth this 18th of
 “November 1577.”

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1577.

The like letters of the tenor abovesaid were written for the *peculiar* in Sussex, and also for the deanery of Bocking.

The Popish emissaries had, it seems, by this time, by their diligence, drawn over great numbers from going to Church; and so had made a dangerous schism among the Queen's subjects. It was seriously debated hereupon concerning the best course to stop this evil: and it was thought the easiest punishment, and withal the most likely way to reduce the offenders, and such as wholly absented from the Church, to punish them in their purses, by the forfeiture of money for that neglect. But then it was to be considered, whether it might legally be done. The civilians gave their judgments for it: but the opinion of the common lawyers was to be also known. The Secretary therefore in the Queen's name sent letters to the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer, that they should require the opinion of the Judges: and for that purpose to call them, all that were in town, together. Who accordingly sent to the Master of the Rolls, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, to summon them for that purpose. And he having understood their opinion, wrote to the Secretary the account thereof, December 3. to this purport:

“That he had caused all the Judges, and others of her Majesty's learned Council that were then in London, to assemble together, and to consider what was to be done by law against such as were recusants to come to the Church; and by conference by them had, together with Dr. Lewis, they thought, that by the statute of anno 1^o of the Queen, the Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes had authority to inflict any punishment by mulct, or otherwise, which the ecclesiastical law doth allow of. Because all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority is by the statute annexed to the Crown. And by the same statute full power is given to her Majesty to commit the same authority to such persons as should please her Highness.

The Judges' opinion concerning that kind of penalty.

BOOK II. "And that such Commissioners should and might execute
"the same according to the tenor of the said commission.

Anno 1577. 233 "And hereupon it was agreed, that Dr. Lewis should, with
"the advice of some other civilians, set down what might
"be done by the ecclesiastical law. And so the said Lewis,
"with Dr. Hammond, set down certain Articles, what the
"ecclesiastical law was in those cases." Which Articles
were,

I. The Bishop, and none other inferior Judge, may by the ecclesiastical law punish any person ecclesiastical or lay, by a pecuniary pain, for any ecclesiastical crime or offence: especially, if he shall perceive the said pain to be more feared, than the censure of the Church.

II. It is certain, that by the same law the Ordinary may punish by pecuniary pain such as abstain from going to the Church to hear divine service, without reasonable cause of excuse; especially if it be of contempt.

III. It is also noted by some of the writers upon the law, that a Bishop may make a statute or ordinance, that an excommunicate person shall pay 10*l.* for every month he hath contemptuously remained excommunicate.

"From whence they concluded, that by the same Articles
"it seemed, that the ecclesiastical law was plain, that a pecuniary pain might be put upon such recusants. And
"that being so, he [the Master of the Rolls] saw no doubt,
"but that her Majesty's Commissioners might execute that
"law by authority of their commission. And that was also
"the opinion of the Judges and others that had been in
"conference together. And for the manner of levying such
"pecuniary pains, if it were estreated into the Exchequer,
"the ordinary course there was well known, that such
"things as were there estreated were to be levied of lands
"and goods, and also of the body, if there were neither
"lands nor goods."

The names of them that were at the abovesaid conference were, the Lord Dyer, Justice Southcote, Justice Manwood, Justice Mounson, Dr. Lewis, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General. And this is some historical account of

this affair. The Queen saw it was high time to put a stop to recusancy; which she thought best to do by money-penalties, if so be it might be done legally. Which when she understood by her lawyers it might, she made use of the Archbishop to be informed of the names of all such recusants, their lands and goods.

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1577.

Now, while the Archbishop lay under restraint and sequestration, it was deliberated at Court about the Faculties for Ireland, (which hitherto were taken out of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court here,) whether it were more expedient, that these Faculties should still proceed out of his Courts, or from Commissioners to be appointed in Ireland; especially considering the act made in the beginning of the Queen, for empowering the Archbishop of Canterbury only to grant Faculties in all the Queen's dominions; which seemed to be against such a commission, and for reserving the Faculties still to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Faculties in
Ireland
from the
Archbi-
shop's
Court con-
sidered.

Hence some learned person wrote upon this argument in favour of the Court of the Archbishop here; shewing, how it was one Garvey, and one Dr. Ackworth, a civilian, (the latter a man of no good fame, and put from his places for the dissolute life he led,) that for their own private advantage first moved for a commission of this nature; and that contrary to an act of Parliament, made at such time as the authority of the Bishop of Rome was utterly abolished within this realm; when these Faculties were allotted to the Archbishops of Canterbury only. That for special reasons, that Parliament thought it not convenient these Faculties should pass from divers men's hands. That such persons in Ireland as sued for Faculties might obtain them upon the commendation of their respective Ordinary by a common messenger, without the pains of travelling themselves into England. That if this commission should be granted, forasmuch as the greatest reason pretended was the Prince's commodity in passing great numbers of Faculties, it is like many unworthy persons, as well as worthy, would be confusedly admitted. Whereas this inconvenience is prevented by the Ordinary's commendation to the Archbishop of the persons to receive

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BOOK II. the Faculties. These and divers others were the considerations propounded in a MS. paper in the Cotton library.

Anno 1577. Which paper shall be exemplified in the Appendix.

Num. XI.

The Lord Treasurer's message to the Archbishop concerning making his submission.

Six months being now expired, and growing towards the latter end of November, the Lord Treasurer sent a private and kind message to the Archbishop by Goodman Dean of Westminster; containing some account after what manner the Star-chamber would proceed in his business; and withal his Lordship's directions to him, how he should demean himself in respect of the offence he gave the Queen by the exercises; all writ by his own hand. Which was to this tenor:

"It is meant, that declaration shall be made of the Queen's Majesty's doings in directing the exercises to cease, with the causes thereof. And namely, upon sundry informations from the Bishops and Judges of the realm, of the inconvenience of the continuance. And so her actions shall be justified by the Council.

"Secondly, It shall be declared, how her Majesty did direct the Archbishop to notify her order for the cessation of the said exercises to all the Bishops of the realm; and how he refused so to do. Whereby he did shew himself disobedient to her Majesty, and her supreme authority ecclesiastical. And for that purpose her Majesty could do no less than to restrain him, as she hath done. And that her Majesty findeth it expedient to have the world understand her actions in this matter; and also to have the Archbishop's misdemeanors declared, and to call him to answer to the same. Therefore he is to answer hereunto in that open place.

"And where he hath many times since by humble writings submitted himself to her Majesty's mercy, and hath shewed himself sorrowful for the offending of her Majesty, desiring forgiveness thereof, and promising hereafter due obedience in all his ministry and charge; her Majesty, notwithstanding such private submission, findeth it
235 "expedient to have his submission and acknowledgment of his fault made in places public. And therefore he is there to make answer to these things.

“ In these things percase some enlargement shall be, both CHAP.
 “ to set forth her Majesty’s doings justifiably, and his re- IX.
 “ fusall to obey reprehensively. But in these two parts will, Anno 1577.
 “ I think, consist the whole.

“ It is meet for the Archbishop to these things to answer, as may content her Majesty, for so many needful respects as is hard in few words to recite; as well for God’s cause and his religion, as for the satisfaction of her Majesty, and pacifying her displeasure.

“ And therefore it were good for the Archbishop, by way of answer to the first, to allow of the Queen’s Majesty’s proceeding, grounded upon such causes, as to him it doth now appear did move her Majesty thereto. And herein to use good speeches of her Majesty, as a Prince that in all her public doings hath shewed her wisdom, in doing nothing without good cause to move her thereto. And therefore they were to be greatly condemned, that would in any wise seek to find fault with her Majesty. And in this point the Archbishop should do well to use the more large speech, as in good reason he may do without offence of his conscience.

“ To the second, concerning his offence to her Majesty, if he forbear the particular recital of his fault with the circumstances, he may, with the better estimation and less burden to his conscience, use a more general speech to acknowledge his fault, and to cry pardon. For which purpose his Grace may say, that he is very sorry that he hath in this sort offended her Majesty, as he is charged: and that he requireth her Majesty to pardon him; and not to interpret his doing to have been with any meaning to offend her Majesty. But considering he now seeth upon what considerations her Majesty did proceed, he is very sorry that he hath herein offended her Majesty. And to conclude with all humble request of pardon, and firm promise of obedience to her Majesty, as far forth as in all duty he is bound.

“ If the Archbishop would consider hereof, and set down in writing his answer, or the sum thereof, that it might

BOOK II. "be seen aforehand, it is thought that thereby some good might follow. And herein he is to be admonished to

Anno 1577. "frame himself as far forth as by any good means he may, "to seek to satisfy her Majesty."

This was the Lord Treasurer's counsel: but the Archbishop thought not fit to comply so far as was advised; but still esteeming himself not to have done amiss, he would not ask pardon, which supposed a fault. Nor did he appear in person before the Lords in the Star-chamber, but sent an humble writing to them the next day, viz. November the 30th, brought by Sir Walter Mildmay; that they would intercede to the Queen for his liberty, and for taking off his sequestration, which he had suffered patiently six months: yet first of all declaring the innocency of his own doings; then his quiet and thankful bearing of the punishment inflicted, and his great trouble of mind at the Queen's displeasure with him: all in very submissive terms. But no further he would go, as may appear by the submission itself, which ran in these words:

To the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council in the Star-chamber.

The Archbishop's address to the Star-chamber.
Cott. librar.
Cleop. F. 2.

"Right honourable and my singular good Lords: I cannot deny, but that I have been commanded both by the Queen's Majesty herself, and also by divers of your honourable Lordships in her name, to suppress all those exercises within my province, that are commonly called prophecies. But I do protest before God, the Judge of all hearts, that I did not of any stubbornness, or wilfulness, refuse to accomplish the same, but only upon conscience. For that I found such kind of exercise set down in the holy Scriptures, and the use of the same to have continued in the Christian Church. And was persuaded, that (the abuses being reformed, which I always offered myself ready to labour in) the said exercises might yet serve to the great profit of the Church; and feared that the utter suppressing of them would breed offence. And therefore was a most humble suitor unto her

“ Majesty, that I might not be made the chief instrument in CHAP.
 “ suppressing the same: yet not prejudicing or condemning IX.
 “ any, that in respect of policy, or otherwise, should be of Anno 1577.
 “ contrary judgment, or being of authority should suppress
 “ them. For I know right well, that there be some things
 “ of that nature, wherein divers men may be of divers opin-
 “ ions, and abound in their own sense (being not repug-
 “ nant to the analogy of faith) without any prejudice of
 “ their salvation, or any prejudice of either to other. Not-
 “ withstanding, howsoever others, being otherwise persuad-
 “ ed, might safely do it, yet I thought it not safe for me
 “ (being so persuaded in mind) to be the doer of that where-
 “ of mine own heart and conscience would condemn me.

“ And whereas I have sustained the restraint of my
 “ liberty, and sequestration of my jurisdiction now by the
 “ space of six months, I am so far from repining thereat, or
 “ thinking myself injuriously or hardly dealt withal therein
 “ at her Majesty’s hands, that I do thankfully embrace,
 “ and frankly with all humility acknowledge her princely,
 “ gracious, and rare clemency towards me: who having au-
 “ thority and power to have used greater and sharper seve-
 “ rity against me, and for good policy and example think-
 “ ing it so expedient, hath notwithstanding dealt so merci-
 “ fully, mildly, and gently with me.

“ But the greatest grief that ever I have had, or have, is
 “ the loss of her Majesty’s favour, and the sustaining of the
 “ displeasure of so gracious a Sovereign; by whom the
 “ Church and realm of England hath been so long and so
 “ happily governed. And by whom myself, privately and
 “ specially above other subjects, have received so many and
 “ so great benefits above all my deserving. For the re-
 “ covery of whose gracious favour, I most humbly beseech
 “ your Lordships to be a means to her Majesty for me. 237
 “ The which obtained, I shall esteem far above all worldly
 “ benefits whatsoever. And I protest here before God and
 “ your Honours, that not only my dutiful and humble obe-
 “ dience to her Majesty shall be such as she shall have no
 “ cause to repent of her gracious goodness and clemency

BOOK "shewn unto me; but also that by most fervent, hearty,
II. "and daily prayer, as I have done hitherto, so I will con-

Anno 1577. "tinue, according to my bounden duty, to make most ear-
"nest suit unto Almighty God for the long preservation of
"her Majesty's most happy reign, to the unspeakable be-
"nefit of the Church and realm of England.

"Edm. Cantuar."

What the
judgment of
the learned
was of these
prophecies.

Now because the Archbishop had said in his paper, that
he found the exercise set down in Scripture, meaning 1 Cor.
xiv. it may be noted, that this was the sense and interpreta-
tion some of the learned in those times put upon that place,
and that hence an obligation lay upon all the Churches
of Christ to observe the practice. For which I refer the
reader to a paper in the Appendix, being a *diatribe* upon
1 Cor. xiv. 29. *Prophetæ duo aut tres loquantur, &c.*

Inconveni-
ences of the
Archbi-
shop's se-
questration.
MSS. G.
Petyt. Ar-
mig.

To this I add the great inconveniences that ensued this
sequestration of the Archbishop, as they were drawn up by
some learned civilian at that time.

I. "*Imprimis*, All inconveniences which do fall in *eccle-*
"*siis vacantibus* (in which case the law doth call them *ec-*
"*clesias viduatas, et pastoris solatio destitutas; ac idcirco*
"*multis dispendiis subjectas*; i. e. widowed churches, and
"left destitute of the comfort of a pastor, and on that ac-
"count subject to many harms) do all concur in this case.

II. "*Item*, The processes which were wont to go forth
"under the Archbishop's name and title, whereby they
"had the greater credit and authority, they be now much
"abused, and therefore not esteemed: and in many cases
"the validity thereof like to be brought in question, by
"reason they go forth in the officers' names.

III. "*Item*, Whereas the convocating of the Clergy of
"the province of Canterbury had always by writ, by him
"first received from the Prince, been gathered together,
"prorogued and continued by the Archbishop of Canterbu-
"ry, as head of that province under the Prince: if it be
"now otherwise done without him, it will be a new prece-
"dent of dangerous and doubtful sequel.

IV. “*Item*, The Archbishop was wont to reserve, to his
 “own ordering, *custodiam episcopatum vacantium quoad* CHAP.
 “*spiritualia*; i. e. the custody of vacant bishoprics as to IX.
 “spirituals, and examination of clerks presented to bene- Anno 1577.
 “fices: and also avocate to his knowledge and hearing
 “divers causes of great weight, and thereby to end great
 “controversy: which now he cannot do.

V. “*Item*, Whereas by law the Archbishop is to visit his
 “whole province, and to reform the disorders in the same,
 “the fourth part thereof is not yet visited: where, by con-
 “jecture of the places already visited, there is like to be
 “great need of reformation in divers great matters. And 238
 “in places already visited, perfect reformation could not be
 “had by reason of this sequestration.

VI. “*Item*, He can now give no orders, nor grant any li-
 “cences to preach, to such as be worthy; nor yet can re-
 “move disordered and unworthy Preachers, whereof there
 “be too many.

VII. “*Item*, There be many things, which, as well by
 “the statutes as customs of the realm, must necessarily
 “be done by the Archbishop himself in his name, as in
 “consecration, confirmation, and translation of Bishops, cer-
 “tifying of persons excommunicate, and many such other like.

VIII. “*Item*, The Archbishop, being chief in the High
 “Commission, was wont to despatch the matters of greatest
 “weight belonging to the same. Whose authority and
 “presence gave the greater credit to those doings, and ter-
 “ror to the malefactors.

IX. “*Item*, Where, as well the Bishops and others of
 “the Clergy, as also of the Laity, throughout the whole
 “province, were wont to resort to the Archbishop, to con-
 “sult with him, and have his direction in matters of great
 “weight; whereby many controversies and occasions of
 “strife and slander within their dioceses were cut off; al-
 “though there do arise many like occasions daily, yet there
 “lacketh the authority of the same Archbishop for the ap-
 “peasing thereof.

X. “*Item*, This long sequestration is cause of great en-

BOOK "couragement to the enemies of the Gospel, and great hin-
II. "drance to the proceeding of the same."

Anno 1577. But notwithstanding, the before specified submission of
Remains se- the Archbishop would not take effect, neither would the
questered. declaration of these inconveniences prevail. Nor was he
restored to his liberty, nor the exercise of his jurisdiction, as
yet. Nor do I find that he ever after much enjoyed the
Queen's favour: insomuch that he was desirous to resign his
archbishopric, perhaps upon the grief of the small counte-
nance he had from her, as well as for the affliction of losing
his sight; as we shall see hereafter.

Talk of de-
priving the
Archbishop.

Sir Francis
Knowles's
thoughts
hereof.

In January following it came to that pass with the Arch-
bishop, that there was much talk of depriving him, since
his submission and recantation was not thought sufficient,
and considering the need there would be of an Archbishop
to act and preside in the Church. But this was very ill re-
sented by the true Protestants, and they were highly con-
cerned at it; and urged, how much it would prove to the
joy of Papists, and their encouragement. Sir Francis
Knowles, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, wrote to the
same purpose to Secretary Wylson; "If her Majesty will
"be safe, she must comfort the hearts of those that be her
"most faithful subjects even for conscience sake. But if
"the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be deprived, then up-
"starts the pride and practice of the Papists, and down de-
"clines the comfort and strength of her Majesty's safety.
"And then King Richard the Second's men will flock in
"Court apace, and will shew themselves in their colours.
"From the which company the Lord bless her Majesty.
"And the thinking thereof doth so abhor me, that I am
"more fit to die in a private life, than to live a courtier;
239 "unless a preventing heart may enter into her Majesty be-
"times." But the Archbishop's crime was not thought
so big as to merit a deprivation; and the disgust it might
give being considered, the thoughts of depriving him was
laid aside; and it was determined to proceed more mildly;
and that the Archbishop should only still continue under his
sequestration *ab officio*.

But in this extremity, his necessary business was managed by Dr. William Aubrey and Dr. William Clark, who by the Queen's order supplied the place of Dr. Yale, late Vicar General, being it seems dead; and the two other civilians of the Archbishop's nomination laid aside. Dr. Bartholomew Clark was now Dean of the Arches, to whom, Jan. 20, 1577, Dr. Wylson, one of the principal Secretaries, signified by his letters the establishment of William Aubrey and William Clark to officiate for the Archbishop, this letter being thus superscribed, *To the right worshipful, my very loving friend, Mr. Bartholomew Clark, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Dean of the Arches*; and ran in this tenor, whence it may appear, they were the Queen's and Council's appointment, not the Archbishop's.

CHAP.
IX.

Anno 1577.

His business
done by
two civil-
lians.

"After my very hearty commendations unto you, these
"are to advertise you, that my Lords of the Council, hav-
"ing in consideration for some to exercise the jurisdiction
"of the Court of Audience and the vicarship in *spirituali-*
"*bus*; and taking advice of men learned, as well in the law
"of this realm as in the civil law, willed me to inform
"the Queen's Majesty of their proceedings, and to know
"her Highness's pleasure: who being very careful, that
"the offices might be exercised by such as were very suffi-
"cient in all respects, did of herself name Mr. Dr. William
"Aubrey to be one, and referred to the Lords the nomina-
"tion of the other. Who yesterday liking very well of
"her Majesty's choice, did all agree with one consent, that
"Mr. Dr. William Clark should be joined with Mr. Dr.
"Aubrey; and they two to exercise these offices *communiter*
"*et divisim*, during her pleasure. This their command-
"ment I was willed to signify unto you, that you would
"give notice thereof to whom it appertaineth, for the
"speedy order to be given to exercise the jurisdictions.
"Thus fare you heartily well, from my house at St. Katha-
"rine's, this 20th of January.

The Secre-
tary to Dr.
Bar. Clark
from the
Privy Coun-
cil.
Grind. Re-
gist.

"Your assured loving friend,

"Th. Wylson."

BOOK
II.

Anno 1577.
The Arch-
bishop com-
mits the
office of Vi-
car General
to them by
command
from above.

The same day Dr. Bartholomew Clark repaired to the Archbishop within his manor at Lambeth; and there he presented the abovementioned letter to the sight of the said Archbishop, and withal declaring to him, that it belonged to him in this behalf so to do, the said most reverend Father committed accordingly the office and authority to Dr. Aubrey and Dr. William Clark, to exercise as well the office of Auditor of Causes, and the business of the Court of Audience, as the vicarship general in spirituals, and Principal Official, in as ample manner and form, as the late venerable man, Mr. Thomas Yale, LL.D. held and exercised it—*ad beneplacitum dictæ illustriss. Dominae nostræ Reginae*. Under this instrument the Archbishop wrote, *Ita est, Edmundus Cantuarien.* To which also were the hands of William Lewin, LL.D. John Coldwel, Doctor of Physic, and Richard Frampton, Gent. present and witnesses.

Dr. Lewin
appointed
to the
Arches.

These two substitute Dr. William Lewin to exercise the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the deanery of the Arches, as he lately executed the foresaid office of Commissary in and through the deanery of the Arches, by force of a commission from Edmund the Lord Archbishop. Dr. Bartholomew Clark, it seems, lay under some suspension.

Likewise all licences to preach, &c. institutions to benefices, commissions to visitations, &c. signification of persons that stood excommunicate, instruments for sequestration of fruits, and the like, passed from these two civilians, yet still with a deference to the Archbishop, and consultation with him in what they did. But sometimes upon letters sent to him from the Queen or the Lords of the Council, he did act in person, and issue forth orders in his own name, as we may observe in the sequel of this history.

CHAP. X.

Prevents taking timber out of his woods. Commends a contribution for Chard: and for Bath. A Bishop consecrated by him. Who now officiates for the Archbishop. Stubbs's book. The Council's letter to the Archbishop relating thereto. His orders to the Preachers hereupon; and to some Preachers as would not administer the Sacraments. Difference between Sandys, now Archbishop of York, and Grindal, about Battersea.

WE must expect now, while the Archbishop's hands were thus tied, but little action from him: yet what I find, I will relate. Anno 1578.

In the midst of his troubles, he was not guilty of any thing that might bespeak him negligent, or wanting to his duty or calling. This partly appeared in his care for the good estate of his see; which at this time there happened an occasion to manifest. As there were wood-lands belonging to the archbishopric, so was the Archbishop vigilant for preserving the timber thereof, and neither sold it for his own gain, nor used any of it more than was necessary for the reparation of houses and farms. Now it fell out, that the Queen wanting timber either for shipping or her other works, some that had authority to take timber for her provisions, appointed to take presently some quantity out of his woods, lying near the city of Canterbury. And this perhaps was the rather done, since he lay at present under such a cloud. But the Archbishop still preserved the same constant temper, and resolution of discharging his duty. And therefore hearing of this, laboured to stop it what he could; and despatched a letter hastily to Court to his friend the Lord Treasurer, May 24, 1578, acquainting him with this affair, and letting him know first, that there was but small store of timber in those woods; and withal, that not only three of his own mansion-houses standing at or near

BOOK II. unto Canterbury, and divers of his farmers' houses and milns, were to be maintained therewith; but also that Anno 1578. timber was to be brought from thence to Lambeth by water, for maintenance of that house: for that the woods of the see in the parts near to that palace were so decayed, that there was not convenient timber so much as to make planchers for a stable. He signified moreover to the Treasurer, that he was informed there were others in that part of Kent had such store, that they could spare, and did sell. And that for his own part, as he had ever been careful to preserve his timber, so he did not intend, during his incumbency, to make any sale of it at all. And therefore in conclusion he desired the said Lord, either to give out his order for the staying of that which was appointed to be taken, or otherwise, that neither then nor at any other time after, during his Lordship's pleasure, none should be taken in the same woods. And I suppose thus seasonably interposing, he had his request.

Contribution for Chard.

All the use I find the Court made of the Archbishop this year was, that the Queen granting by letters patents dated February 26, 1578, licence and permission to certain of the inhabitants of the town of Chard in the county of Somerset, to ask the charity as well of spiritual men as temporal, in all places of her Highness's realm of England and her other dominions, towards the new building and setting up the town of Chard, (the chiefest and greatest part whereof was lately wasted by fire,) during the term of two years; the Archbishop was employed to signify the Queen's pleasure to the rest of the Bishops. Whereupon he issued out his mandate to the Bishop of London to commend this work unto all the rest of the Bishops in the province of Canterbury; and to will and require them to cause the contents to be executed throughout every of their dioceses and jurisdictions.

Anno 1579. Bath. The next year the Queen granting letters patents to the city of Bath for a licence for seven years, to gather the devotion of all her loving subjects towards the building of a

church and hospital within the same city, there were sent unto the Archbishop to be distributed certain orders im-
printed for the collection.

CHAP.
X.

Anno 1579.

The Archbishop's officers, who now acted all under him and for him, were Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Clerk, who exercised the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury; Dr. Lawse, Commissary of the diocese of Canterbury; Dr. Redmayn, or Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Mr. Mullins, were the Commissaries for the deanery of Bocking; Mr. Richard Kitson for the deaneries of Malling, Pagham and Terring, in Sussex; Mr. Joseph Heins for the deanery of Shoreham and Croyden.

The Arch-
bishop's off-
icers.

Some beginning of a metropolitanical visitation of the diocese of Norwich happened in the month of June this year. And an inhibition was issued the same month to the Bishop thereof from Aubrey and Clerk. But it seemed not to go on, but to receive delays, till the year 1582, when we shall hear of it again.

242

Norwich
diocese
visited.

I find the Archbishop in this year at Croyden; so that either his confinement was taken off, or rather he had leave for the sake of his health to retire to his house at Croyden. And here John Wolton, S. T. P. was by him confirmed Bishop of Exon, Friday July 24, and consecrated, Aug. 2, in the chapel there, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of Rochester assisting. Thus we see how he exercised this part of his archiepiscopal function even under his sequestration by commission from the Queen.

Conse-
crateth a
Bishop of
Exon.

In this year happened a matter that gave the Queen high disgust. She was in treaty with the Duke of Anjou about joining herself in marriage with him. This was a thing, which however desirous the people were of seeing her married in hopes of issue, yet they could not endure to hear of: partly out of an innate hatred to the French, and partly out of a particular dislike of this person: of whom many reports went concerning his dissolute life and manners. But of all others, the Puritans made the most noise. And one of them, named Stubbs, a student in the law, and a man

Stubbs's
book.

- BOOK of parts, but very hot, wrote a most violent book against the
 II. match, entitled *The Gaping Gulph*. The Queen saw how
 Anno 1579. dishonourable these clamours were to herself, and how of-
 The Gaping fensive they might prove to the French, with whom she
 Gulph. saw it her interest to keep all fair. Therefore she speedily
 issued out a proclamation for seizing the book, the author,
 and printer. And withal, the Lords of the Council wrote
 a letter dated in October to this purpose to our Archbishop,
 with the proclamation enclosed: whereby may be under-
 stood the whole matter. See it in the Appendix. Therein
 Num. XIII. to take off any surmises, (covertly hinted in the book,) as
 though the Queen meditated some alteration in religion,
 they shewed, "how fully the Queen was determined to
 "maintain the religion which she had at first established in
 The Coun- "the realm; and that, if need were, even with the hazard
 cil's letter "of her own person. And this they endeavoured to
 to the Arch- "strengthen by divers arguments, for the full satisfaction
 bishop re- "and quieting of her subjects in that behalf. And that
 lating there- "she had for that very cause sustained the malice of divers
 to. "powerful princes her neighbours. That the book having
 "been dispersed about in many places, and perhaps in his
 "diocese, divers of her subjects, and especially some of the
 "Clergy, might be induced to think unjustly and unduti-
 "fully of her Majesty. That it was therefore the Queen's
 "pleasure, that he, with as much speed as he could conve-
 "niently, should call together the noted Preachers, and
 "other ecclesiastical persons in his diocese of good calling,
 "and to have the proclamation read against the said libel.
 "And then to signify unto them the Queen's resolution to
 "maintain the religion without all change. And that she
 "intended not by any treaty with the Duke of Anjou to be
 "ever brought to make any alteration. And that the said
 243 "Prince had shewed himself lately a friend to those of the
 "religion, by the hazard of his own estate and life; and
 "moreover deserved to be honoured for the honour he did
 "her Majesty, in coming to see her. That he, the said
 "Archbishop, should likewise admonish these Preachers,

“ in their sermons not to meddle with any such matter of
 “ estate, as in truth not appertaining to their profession ; CHAP.
X.
 “ but to contain themselves within the limits of their calling. Anno 1579.
 “ Which was to preach the Gospel of Christ in all purity,
 “ without intangling themselves in secular matters. And
 “ to teach the people to be thankful to God for liberty of
 “ conscience, peace, and wealth, which they had hitherto en-
 “ joyed. And not to go about by intermeddling in such
 “ matters, to give occasion of disquiet and distrust to the
 “ subjects of this realm. By which their disorderly deal-
 “ ing [for some such, it seems, there were among the Preach-
 “ ers] there could not but grow prejudice to the cause of
 “ religion.

“ And as for other of the ecclesiastical order, which could
 “ not be present at this exhortation, but lived more remote,
 “ the Archbishop was required to send his letter to them.
 “ But that, if any people should, notwithstanding the endea-
 “ vours of the Preachers, not rest satisfied, but should
 “ entertain undutiful and unnecessary conceits of her
 “ Majesty, then to charge the said Preachers to give him
 “ notice thereof: and he by his authority to call such per-
 “ sons before him; and by better information, or otherwise,
 “ correct them in their error.”

Upon this command from above, the Archbishop acted, The Arch-
bishop's
orders here-
upon.
 and sent his letters of orders to Dr. Aubrey. And Aubrey
 accordingly sent his to Dr. Lawse, Commissary of the diocese
 of Canterbury; to Dr. Redman, Archdeacon there for the
 rest of the diocese; to Mr. Mullins and Dr. Styl, for the
 deanery of Bocking; to Mr. Kitson, for the deanery of
 South Malling, Pagham and Terring; and to Mr. Herne,
 for the deanery of Shoreham and Croyden. Aubrey's let-
 ter to these ran in this tenor:

“ After my hearty commendations, having received
 “ letters from my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, the copy
 “ whereof I have sent unto you herein enclosed, together
 “ with a copy of a letter sent to his Grace from the Lords
 “ and others, her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,

BOOK " and also her Majesty's proclamation in print ; I thought
II. " it my duty, according to the charge given unto me, to

Anno 1579. " pray and require you upon receipt hereof, with all expedition, to procure within the exempt parishes of that his Grace's diocese of Canterbury, the contents of the Lords' letters to his Grace, and of his Grace's letters to me, to be effectually and carefully in all points accomplished ; and to certify his Grace of your proceedings therein, as occasion shall require, according to the effect and meaning of the said several letters. So I bid you right heartily farewell. From London, the 9th of October 1579.

" Your assured loving friend,

" Will. Aubrey."

244 That that was done upon this at London was, that Dr. The Clergy summoned. Aubrey, October 9, commanded all Rectors and Curates of the deanery of the Arches to appear immediately before him in St. Mary Bow church the next day, viz. the 10th of October, by the private counsel of the reverend the Archbishop. At the day and place there appeared Edmund Sympson, Rector of St. Dunstan's east ; Will. Knight, Rector of St. Pancrase, and Curate of Bow church ; Josias Gilpin, Rector of St. Vedast ; John Boteman, Rector of St. Michael in Riola, [the Quern ;] John West, Curate of St. Michael, Crooked-lane ; Nicolas Kennam, Curate of St. Mary Aldermary ; Nicolas Brook, Rector of St. Mary de Botchawe ; Tho. Stallard, Rector of All-Saints, Lombard-street ; Geoffrey Waters, Curate of St. Leonard's, in East-cheap. Before these the said Aubrey commanded the said letters of the Lords to be read ; and then gave them charge singly, on the Queen's part, to observe and do with effect all the matter mentioned therein.

The Council to the Archbishop concerning some Preachers that refused to celebrate the Communion. Many Ministers now-a-days took livings, and would only preach to their congregations, but refused to administer the Sacraments : because, I suppose, they did not like some things in the offices appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. But they provided others for that part of the ministerial office : a thing which gave much offence to the

Queen. This occasioned the Lords of the Privy Council to write a letter in January to our Archbishop, viz.

CHAP.
X.

Anno 1579.

“ After our hearty commendations: whereas her Ma-
 “ jesty is credibly informed, that divers and sundry preach-
 “ ers in this realm do only apply themselves to the office
 “ of preaching; and upon some light conceit, to the dis-
 “ honour of God, the breach of her Majesty’s laws, the of-
 “ fence of good subjects, and the great contempt of the Sa-
 “ craments, which groweth thereby, do separate themselves
 “ from the executing of the one part of the office of a
 “ priest; which is as well to minister the said Sacraments
 “ as to preach the Gospel; and that by this occasion some
 “ are counted and termed *reading* and *ministering* Min-
 “ isters; and some Preachers, and no-sacrament Ministers:
 “ therefore we are in her Majesty’s name to require your
 “ Lordship to take a view of all such within your dio-
 “ cese as do so disjoin the one part of the function from
 “ the other; and do not at certain times in the year, as
 “ well minister the holy Sacraments in their own person in
 “ what place soever they receive any portion for preach-
 “ ing; and yourself by your ecclesiastical censures to com-
 “ pel them to execute both. And such as you shall find in-
 “ tractable, to send them up to us; and to certify us imme-
 “ diately upon your said view, how many you find of those
 “ recusants within your diocese. That we may thereupon
 “ satisfy her Majesty in that behalf. And so we commit your
 “ Grace to God. From London, the 17th day of January.

“ Your very loving friends,

“ Tho. Bromely, Canc.	W. Burghley,	E. Lincoln,
“ J. Sussex,	J. Hunsdon,	Jam. Crofte,
“ Chr. Hatton,	Fr. Walsingham,	Tho. Wilson.”

The Archbishop next day, viz. Jan. 18, sent this letter 245
 to Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Clark, to require both with all
 convenient speed to take a view by inquisition, and all other
 good means within his diocese, of all such ecclesiastical
 persons as were any ways culpable in any the disorders ex-
 The Arch-
 bishop com-
 mits the
 business to
 Aubrey and
 Clark.

BOOK II. pressed. And such as were obstinate, and would not, upon their admonition, conform themselves, to certify their names

Anno 1579. unto him; to the intent her Majesty might be satisfied in that behalf accordingly.

Difference
between
Grindal and
Sandys a-
bout Bat-
tersea.

There happened some difference (which lasted till this time) between our Archbishop and his successor in the see of York, about the demeans of Battersea; which for some special reason (which was shewn before, under the year 1571) was let to him for his life by the Dean and Chapter of York. This lease Archbishop Sandys would have Archbishop Grindal to have cancelled, since he was removed from York; but he thought good still to retain it, that so the present lessees might receive no prejudice for certain things which Sandys had called in question. And for the reason and vindication of these his doings, he made this Declaration of the state, as well of the chief mansion-house and demeans in Battersea, containing about fourscore acres, that were reserved (as they had been of long time appointed) for the occupying of the Archbishops of York, as also of the farms and cottages in Battersea, Wansworth, and Penge, that had always been in the occupation of the farmers of them; and to shew that the late doings of the now Archbishop of Canterbury concerning Battersea were to be well thought of, as done chiefly for the benefit of his succession. Which Declaration was this which follows:

The Arch-
bishop's De-
claration
concerning
the state of
Battersea.

Bishop-
thorp.

“ Laurence Booth, being Archbishop of York, gave (in the latter end of King Edward the Fourth's time) all his lands in Battersea, Wansworth, and Penge to the Dean and Chapter of York, upon condition that they should have the same as they had Bishopthorp. To the which Chapter, long before that time, one Walter Gray, Arch- bishop of York, had granted his house and lands at Bishopthorp, near York, *ea intentione, quod idem capitulum concederet eadem successoribus præfati Walteri Archiepiscopi, qui pro tempore fuerint.*

“ After the death of the said Archbishop Booth, his successors, with confirmation of the said Dean and Chapter, made grants successively for the lives of the patentees of

“ the custody of their house at Battersea, and divers leases, CHAP.
 “ as well of the said demeans, as of other their said lands, X.
 “ in like manner as they did of the rest of the lands of Anno 1579.
 “ their see. Divers of which leases came to the hands of
 “ one Thomas Kerrie. Whose leases Archbishop Lee did
 “ renew in 31 Henry VIII. And then did let to him in
 “ one lease, confirmed by the said Dean and Chapter, not
 “ only the said demeans, but also divers other of the
 “ said farms for fourscore years, with a covenant on the
 “ lessee’s part, (as had been before used,) that when any
 “ Archbishop of York, or any of his household, should be
 “ resident at his said mansion-house at Battersea, then the
 “ lessee, upon a month’s warning, should give up the occu-
 “ pying of the said demeans to the said Archbishop and his
 “ successors, so long as they or any of their household
 “ should remain there. And likewise the said Archbishop 246
 “ Lee, and the Archbishops Holgate and Heath, did let
 “ out all the rest of their lands, as well in Battersea as Bi-
 “ shophthorp, except such lands in Bishopthorp as were ever
 “ reserved in the Archbishop’s own hands.

“ The said lease made to Kerrie came after to one Hill,
 “ who, finding the weakness of the covenant contained in
 “ that lease, did cause the said demeans to be kept in til-
 “ lage. So that neither the Archbishop Holgate, Young,
 “ nor Grindal, had the same according to the meaning of the
 “ said lease. Whereupon there came much trouble and
 “ suit in law between the said Archbishops and the said
 “ Hill their farmer. Wherein Archbishop Young (that
 “ failed in his suit to evict the said lessee) paid above 60*l*.
 “ in costs and damages to the said Hill: who was hereby so
 “ puffed up, that he used Archbishop Grindal worse than he
 “ had used any of his predecessors; not only with arrogant
 “ speeches, but also in keeping the said demeans from him;
 “ and in suing his workmen that cut down some of his
 “ wood upon the said demeans, for his provision at Batter-
 “ sea in a parliament time. For defence of which suit such
 “ evidence was sought out, as seemed to contain sufficient
 “ matter for the disproof of the said Hill’s lease. Where-

BOOK " upon, after the said evidence had been considered by my
II. " Lord Chancellor, that then was her Majesty's Solicitor,

Anno 1579. " Mr. Ayloff, now one of the Justices of the King's Bench,
" Mr. Ploidon, and Mr. Wilbram, and no doubt being
" by them made, why the said lands should not be reason-
" ably let in lease, there was by their advice a lease made
" by the said Dean and Chapter to the said late Arch-
" bishop of York for his life, according to the precedents
" of former leases of Bishopthorp and Battersea. And pre-
" sently after that, for the removing (if it could be) of the
" said Hill, that dealt with the said Archbishops so unrea-
" sonably, contrary to the meaning of his lease, another
" lease was made (of that which the said Hill had) to Ri-
" chard Ratcliff and Richard Frampton [servants to the
" Archbishop] for twenty-one years, in such reasonable
" manner as was thought to give just cause to every suc-
" cessor to like well hereof, being made much more bene-
" ficial for the succession than any lease before made of the
" said demans.

" And although the said now Archbishop of Canterbury,
" whilst he was Archbishop of York, did understand (after
" a verdict was given against the said Hill) that divers
" other leases at Battersea and Bishopthorp were much
" more clearly void in law, yet did he suffer no lease there
" (but only the lease of the said Hill, who had dealt so ill
" as aforesaid) to be impugned. But contrary, when he
" made new leases there, of such things whereof the old
" void leases were near expired, he bound the new lessees
" not to take any things of the old lessees at least during
" the years of their said old leases, which were so void in
" law.

" Seeing then the now Archbishop of Canterbury had his
" lease of Battersea long before he was like to be removed
" from York, (the late Archbishop of Canterbury then liv-
" ing,) and although his lease were made to him for his life
247 " according to the former precedents; yet he never took,
" nor went about to take, any benefit of his lease after his
" remove from York, although he forbore the cancelling

“thereof for a time, lest thereby prejudice might come to
 “some that had leases there, of things usually letten, that CHAP.
X.
 “the now Archbishop of York called in question: and see- Anno 1579.
 “ing the now Archbishop of Canterbury, after the taking
 “of his said lease, and long before his remove from York,
 “did among other things demise the said demeans, not
 “only in more beneficial manner divers ways than any for-
 “mer lease thereof was made, but also with such sure pro-
 “vision for his successors, *viz.* that the lease is to become
 “forfeit, if all the said fourscore acres of demeans be not
 “upon warning left quietly to every Archbishop, when he
 “shall be either at his house at Battersea, or within sixty
 “miles thereof; I hope it may most reasonably be thought,
 “that the said now Archbishop of Canterbury was not for
 “the premises to be ill, but well thought of, in making so
 “reasonable and beneficial a lease for the succession, to the
 “lessees, which were to deal in a doubtful title for the
 “evicting of the old troublesome tenant’s lease; the suit
 “whereof (howsoever the title fell out) was like to be very
 “chargeable; and so it hath proved.”

This is so largely related, to shew how well he deserved
 of his see, by preserving the rights and revenues of it.

CHAP. XI.

The Archbishop calls his diocese to prayers and humiliations, occasioned by an earthquake. The Council orders the same prayers throughout all the dioceses. He decides a difference in Merton college; and in the University of Cambridge, between the Doctors and Heads. Sends articles of inquiry for backsliders. Popish emissaries multiply. Some Bishops consecrated. Goes on with his metropolitical visitation. A Convocation. What was done therein. They petition the Queen for the Archbishop. He devises a form of penance to be used.

Anno 1580.

Prayers and
devotions
enjoined
by the
Archbishop.

THE beginning of this year 1580 was thought fit (especially a terrible earthquake happening) to be set apart for devotion and prayer, repentance and alms. Therefore the Archbishop was minded, that all his diocese should be exhorted and stirred up to these points of devotion, resorting publicly to the church, and at night each family privately to pray together. And Redman, his Archdeacon, and Lawse, his Commissary, had this letter and charge in order thereunto, for the peculiars in London, from his officer Dr. Aubrey.

248 “ After my hearty commendations premised; My Lord,
Grind. Reg. “ his Grace’s pleasure is, that with all convenient speed you
“ shall give order to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate of
“ the peculiar jurisdiction of the deanery of the Arches in
“ London, that they exhort their parishioners to resort
“ devoutly to their churches upon Wednesdays and Fri-
“ days, to hear some short exhortations to repentance,
“ either by preaching or homilies, with other service of the
“ day. And that they do of their own accord, without
“ constraint of law, spare those days one meal, converting
“ the same, or some part thereof, to the relief of the poor.
“ Calling also their households together at night, to make
“ hearty prayer to God, to shew mercy to us who have de-
“ served his anger. And that with the Litany they join

“such Psalms and prayers as they shall choose, or devise, CHAP.
 “fit for that purpose. And thus I bid you heartily well XI.
 “to fare. London, April 12, 1580.” The like order he Anno 1580.
 gave forth for his whole diocese.

The earthquake before mentioned was of that violence, A great
 that it affected all with a great consternation. Nor do I earthquake.
 think it amiss to relate what Camden writ of it. “The History of
 “sixth day of April, at six of the clock in the *evening*, the Queen Eli-
 “air being clear and calm, England on this side York, zabeth sub
 “and the Netherlands almost as high as Colen, in a mo- anno 1580.
 “ment as it were fell a trembling in such a manner, that in
 “some places stones fell down from buildings, the *bells*
 “in steeples struck against the clappers, and the very sea,
 “which as then was very calm, was vehemently tost and
 “moved to and fro. The *night* following, the ground in
 “Kent trembled two or three times: and the like again on
 “the first of May in the dead time of the *night*.”

This earthquake and the abovesaid injunction was taken
 notice of by the Lords of the Council, April 23. And
 whereas the Archbishop had upon this account directed an
 order for prayers and humble devotion, and composed a
 prayer for *families* throughout his diocese, they authorized
 the same by their allowance and approbation; and more-
 over required him to enjoin the observation of it in all
 other dioceses, by this letter of theirs directed to him:

“After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. The Coun-
 “Considering the state of this time, whercin it hath pleased cil to the
 “the Most Highest, for the amendment of all sorts of Archbishop
 “people, to visit the most parts of this realm with the late for prayers.
 “terrible *earthquake*, as an extraordinary token of his
 “wrath against them, and fatherly admonition to turn
 “from their offences, and contempt of his holy word, as
 “also of his infinite goodness and mercy to deal more fa-
 “vourable with us therein, than he hath dealt with other
 “nations in the like case; in that we (thanks be unto
 “his majesty) have received no great hurt thereby, in
 “comparison of that they have had sundry times hereto-
 “fore by the like occasion; whereby not only their houses

BOOK "and cities have been overthrown and destroyed, but also
II. "many thousands of people have pitifully perished.

Anno 1580. "And that understanding that you have considered
249 "upon and appointed a good and convenient order of
"prayer, and other exercises to be used in all the parish
"churches of your diocese upon Wednesdays and Fridays
"for the turning of God's wrath from us, threatened by
"the said *earthquake*; with a godly prayer for the like re-
"spect, to be used of householders with their *families*: we
"do not only commend and allow your good zeal therein,
"but also think the same to be very meet to be generally
"used in all other dioceses of this realm; requiring you to
"give order, that in every of the same the said wholesome
"and godly order of prayer may, for the respect aforesaid,
"be executed, followed, and obeyed, during such time as
"you think meet. And so we bid your Lordship most
"heartily well to fare. From the Court, April 23, 1580.

"Your loving friends,

"T. Bromely, Canc. W. Burghley, F. Knollys,
"R. Leicester, J. Croftes, C. Hatton,
"T. Sussex, F. Bedford, F. Walsingham,
"T. Wylson, W. Mildmay."

According to the tenor whereof the Archbishop sent out his orders.

Decides a
difference
in Merton
college.

In this month of April, the Archbishop was concerned in deciding a difference in Merton college Oxon, where he was visitor. It was between the Warden and Fellows on one part, and Will. Wilks, a Fellow there, on the other, who had taken the vicarage of St. Peter's in Oxford. Where, by the statutes of the house, for the value of it, he was adjudged by the house to have lost his fellowship. He on the other hand reckoning himself wronged, appealed to the Privy Council. They remitted him and his cause to the Archbishop; who, after due consideration of the statute, decreed the matter in favour of Wilks. The decree Grind. Reg. began, *Edmundus Dei Providentia Cant. Archiepiscopus—dilecto nobis in Christo custodi—sociis et scholaribus col-*

legii sive aulae de Merton, &c. Dated April 22, 1580. CHAP.

The English letter that accompanied it will explain to us
the contents thereof; which was as followeth:

XI.

Anno 1580.

“Where I have [am] given to understand, that there is
“a question and doubt made amongst you, whether Mr.
“Will. Wilks, this bearer, one of the Fellows of your col-
“lege, should by the statutes lose his place there, for that
“he hath accepted the vicarage of St. Peter’s in the East,
“within the city of Oxford; and being moved by letters
“from certain of her Majesty’s Privy Council, and other-
“wise, to decide the controversy: I have thought good
“therefore to certify you, that I have considered of the
“place of that statute that giveth the occasion of the
“doubt, and also of the value of that vicarage, by such
“means as for that time I could inform myself. And there-
“fore I have under the seal of my office sent unto you my
“order, which I require you hereby quietly to observe and
“allow, until you, according to the true tenor thereof,
“shall prove some further matter otherwise to move me. 250
“And so I commit you all to the tuition and government
“of the Almighty.” Observe here the Archbishop acteth
in his own name. But to this order they were disobedient,
as we shall hear hereafter.

Soon after, in the month of June, his experience and
wisdom was required and made use of in a controversy
arisen in the other University, viz. that of Cambridge;
where a contention arose between the Vice-Chancellor and
Doctors of the town on the one part, and the Masters and
Heads of the colleges on the other, touching two graces
lately propounded by the late Vice-Chancellor in favour of
the Doctors of the town and others. Wherewith the Doc-
tors being Heads found themselves aggrieved, for that such
graces should be propounded and proceeded in without
their privity, as they pretended, against the late statutes
and ordinances of her Majesty. Hereupon the Lord Burgh-
ley, Chancellor of that University, earnestly prayed our
Archbishop, for that either party had sent up one, viz.
for the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Barrow; and for the Heads

Employed
in a contro-
versy hap-
pening in
the Universi-
ty of Cam-
bridge.

BOOK of the colleges, Dr. Howland, Master of St. John's college;
II. to open unto him as well the reasons of the one, as the

Anno 1580. griefs of the other, for the proceedings; that he would do the said Lord the pleasure and ease, at that present, being busily occupied at Court about great causes, as to hear both parties, and to examine the same, which he the rather desired his Grace's travail in, for that he was sure the University and their statutes were better known unto his Grace, than unto him. He left this business either to himself alone, or to call any other that had been of that University to assist him therein, as he should see cause. Whereby, as the Chancellor added, he should do a godly act in making peace between them, and do him a great good turn. And what he should think meet, he [the Chancellor] should do for the stay of these innovations, to signify to him; and also what his opinion and advice should be, for quieting and ordering this contention.

The Archbishop accordingly took this matter into his hand, and the last day of June signified to him the sum of his thoughts concerning it. Which I choose to set down in the Archbishop's own words.

The Archbishop signifies his judgment in this matter.

" After my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship. According to the request of your Lordship's late letter, I have had before me this forenoon (being accompanied with my neighbour Mr. Dean of Westminster) Mr. Dr. Howland and Dr. Barrow, and heard at some length what each party could say; and have thought good to send unto your Lordship herein the substance of that which was uttered on both sides.

" The controversy did stand in two principal points.

" First, Whether these two late graces were disorderly and somewhat fraudulently obtained.

" Secondly, Whether the very matter and substance of the graces were against the statutes.

251 " In the first matter we did not dwell long, being a matter of circumstance. Yet thus much we perceived; that in the manner of proceeding for the obtaining the said graces, things were handled (though not directly against

“ the words of the statute,) yet with some cunning and CHAP.
 “ fineness, and not so sincerely as were to be wished in XI.
 “ such cases, and with such circumstance. Anno 1580.

“ About the second we stood most: wherein Dr. Howland alleged the precise words of the statute, cap. 34. that the *pricking*, as they term it, of officers is by special privilege in the same statute reserved to the Heads of houses; and by a latter interpretation from your Lordship, to the Heads, or their deputies.

“ To that Mr. Dr. Barrow allegeth another statute, cap. 42. entitled *De Officio Cancellarii*, wherein is a branch, that the Chancellor, or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, may make new statutes, with this proviso, *Sic ut hiis decretis nostris nihil detrahant aut officiant*: ‘ Which in this case,’ saith Dr. Barrow, ‘ this new statute, to adjoin the Doctors to the Heads of colleges, doth not; although Mr. Dean and I are of contrary opinions, referring the determination to your Lordship.’ The said Mr. Barrow, for further defence, allegeth another statute, made by grace, as these two last were, concerning the Scrutators: which office is now brought from free election appointed by the Queen’s Majesty’s statute, cap. 36. to go in course by combination as the office of the Proctors doth. To this Dr. Howland answered, that he believed your Lordship was made privy to the alteration of that statute for the Scrutators; and added further, that if error were committed in that, it was no sufficient warrantize for other errors afterwards to be attempted; and especially for these late errors in these two last graces. And thus much in substance was alleged on both parts for the former grace, to adjoin Doctors to the Heads for election of offices.

“ For the second grace, that Heads of colleges, being Divines, should be bound to preach in course as other younger men do; Dr. Howland alleging, that by express words of her Majesty’s statute, cap. 11. they are not bound further than their own free good-will shall move them. The words be these: *Post tantum laboris suscep-*

BOOK
II.

Anno 1580. " *tum, et tot pericula atque examina nolumus plus laboris*
 " *Doctoribus imponere, quam ipsi volunt sua sponte sus-*
 " *cipere.* Dr. Barrow, besides some glance at the usual
 " commonplace, that Heads ought to give good exam-
 " ple, &c. alleged, that another of the Queen's statutes,
 " which appointeth order only for sermons to be had on
 " Sundays before noon, was altered by grace to sermons
 " on Sundays and holydays, both forenoon and afternoon.
 " Which was answered to be no derogation to the Queen's
 " statute, but contrariwise rather a more ample accomplish-
 " ing of the same.

" A little was said also by Dr. Barrow of the interpreta-
 " tion of another statute, wherein is declared that it shall
 " suffice to dispute twice against a Master of Art answer-
 " ing in Divinity, where the words of the statute be, a
 " man for his form to proceed in Divinity should dispute
 252 " twice against a Bachelor in Divinity. And yet was
 " it thought by Dr. Howland, that your Lordship's con-
 " sent was given to all the said interpretations and altera-
 " tions. And surely for the time to come, I wish your
 " Lordship should give strait charge that no alteration or
 " interpretation of statute hereafter do pass by grace, be-
 " fore the same have been seen and allowed by your Lord-
 " ship.

The Arch-
 bishop
 shews the
 Chancellor
 of the Uni-
 versity his
 opinion.

" Now where your Lordship is desirous to know mine
 " opinion for quieting and ordering of this contention, I
 " know your Lordship of yourself can best do it; and I
 " count the University happy that it hath you for Chan-
 " cellor in these unquiet times. Your wisdom and author-
 " ity may work more good with them than could be done
 " otherwise. Notwithstanding I will most gladly impart
 " mine opinion; which is this: I think it very requisite
 " that these last graces should remain as dashed, and not
 " put in execution. The example will do harm, if the
 " Queen's statutes be thus tossed, and the plain meaning
 " of them overthrown. So that some mild admonition from
 " your Lordship, joined with exhortation to concord and
 " amity, I trust, will pacify the now Vice-Chancellor and

“ the Regents, &c. who have of long time repined at that
 “ statute for elections by the Heads: although the altering CHAP.
XI.
 “ of it (in mine opinion) would be occasion of many bitter Anno 1580.
 “ contentions. And especially they will remain the better
 “ satisfied, if your Lordship some way signify, that if the
 “ Heads have any way abused their privileges, they will see
 “ it reformed for the time to come.

“ On the other side, (for the Heads I mean,) I wish
 “ that your Lordship should admonish and exhort them
 “ also to use their authority well and indifferently, to
 “ choose the best learned for their lectures; and for the
 “ Vice-Chancellor always to prick two fit men, and never
 “ hereafter to practise; that of the two nominated, one
 “ should be an unfit man, and as it were a *stale*, to bring
 “ the office to the other, (which they did now in nominat-
 “ ing Dr. Hatcher, and taste of the fruits thereof,) which
 “ ministereth a just offence to the rest of the University.

“ I wish also that the Heads which are Divines should
 “ be exhorted to preach diligently without compulsion:
 “ which will satisfy in the other point.

“ And further, when the Vice-Chancellor sendeth for as-
 “ sistance in conferences in public matters, I would like
 “ well of it, if he sent also for the Doctors of Law and
 “ Physic to join with the Heads; it would be some con-
 “ tentation to them. And indeed so it was most usually
 “ (though not always) practised in my time.

“ This is my simple opinion, to the which Mr. Dean also
 “ agreeth: referring notwithstanding the whole order to
 “ your Lordship. I have warned Dr. Howland and Dr.
 “ Barrow to be with your Lordship to-morrow morning. I
 “ make the more haste, because I wish things quieted be-
 “ fore the Commencement.

“ I do greatly commend the sentences of humility and 253
 “ submission contained in the letters of the University to
 “ your Lordship. God keep your Lordship. From Lam-
 “ beth this last of June 1580.

“ Your Lordship's in Christ,

“ Edm. Cantuar.”

BOOK
II.

Anno 1580.
The Chan-
cellor sends
his orders
to the Uni-
versity.

How well the Lord Burghley approved of the Archbishop's advice may appear, in that the very next day (*viz.* July 1.) he decided this controversy in two letters, the one to the University, and the other to the Heads of the houses: which latter let me here exemplify.

" I have received your letters by Dr. Howland, Master
" of St. John's college. By which, and by his report, I
" have understood many more particular things than pre-
" sently I am at leisure to answer by writing. But con-
" sidering the state of the controversies arisen, both for
" lack of good leisure, and doubting mine own understand-
" ing in such 'academical questions, I did commend the
" whole causes with all appendances to my Lord the
" Archbishop of Canterbury's good grace, to be by him
" considered at length, and to advertise to me his opinion:
" which he hath done at good length. And therein, after
" a further private weighing of the matters, I have at
" one instant time imparted my determination to both the
" messengers, Mr. D. Howland and Mr. D. Barrow. And
" for a fuller satisfaction of the Vice-Chancellor and the
" body of the University, I have at more length than well
" my leisure served me for greater matters at this time con-
" cerning her Majesty, written, or rather in haste scribbled,
" my letters. To which I doubt not, but Mr. Vice-Chan-
" cellor will make you, with the rest, acquainted. And
" therefore I omit to repeat the same unto you, praying
" you, as heads or fathers of great families, so to behave
" yourselves in temperance, as concord may rest in your
" families; and that for no particular interest in gain or
" preferment the public bands of charity be broken. But
" as you can teach us your scholars under your pupils, so
" in your own actions let it appear that every one of your-
" selves can forgive the errors of others.

" And though I do disannul both the graces, which are
" different in nature, yet for the latter tending to increase
" preaching, though by any new law you be not compelled,
" yet see that you be a law to yourselves. That of *non do-
" cendo* you keep not the name of *Doctores*. And so by

"haste I end. From the Court at Nonsuch, *primo Julii* CHAP.
 "1580." And thus much for *University matters*. XI.

The state was awakened 'at this time by reports con- Anno 1580.
 cerning a great many in the nation that formerly came to Backsliders
 church, and were conformable to the laws of the realm in from reli-
 matters of religion; but now fell off, and forbore any gion taken
 more to resort to the public service. Whereat the Queen notice of.
 admired, and was apt to lay the blame upon the Bishops;
 to whom she had granted an ecclesiastical commission for
 the taking cognizance, and punishment of such things.
 Wherefore the Lords issued out their letters to the Arch- 254
 bishop, for to have all such backsliders and neglectors of re-
 ligion punished by such as attended the execution of the
 said commission. And that inquiry should be made con-
 cerning such as had been before convented, how they stood
 as to conformity. And if they were at liberty, and still re-
 mained obstinate, to be again taken up. That especial no-
 tice should be taken of such as had the education of chil-
 dren; that they should be chiefly looked unto: lest, if their
 principles were not sound, they might do much harm in
 their influence upon those that were under them. But I
 had rather set down the letter of the Lords to our Arch-
 bishop, whereby this affair will appear more clear and
 plain.

"After our hearty commendations: whereas the Queen The Coun-
 "hath been informed, that divers persons within the pro- cil to the
 "vince of Canterbury, both of the common and better Archbishop
 "sort, who of late time have been conformable to the laws concerning
 "of this realm concerning religion, are now fallen away, some that
 "and have withdrawn themselves from coming to church, fell off.
 "to the evil example of other her Majesty's good subjects,
 "and to the great offence of her Highness, who doth not a
 "little marvel by what means this relapse should happen;
 "having delivered sufficient authority unto your Lordship,
 "and others joined unto you, by virtue of her Commission Commis-
 "Ecclesiastical, warranted by the laws of this realm, where- sion Eccle-
 "by you might at all times have repressed the insolency siastical.
 "and corrected the disobedience of such as therein should

BOOK
II.

Anno 1580.

“ have presumed to offend, if such care and vigilancy had
“ been used within your charge as appertaineth.

“ Her Highness's pleasure therefore is, that for the pre-
“ sent reforming and punishing those that have, and do
“ herein disobey the laws, you give order to have them
“ forthwith convented before such as do attend the execu-
“ tion of her Majesty's High Commission, and proceeded
“ withal according to the direction of the said High Com-
“ mission. And first, that consideration being had of such
“ as have been heretofore convented before the High Com-
“ missioners, in what terms they stand for their conformity;
“ how many of them are at liberty; and in what sort;
“ and how many do remain committed, and where. And
“ such of them as shall be found at liberty, and do con-
“ tinue obstinate, to be returned to prison, and such fur-
“ ther order to be taken with them and the rest, as is pre-
“ scribed in the said Commission.

School-
masters.

“ And for as much as a great deal of the corruption in
“ religion grown throughout the realm, proceedeth of lewd
“ schoolmasters, that teach and instruct children as well
“ publicly as privately in men's houses; infecting each-
“ where the youth without regard had thereunto, (a matter
“ of no small moment, and chiefly to be looked unto by
“ every Bishop within his diocese,) it is thought meet for
“ redress thereof, that you cause all such schoolmasters as
“ have charge of children, and do instruct them either in
“ public schools or in private houses, to be by the Bishop
“ of the diocese, or such as he shall appoint, examined
“ touching their religion: and if any shall be found cor-
255 “ rupt and unworthy, to be displaced, and proceeded withal
“ as other recusants; and fit and sound persons placed in
“ their rooms.

“ And to the end her Majesty may understand what
“ shall be from time to time done in the execution of the
“ said Commission, to give order, that certificate be made
“ of the proceedings in the said Commission unto us of her
“ Majesty's Privy Council. Wherein not doubting but
“ you will answer her Majesty's good expectation, accord-

“ing to the trust reposed in you, we bid your Lordship
 “heartily farewell. From the Court at Nonsuch, 18th
 “June, 1580.”

CHAP.
 XI.

Anno 1580.

In obedience to which, the Archbishop issued out his mandate to his officers, June the 21st, to make diligent inquisition throughout his diocese of the contents of the Council's letters. And for the more effectual doing whereof, he sent withal Articles of Inquiry enclosed; which were as follow:

“*Imprimis*, Diligently to inquire what persons within
 “your parish or charge, of what degree or calling soever
 “they be, do absent themselves from their parish church
 “upon pretence of conscience or religion; and how long
 “they have so done.”

The Arch-
 bishop's
 Articles of
 Inquiry for
 recusants.
 Grind. Reg.

2. “*Item*, What persons have of late absented them-
 “selves from their parish church upon contempt or pre-
 “tence aforesaid, that heretofore resorted thereunto.

3. “*Item*, What persons do you know within your pa-
 “rish that have been heretofore convented before the Queen's
 “Majesty's High Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, for
 “religion; and especially for not coming to church, that
 “are at liberty, and yet have not conformed themselves.

4. “*Item*, What schoolmasters are within your parish,
 “and what their names are that teach publicly, or privately
 “within any man's house within your parish, of what state,
 “calling, or condition soever he or they be; in whose
 “house or houses any such schoolmaster or teacher is.

5. “*Item*, Whether any such schoolmaster, or school-
 “masters, is reported, known, or suspected to be backward
 “in the religion now established by the laws of this realm,
 “that are thought any way to be secret hinderers thereof.”

The Archbishop wrote also to the Bishop of London, signifying the foresaid message from above; desiring him with all convenient speed to see the contents of the letter duly executed; and also to send his letters to all the rest of the Bishops of his province where the sees were full; and that he himself minded by his officers to take order for the sees vacant; and to send to every of them several co-

Writes to
 the Bishop
 for the exe-
 cution of
 the Coun-
 cil's letter.

BOOK
II.

pies of the Council's said letters ; requiring them, and every of them, carefully and effectually, as they would answer Anno 1580. the contrary, to see all the same executed in every of their dioceses, and to certify him of their proceedings. That he might return certificates thereof to the Lords of the Council.

Sees vacant. The sees vacant, which the Archbishop himself by his officers took care of, as was mentioned before, were Oxford, Winton, Coventry and Litchfield, Gloucester and Bristol.

256 The ground of all this trouble was the secret coming in of emissaries from the Pope (being English youth bred up in seminaries abroad) with instructions to pervert the people from their allegiance to the Queen and the religion established ; by persuading them of the damnable danger they ran themselves into by casting off the Bishop of Rome. The chief of these were Parsons and Campion, Jesuits. The latter whereof came into England this year. And after he had been scouting up and down the nation to do mischief, was taken, committed to the Tower, and executed the year ensuing. By his, and his fellow's labours, backed with the Pope's bulls and indulgences, to such as they could deceive, grew a considerable defection from religion. Hence the state began to be awakened, and called again into question those of the Roman persuasion, to whom it had before granted much favour ; in setting free those of them that had been imprisoned, and winking at the rest, while they remained quiet.

Parsons and
Campion.

We have the Archbishop employed again in another business, pertaining to his archiepiscopal office.

Consecrates For John Watson, Dean of Winchester, the see being Watson and void by the death of Horne, late Bishop, succeeded, and was Overton Bishops. confirmed, Sept. 16, 1580. and consecrated, Sunday the 18th following, in the chapel of Croyden, by the Archbishop, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of Rochester assisting : these being present, David Lewis, William Clark, Bartholomew Clark, William Lewen, LL. DD. William Wilson and John Sapcotts, the Archbishop's Chaplains, with others. Also William Overton, a learned and a pious

man, D.D. a dignitary in the churches of Chichester and Salisbury, was, upon the death of Bentham, the last Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, appointed to succeed in the see; and was confirmed, Friday the 16th of December, [September I suppose,] in Bow church, and consecrated Sept. 18. following, by the Archbishop, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of Rochester assisting.

CHAP.
XL.

Anno 1580.

The metropolitical visitation, which the Archbishop had begun, upon his entrance into the archbishopric, was for some years intermitted by reason of his troubles. But now in this year it revived again. For there was such a visitation for the church of Peterborough instituted May the 13th. For that was the date of the Commission; which was issued out, not from the Archbishop, but from William Aubrey and William Clark, LL. DD. exercising the office of Vicar General and Principal Official, to John Dey of the University of Oxford, James Ellis, LL. D. and Richard Bancroft, B.D. And so from this year 1580. onward in the years 1581, 1582, 1583. the visitations of several churches were on foot, the Commission for them all issuing out from Aubrey; as though the Archbishop still remained under sequestration, as we shall relate in due place.

But Goes on
with his vi-
sitation.
Peterbo-
rough visit-
ed.

A Convocation was held this year, meeting at St. Paul's; wherein (though Fuller call it a *silent convocation*) were various weighty matters treated of, and laboured to be ratified. As concerning making of Ministers; concerning Faculties; concerning commutation of penance and excommunication. Wherein our good Archbishop, though under this cloud, and not appearing, (but Elmer, Bishop of London, being in his room at the head of this Synod,) yet had a great hand: labouring for some good reformation of things still amiss in the Church.

A Convoca-
tion.
Church
Hist. book
ix. p. 135.

But the Synod wanting their head, the Archbishop, (who by reason of his being sequestered or confined came not to it,) at their first meeting together drew up an humble petition to the Queen to restore him to his place. And it was done by the elegant pen of Toby Matthew, Dean of Christ's

The Synod
petition for
the Archbi-
shop.

BOOK Church, in their name. Which petition is extant in Ful-
 11. ler's Church History. It set forth, "how exceedingly griev-

Anno 1580. "ed they were, that the most reverend Father, after so
 Book ix. p. "many years, should fall into so great and so durable an
 120, "offence of her Majesty. That he was a man that did not
 "often offend; and but once in his life seemed to have dis-
 "pleased her; and that not so much with a wilful mind, as
 "by a tender conscience. Of which so great was the force,
 "that eminent authors and the best men had writ, that
 "whatsoever was done, the conscience reclaiming, or erring
 "or doubting, was done amiss, and to be condemned as no
 "little sin. That the Archbishop had led a life, free not
 "only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime;
 "preserved his religion from all, not only corruption of Po-
 "pery, but from schism, and had suffered persecution for
 "righteousness sake, having wandered abroad in other
 "countries for the cause of the Gospel. Therefore they
 "most humbly and unanimously beseeched her, not only to
 "lift up the Archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but
 "to restore the Church to him, and him to the Church, to
 "her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and
 "in a word, to all pious people. And for their own parts
 "they promised her, if she would grant this their suppli-
 "cation, they would never be wanting in their care of set-
 "tling the Church, in propagating religion, in taking away
 "schisms, and in being mindful of and thankful for this
 "favour." But all this address proved ineffectual.

Now I will set down some brief journal of this Convoca-
 tion 1580.

Journal of
 it.
 Extract of
 Synods, pe-
 nes Rev.
 Fra. Atter-
 bury, D. D.
 Decan. Car-
 liol.

The first session was on Tuesday, Jan. 17. when the Bi-
 shops meeting in the chapter-house of St. Paul, and the
 Litany said in English, an instrument of substitution being
 sent to the Bishop of London from our Archbishop, the said
 Bishop took the said charge upon him. And then willed
 the Clergy of the lower house to choose a Prolocutor, (the
 former Prolocutor, *viz.* Whitgift, being now made a Bishop,)
 commending to them three very reverend Deans; Humfrey,

Dean of Winchester; Day, Dean of Windsor; and Goodman, Dean of Westminster.

CHAP.
XI.

The next session, Jan. 25, Dr. Day was presented Prolocutor by Matthew, Dean of Christ's Church Oxon, and Mullins, Archdeacon of London, the speech being made by the former, an eloquent man: and so he was confirmed. Then the Bishops discoursed among themselves of certain things to be reformed in the Church.

The third session, Jan. 27, the Bishops being met in the chapter-house, the Bishop of London, presiding in the Convocation, produced certain letters of the Lords of the Privy Council, written to the most reverend Father, concerning certain errors and heretical opinions, broached by a new sect of heretics, commonly called *the family of love*. Which being read, the said President and the other reverend Fathers had discourse for a while concerning the contents of the said letter: and also for some reformations to be had against such as refused to conform themselves to the religion received in this kingdom of England, and established by public authority.

Anno 1580.

Heresy of
the Family
of Love.

258
The Council's letter
to the Synod there-
upon.

This done, the Prolocutor and six others were called up, and the said letter, together with a copy of the bill conceived in writing for reformation to be had and provided against the foresaid recusants, was delivered to them. And lastly, the President commanded the said Prolocutor and the Clergy to enter into deliberation concerning the manner and form of a subsidy to be granted the Queen.

This was the work cut out for the lower house.

In the fifth session, Friday Feb. 3. the Bishops being set, the Prolocutor, and four other of the lower house, came before them: who said, they had treated for some time with the Bishops in writing upon certain Articles against the abovesaid new sect of heretics.

And in the afternoon of the same day, being the sixth session, the Bishops being met, they took into their consideration the Articles agreed upon in the Synod held at West-

BOOK minster by prorogation anno 1575. and drew out of them
 II. certain chapters, which they thought more necessary, in-
 Anno 1580. tending to offer them to be confirmed by act of Parliament.

In another session, Febr. 17, the subsidy was engrossed, and agreed upon to be presented to the Queen by the Bishops of London, Winton, Lincoln, St. David's, Sarum, and Wigorn. But concerning the businesses of the *family of love*, &c. nothing was further agitated nor concluded. And many sessions spent unprofitably until the 2d of March, when the Bishop of London adjourned the house, with the consent of his brethren, to the 25th of April 1581. Which day being come, the Queen by her writ put it off till a further time.

Articles en-
 deavoured
 begotten
 enacted.

Those chapters mentioned before, drawn out of the Articles agreed upon in a former Synod, which this Synod laboured to have enacted, I am able to give some account of, out of an authentic paper endorsed, *Articles delivered to the Lords from the Lower House of Parliament*: as though they had passed the Lower House. On which also is Grindal's own hand written. For this consult the Appendix.

Num. XIV.
 The con-
 tents of
 them.

The sum of these Articles were, "that no Bishop
 " should make any Minister, but of the full age of four and
 " twenty, and a Graduate, or at least able to give an ac-
 " count in Latin of the Thirty-nine Articles, and to note
 " the sentences of Scripture whereupon those Articles were
 " grounded. And any presentee to a benefice, not so quali-
 " fied, should not be instituted by any Bishop upon pain of
 " suspension to be inflicted on him by the Archbishop,
 " from making of Ministers for two years.

259 " That henceforth there should be no commutation of
 " penance, but in rare respects; as the dignity of the per-
 " son, or for fear of some desperate event. And then the
 " penalty of money to be large, according to the person's
 " ability. And even then the person so excused should
 " make some satisfaction in the parish church, by declaring
 " his repentance and sorrowful mind.

" That more strait punishment be assigned for adul-

“ tery, fornication, and incest ; as imprisonment, open pen-
 “ ance in markets, &c. CHAP.
XI.

“ That no dispensations be granted for marrying without Anno 1550.
 “ banns, but under sufficient large bonds, with certain con-
 “ ditions.

“ None to have dispensation for plurality of benefices,
 “ but such as by their learning were worthy, and best able
 “ to discharge the same. That he be a known Preacher,
 “ and be bound to reside at each benefice some reasonable
 “ time in the year.”

And whereas the censure of excommunication, as exe- Excommu-
nication.
 cuted by lay persons in ecclesiastical courts, was much dis-
 liked by the Archbishop and the other Bishops, and espe-
 cially being used upon such slight occasions sometimes ; a
 thing which made the Church so clamoured against ; there-
 fore the Upper House had earnestly recommended the consi-
 deration of this matter to the Lower House ; and they gave
 their judgment as follows, “ that excommunication might The Synod’s
judgment
of it.
 “ not be taken away wholly from ecclesiastical judges,
 “ having been always used to be inflicted by them ; and the
 “ alteration of that punishment being accompanied with so
 “ many difficulties, to the interrupting almost of all ecclesi-
 “ astical jurisdiction, unless many other matters of bodily
 “ punishment were granted in the room of it. Which they
 “ thought in these days would be more offensive. And
 “ they desired that certain honest persons, skilled in the
 “ law ecclesiastical, might open to them the inconveniences
 “ that would ensue ; and how hardly this point would
 “ abide alteration.”

But about the reformation of the abuse of this Church- Excommu-
nication to
be reform-
ed.
 censure there was much agitation in this Synod. And one
 there was (who I am apt to believe was our Archbishop, or
 some one of his officers) drew up a writing, shewing an ex-
 pedient for keeping up the authority of the spiritual courts,
 against such as contemned and disobeyed them ; whereby
 they incurred the crime of contumacy, commonly punished
 by excommunication : in the room whereof he propounded,
 that that censure should be wholly abolished ; but the con-

BOOK II. sequence of it after forty days (*viz.* imprisonment) should remain in force. And that instead of the writ *de excommunicatione capiendo*, should be a writ *de contemptore jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ capiendo*. This is a very good paper, which

Anno 1580. I have also reposit in the Appendix. The writer shewed that this terrible Church-censure was very sparingly to be used; as formerly it was only in case of heresy, usury, simony, piracy, conspiracy against Princes, disturbing of the common peace of the Church or State, murder, sacrilege, perjury, incest, adultery, false witness, and such like. And that in all crimes of the most heinous and horrible nature excommunications might be pronounced by the

Num. XV. Archbishops or Bishops in their own persons, as was wont

260 to be in the primitive Church. But as to alteration of laws ecclesiastical, it had been a true observation from time to time, that it never happened, but whatever fair appearance it had, it turned ever to some notable prejudice.

The Archbishop's care about it.

The handling of this weighty subject of *excommunication*, which had been so abused hitherto, (though upon it the discipline of the Church did so much depend,) was owing in a great measure to our Archbishop, who earnestly recommended the consideration and reformation of it to this Synod. To that which was already moved concerning this matter, I shall mention another paper put in, to be considered of the same argument. The substance whereof was, that *excommunication* should be used only in greater crimes; and that in less, *suspension* and *imprisonment*, together with the manner how either should be inflicted. The paper was as follows.

Propositions to be considered of.

Another paper put in for the re-forming this Church-censure.

" First, To name those crimes which are termed *graviora*,
" i. e. *more grievous*, [for which *excommunication* was only
" to be inflicted.]

" Secondly, In greater crimes, if the party appear not
" after the third citation, (every one containing the crimes
" laid to his charge,) then to be excommunicated.

" So in lesser crimes, or in causes between party and

“ party, if he that is cited do not appear upon the first citation, then *facta fide* of the serving of it, he may be pronounced *contumax*. If upon the second citation he continue his obstinacy, then *facta fide*, he may be fined. And thirdly, if that will not avail, then he may be suspended *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ*, if a layman; or a *beneficio*, if he be a Clerk. Fourthly, and if all the premises will not bring him in, then the Bishop may have authority to send his warrant to the Sheriff, or some Justice of the Peace, for the attaching of the party, and committing him to prison, until he enter bond with sufficient sureties to appear, and pay the charges past.

CHAP.
XI.

Anno 1580.

“ Secondly, If any sentence given, the party appear not at the time appointed, *quum sententia debeat executioni mandari*, then to be suspended. And if he continue so by the space of a month, then to be imprisoned, either by the Bishop himself, or by his warrant, as before, till he conform himself to the said sentence.”

But besides these cares about the due and regular execution of this highest censure of the Church, another business lay also before this Convocation, namely, *penance* for open sins, another great and necessary part of ecclesiastical discipline. This also needed reformation. And herein the Archbishop contributed his pains: that it might not be performed only as a matter of form, but produce a good effect, to bring the sinner to amendment; and to serve as a seasonable warning and example to all. Therefore did he himself devise a form of penance to be for the future observed; and laid it before the Synod. Which I shall here set down.

The Arch-
bishop pre-
scribes a
form for it.

“ First, I wish at every public penance a sermon, if it be possible, be had. Secondly, In the same sermon the grievousness of the offence is to be opened; the party to be exhorted to unfeigned repentance, with assurance of God’s mercy, if they so do; and doubling of their damnation, if they remain either obstinate, or feign repentance where none is, and so lying to the Holy Ghost. Thirdly,

The Arch-
bishop’s di-
rection for

BOOK II. "Where no sermon is, there let a homily be read, meet for the purpose. Fourthly, Let the offender be set directly

Anno 1580. "over against the pulpit, during the sermon or homily, and
 "there stand bareheaded with the sheet, or other accustomed
 "note of difference; and that upon some board raised a
 "foot and a half, at least, above the church floor; that
 "they may be *in loco editiore, et eminentiores omni populo*;
 "i. e. in an higher place, and above all the people. Fifth-
 "ly, *Item*, It is very requisite that the Preacher, in some
 "place of his sermon, or the Curate after the end of the
 "homily, remaining still in the pulpit, shall publicly inter-
 "rogate the offenders, whether they do confess their fault,
 "and whether they do truly repent: and that the said of-
 "fenders or penitents should answer directly every one
 "after another, (if they be many,) much like to this short
 "form following, *mutatis mutandis*.

Interroga-
 tories to be
 put to the
 penitent.

"*Preacher*. Dost thou not here before God, and this
 "congregation assembled in his name, confess that thou
 "didst commit such an offence, *viz.* fornication, adultery,
 "incest, &c. ?

"*Penitent*. I do confess it before God and this congre-
 "gation.

"*Preacher*. Dost thou not also confess, that in so
 "doing thou hast not only grievously offended against the
 "majesty of God in breaking his commandment, and so de-
 "served everlasting damnation, but also hast offended the
 "Church of God by thy wicked example?

"*Penitent*. All this I confess unfeignedly.

"*Preacher*. Art thou truly and heartily sorrowful for
 "this thine offence?

"*Penitent*. I am from the bottom of my heart.

"*Preacher*. Dost thou ask God and this congregation
 "heartily forgiveness for thy sin and offence: and dost
 "thou faithfully promise from henceforth to live a godly
 "and Christian life, and never to commit the like offence
 "again?

"*Penitent*. I do ask God and this congregation heartily

“ forgiveness for my sin and offence: and do faithfully
 “ promise from henceforth to live a godly and Christian life,
 “ and never to commit the like offence again. CHAP. XI.
 Anno 1580.

“ This done, the Preacher or Minister may briefly speak
 “ what they think meet for the time, place, and person :
 “ desiring in the end the congregation present to pray to
 “ God for the penitent, &c. and the rather, if they see any
 “ good signs of repentance in the said penitent.
 “ Provided always, that order be given by the Ordinaries,
 “ when they assign penances, that if the penitents do shew
 “ themselves irreverent or impenitent at their penances,
 “ that then their punishments be reiterated; and be re-
 “ moved from the church to the market-place. That though 262
 “ themselves may thereby seem incorrigible, yet their pub-
 “ lic shame may be a terror to others.

“ If the Ordinary see cause to commute the wearing
 “ of the sheet only, (for other commutation I wish none,)
 “ then appoint a good portion of money to be delivered
 “ immediately after the penance done in form aforesaid by
 “ the penitent himself to the collectors for the poor; with
 “ this *proviso*, that if he shew not good signs of repentance,
 “ he is to be put again to his penance with the sheet.
 “ And then no money at no time to be taken of him.”

I have the copy of another paper drawn up by a Convo-
 cation (if I judge right) about six years after, viz. 1586, or
 1587, and prepared to be offered to the Parliament to be
 enacted; the grounds whereof were laid in this Synod, as
 may be observed by him that reads it, which who that
 pleases may do in the Appendix. It propounded several
 things to be reformed about Ministers, excommunication,
 commutation of penance, and dispensations. Num. XVI.

CHAP. XII.

The Council's letters to the Archbishop in behalf of a Jesuit that recanted; and concerning the recusants that refused conference. The Archbishop's orders and directions hereupon. Visits Merton college. A Bishop consecrated. Dr. Aubrey and Dr. Clark, acting for the Archbishop. Grants a licence to the Lord Cheney to remove his ancestors' bodies.

Anno 1581.
Nicols a
Jesuit re-
cants.

THE Archbishop was employed by the Council, May 1581, in two matters: both which he duly executed. There was one John Nicols, a Jesuit, (among sundry other Jesuits, Seminary and Mass Priests,) taken and laid up: who at last was brought by conference, and the grace of God, to be convinced of his errors, and was the first that made a recantation, which he did before a sufficient audience in the Tower. By books also written and published by him, he gave forth to the world good and apparent testimony of his faith and conformity. The Privy Council therefore (as they signified to the Archbishop from Whitehall, May the 10th) thought him fit to be comforted and encouraged; to the end that, by the example thereof, others, that yet remained obstinate, might the rather be induced to follow the way by him begun. And because by his writings he seemed to be well learned, and able to instruct the Church of God, it was intended, that the next convenient living ecclesiastical that fell, should be conferred on him. In the mean time for his reasonable maintenance, to enable him to live, they prayed his
263 Lordship, notwithstanding his sequestration, to deal with the rest of his brethren the Bishops, for a contribution to be made among them all, for some convenient portion of money to be paid unto him quarterly, for his necessary wants for apparel, sustenance, and continuance in his studies.

The Arch-
bishop
sends to the

This the Archbishop took care of, and sent his letters to the Bishops accordingly, May the 13th. He also set down

the rate of each Bishop, viz. in what proportion their contribution should be: as himself 7*l*. London 3*l*. Winchester 4*l*. Ely 4*l*. Hereford 3*l*. Sarum 3*l*. Bath and Wells 3*l*. Wigorn 3*l*. Lincoln 40*s*. Chichester 40*s*. Norwich 50*s*. St. David's 40*s*. Litchfield and Coventry 40*s*. Peterborough 40*s*. St. Asaph 40*s*. Bangor 30*s*. Rochester 30*s*. Exon 30*s*. Landaff 20*s*. Oxon, Gloucester, and Bristol, vacant. *Summa* 50*l*.

CHAP.
XII.

Anno 1581.

Bishops for
his maintenance.

The letter the Archbishop wrote on this occasion was to this tenor, (having first exemplified the Council's letters to him, "After our right hearty commendations unto your "Lordship: whereas among sundry Jesuits," &c.)

"I have thought good therefore, by virtue of the said "letters, to pray and require your Lordship, according to "the old ancient order in such cases accustomed, to trans- "mit to every of my brethren, the Bishops of this province, "a copy of these presents, with the rate taxed and appoint- "ed particularly to every one of them; the whole sum "among us all amounting to 50*l*. yearly. Nothing doubting "but that your Lordship, and all the rest of my brethren, "will have due consideration of the request made by my "Lords, and of the reasons by their Lordships alleged "to move us thereunto. And the rather, for that this con- "tribution is not like to be of any long continuance. And "for as much as appointing of the place and person, to "whom the said contribution shall be paid to the use of the "said Nicols, is referred unto me, I have thought good to "signify to your Lordship and the rest, that I have ap- "pointed my servant, Richard Frampton, to receive the "said several contributions here at my house in Lambeth. "And that Midsummer next shall be the next quarterly day "for payment for us that dwell near London; and so from "quarter to quarter, till the said Nicols be provided: re- "quiring the rest of our brethren that dwell far off to pay "their rates half yearly: that is to say, at Michaelmas next, "for one half year, and at the Annunciation following for "another half year——praying your Lordship, and all the "rest of my brethren, that the said days and times so ap-

The Arch-
bishop's
letter for
Nicols.

BOOK "pointed may be duly observed; so as my Lords of the
 II. "Council shall have no cause to find us slack in so good a
 Anno 1581. "matter, &c.

"Your Lordship in Christ,
 "Edm. Cantuar."

May 13, 1581.

The Lords
 to the Arch-
 bishop to
 search for
 recusants.

The Parliament having lately made a law for the better keeping the subjects under their obedience to the Queen, and against such as refused to conform themselves in matters of religion, and especially in coming to church, the Queen's safety and the peace and good estate of the whole realm depending so much thereupon; the Lords sent their letters to the Archbishop to make an inquisition, what persons there were in his diocese that refused; and to procure learned and godly persons to have conference with them to reduce them; which if they refused, to return their names unto the *Custos Rotulorum*. This the Archbishop communicated to his officers, and enjoined them to see to the performance.

But to understand this matter we must read the Council's letter, which was in this tenor:

The Coun-
 cil's letter.
 Grind. Re-
 gist.

"After our right hearty commendations unto your Lordship. Whereas in the last sessions of Parliament there was, upon good and advised deliberation by her Majesty, with the common consent of the whole realm, a certain act made for the retaining of such her Majesty's subjects in their due obedience, as, abusing her Highness's former goodness and lenity, refused to conform themselves in matters of religion, specially for coming to the church according to the law: for as much as the execution of the said statute was thought most needful for the assurance and safety of her Majesty's person and this realm, and the preventing of such mischiefs and inconveniences as otherwise might happen, if every one might be suffered to do what him listed; her Majesty, being very desirous to see all her subjects truly united in one consent and uniformity of religion, according to the laws of the realm, for

“ the better service of Almighty God and quietness of this
 “ realm, hath willed us to require your Lordship forth-
 “ with, upon the receipt hereof, to make, or cause to be made,
 “ diligent search and inquiry, as well according to your for-
 “ mer certificates of recusants, as by other the best means
 “ that you can, what persons there be within your diocese
 “ which do at this present refuse to come to the church, and
 “ to conform themselves according to the said statute. And
 “ finding any such you shall do well, by conference with
 “ some learned and other godly disposed persons, to ad-
 “ monish them, and by instruction to persuade them to
 “ come to the church, and to behave themselves as by the
 “ said law is required.

CHAP.
XII.

Anno 1581.

“ And in case any shall refuse so to do, then to take, or
 “ cause to be taken, witness in writing, both of the warning
 “ so given, and their refusal, under the hands of the Parson
 “ or Curate, or other honest persons, which we pray you in
 “ every shire within your diocese to prefer unto the *Custos*
 “ *Rotulorum*, and to the Justices of the Peace at the next
 “ sessions. So as the said persons may be indicted and or-
 “ dered as by the same law is appointed.

“ And generally, we pray you to have a good regard to
 “ the execution of the rest of the branches of the said act
 “ touching reconcilers, sayers and hearers of Mass, school-
 “ masters, and other like matters, appertaining to your pas-
 “ toral duty and charge. So as there may be no remissness
 “ or negligence found in you, as you will answer the same
 “ before Almighty God and her Highness; who expecteth
 “ a good account at your hands and your brethren's in these
 “ things. And so heartily praying you that hereof there be
 “ no default; and from time to time advertise us of your
 “ proceedings, we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From
 “ White Hall, the 28th of May 1581.

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“ Tho. Bromely, Canc. W. Burghley, E. Lincoln,

“ T. Sussex, F. Bedford, R. Leicester,

“ Fr. Knollys, Jam. Croftes, Fra. Walsingham.”

In obedience to these orders, the Archbishop despatched

BOOK his letters to his officers of the diocese with the copy of
 II. the Council's letter, and several Articles whereupon they
 Anno 1581. should proceed. The letter was as followeth :

The Arch-
 bishop to
 his officers.

“ *Sal. in Christo.* I have of late received letters from
 “ the Lords and others of her Majesty's most honourable
 “ Privy Council, the tenor whereof ensueth, *After our right*
 “ *heartly commendation*, &c. as above ; these are therefore
 “ to will and require you, and either of you, to have due
 “ regard to see the said letters with all convenient speed
 “ duly executed throughout my whole diocese of Canter-
 “ bury, according to the purport and tenor thereof. And
 “ hereof fail you not, as you will answer to the contrary.
 “ And for your better instruction for inquiry to be made
 “ in this behalf, you shall receive certain Articles herein en-
 “ closed. And so I commend you to the grace of God.
 “ From Lambeth this 30th of May 1581.”

*To my loving friends, Mr. W. Redman, Archdeacon of
 Canterbury, and Mr. Dr. Lawse, my Commissary
 there, and to either of them, give these.*

The Articles were these :

The Arch-
 bishop's di-
 rections of
 inquiry for
 recusants.
 Grind. Reg.

I. “ First, You shall make inquiry, as well according to
 “ the former certificate heretofore made of recusants, as by
 “ other the best means you can, what persons above the age
 “ of sixteen years at this present do refuse to come to the
 “ church, and to conform themselves according to the sta-
 “ tute made in the last session of Parliament. When any
 “ such recusants are by inquisition known and found, you
 “ shall use conference with them, and every of them. And
 “ joining to you therein some learned and other godly dis-
 “ posed persons, you shall admonish, instruct, and persuade
 “ them to repair to the church, and there to behave them-
 “ selves as by the said statute is required.

II. “ *Item*, If any such person, after warning given, shall
 “ refuse so to do, then you shall take two witnesses thereof
 “ at the least ; and cause the warning and refusal to be writ-
 “ ten : and the same being written, to be subscribed by the
 “ said witnesses, and by the Parson, Vicar, and Curates, of

“ that parish, where such recusant at the time of the refusal
 “ and warning shall happen to dwell. CHAP.
XII.

III. “ *Item*, You shall send, or cause to be sent, the same Anno 1581.
 “ writing, in good and plain form, to the *Custos Rotulorum*
 “ and Justices of Peace of that shire where the persons re-
 “ cusants have their dwelling at the time of the warning and
 “ refusal, at the next sessions. That the said obstinate per- 266
 “ sons may be there indicted and ordered, as by the said
 “ statute is appointed.

IV. “ *Item*, You shall also inquire whether, since the
 “ end of the last Parliament, any person or persons within
 “ my diocese have gone about, or practised, to move, with-
 “ draw, or persuade any her Majesty’s subjects within your
 “ diocese or charge, from their natural obedience to her
 “ Majesty, or from the religion now by her Highness’s au-
 “ thority established within her Majesty’s dominions; to obey
 “ or to be reconciled to the usurped authority of the Bishop
 “ of Rome, or to the Romish religion, or to profess any obe-
 “ dience to any pretended authority of the see of Rome, or
 “ of any other prince, state, or potentate.

V. “ *Item*, You shall inquire, whether any persons within
 “ your diocese, after the end of the said last sessions of Par-
 “ liament, have been willingly reconciled, absolved, or with-
 “ drawn, as aforesaid; or have promised any obedience to
 “ any such pretended authority, prince, state, or potentate,
 “ as is aforesaid.

VI. “ *Item*, You shall inquire whether, since the said
 “ time, any person have said or sung Mass within your dio-
 “ cese: and also whether any person hath since the said
 “ time willingly heard Mass sung or said.

VII. “ *Item*, You shall inquire whether any schoolmas-
 “ ter of suspected religion, or that is not licensed to teach
 “ by the Bishop or Ordinary, doth teach in any public or
 “ private place within this diocese.”

These directory Articles in order to the execution of the
 late act against recusants, and the Council’s letter, were sent
 to all the Bishops of his province by the Archbishop accord-
 ing to his office.

BOOK
II.

Another command the Archbishop received from the Lords of the Queen's Council concerning the cause of one Wilks, a Fellow of Merton college in Oxford; whom they had expelled out of his fellowship, because he had taken another living, viz. St. Peter's in Oxford, upon pretence of some college statute. This man, as he reckoned, having injustice done him, made his complaint above. Wherefore the Council referred this controversy to the judgment of the Archbishop, who was their visitor. The statute was, that if any Fellow obtained *uberius beneficium*, i. e. a benefice of more value, that then the exhibition that he received of the house presently ceaseth. Now the question was, whether St. Peter's was better than his fellowship. The Archbishop's determination was, (as was told before,) that Wilks should enjoy his living and his fellowship, until it were proved before him, or his deputies, that the living was a better benefice than his fellowship. Which not being obeyed by the college, the Archbishop proceeded to visit the said college; and suspended the Warden, Thomas Bickley, and some of the Fellows, for contempt in refusing him upon some doubtful statutes; they urging, that they ought to be interpreted by the Head and eight of the senior Fellows: and that though Archbishop Peckam and Archbishop Chicheley did interpret some of their statutes, as Patrons, he, the Warden, did not believe that the interpretations of either were obeyed.

The occasion.

267 And he believed, that the Patron of the college, that is, the Archbishop, might correct the faults, negligences, and defects of the college, being not reformed in the college according to the statutes; and that the Patron might visit the college: but whether he might minister injunctions or not, he knew not. But the Warden and the rest were fain at length to make their submissions, and so were remitted from their suspensions.

Metropolitanical visitation.

The metropolitanical visitation went forward. In prosecution whereof a commission issued out dated at London, July the 5th, from Aubrey and Clark, for the visiting the church of Chichester. It was directed to Richard, Bishop of the diocese; and also to Giles Flether, LL. D. Henry Blaxton,

Daniel Gardiner, and William Cole, Masters of Art; and CHAP. XII.
John Drury, Clerk, Bachelor of Laws.

John Bullingham, S. Th. P. being appointed Bishop of Anno 1581.
Glocester, (having lain some time vacant,) was confirmed Bishop of Glocester
Friday, Sept. 1. and consecrated Sunday following, by the consecrated.
Archbishop, John Bishop of London and John Bishop of
Rochester assisting.

I find but one thing more the Archbishop did this year, Licence to remove the
and that perhaps may be too little to be mentioned, unless to Lord Cheney's body.
some, who know how to make use even of minuter circum-
stances. He granted a licence to Henry, Lord Cheney, to
remove his father and his ancestors' coffins and bodies,
from a little chapel near unto his parish church of Minster,
in the county of Kent, and to place them in his church of
Minster; the chapel and other lands thereabouts being by
him sold to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The licence bore date
October 22, 1581.

I find Dr. Aubrey acting again in the Archbishop's stead, Aubrey recommends a poor man's case to the
about the recommendation of the condition of a poor man diocese of Bath and Wells.
of the town of Chard, in the diocese of Bath and Wells,
whose house and goods were destroyed by fire, and that had
obtained the Queen's letters for a contribution within the
diocese. The said Aubrey, by virtue of his Vicarship General,
sent his letters missive to the *custodes* of the bishopric
of Bath and Wells in the month of February, according
to the Queen's letters in that behalf. Which I will here
subjoin.

"After our hearty commendations, &c. The Queen's
"Majesty, of her great clemency and goodness, hath granted
"unto one Richard Kirford of Chard, letters patents under
"her Highness's Great Seal, for the gathering of the charit-
"able devotion of well-disposed persons, toward the relieving
"of the said poor man, being undone, together with his
"wife and children, by means of sudden mischance of fire:
"I am therefore, both in consideration of my duty towards
"her Majesty, pitifully respecting the miserable estate of
"the poor man, as also for very conscience sake and Chris-
"tian charity, very vehemently moved and enforced to seek

BOOK "some way that may help and succour his great extremity
II. "and need; which cannot be well done without your assist-

Anno 1581. "ance and aid. Wherefore seeing the said Richard by rea-
"son of his gout is not able to travel personally about his
"business, I earnestly desire you, that you will take order
"with the Ministers and Churchwardens of every parish
"within the diocese of Bath and Wells, with as convenient
268 "speed as you may, that they will gather the devotions of
"every the said parish, and write upon the back-side of the
"copy of her Majesty's said patents the sum of money
"which shall be contributed: and that they will send or
"bring their collections, with the said copies of the said pa-
"tents, and deliver the same before Whitsuntide next to
"your Register; and he to keep the same until the said
"Richard Kirford, or his deputy or assign, shall receive
"the same money so gathered and received at his hands.

"The copies of her Majesty's patents are sent unto you
"by this bringer; so many as shall serve your archdeacon-
"ries. I pray you be careful that this may be done speedily
"and effectually. And in so doing you shall give the poor
"man, his wife and children, a good cause to pray for you.
"And thus I bid you heartily farewell. From London
"the 24th of February 1581.

"Your loving friend,
"Will. Aubrey."

Besides this, in this month of February, Aubrey (as exercising the office of Vicar General, while the Archbishop by his sequestration was disabled) granted a licence to Tho. Jones, M. A. to preach throughout the whole province: he granted letters dimissory to Henry Rowse, B. A. to be promoted to the order of Deacon and Priest in any church or chapel, or other convenient place, by John, Bishop of Gloucester. He granted a licence to Will. Stokes, to perform the office of a Curate in any parish church throughout the whole dioceses of Ely, Bristol, Hereford, Bath and Wells, and St. David's. And lastly, he directed a commission to Bar. Clark, Official of the Court of Arches, to admit Will. Griffith,

L.L. D. into the number and college of advocates of the metropolitical court of Canterbury. CHAP. XII.

Yet do I find the Archbishop himself, in his own person, Anno 1581. about this time granting a commission to John Gibson and Steph. Lakes, LL. DD. to take cognizance and proceed in all causes and businesses, suits and complaints, &c. within the city and diocese of Cant.—and all and singular other matters, *quæ ad officium Commissarii Consistorii nostri ibidem de jure vel consuetudine ab antiquo spectare dinoscuntur, faciend. exercend. atque expedienda.* Dated January 30, 1581. The Archbishop grants a commission for the commissaryship of Canterbury.

CHAP. XIII.

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Orders to the Archbishop to certify the dwellings of recusants. A Bishop of St. David's confirmed. Licenseth a Scotch Divine. Metropolitical visitations. Dr. Aubrey Vicar General. The Archbishop's submission and declaration. His sequestration taken off. His letter to Bishop Whitgift, to decide a controversy, wherein the Bishop of Litchfield was concerned. Dr. Beacon, of St John's college, commended.

LETTERS again came to the Archbishop, in April 1582, Anno 1582. against recusants, who still required more looking after. And as their inconformity had been the last year certified by our Archbishop and all the Bishops, for their respective dioceses; so now it was required of them to certify the place of their residences, in order to their imprisonment in the King's Bench the next Easter, according to the late law. The letter from the Council to our Archbishop ran in this tenor:

“After our hearty commendations to your Lordship. The Council
“Whereas the Queen's Majesty is given to understand, to the Archbishop for
“that notwithstanding many favourable means heretofore the purpose.

BOOK “ used for the reducing and retaining her Highness’s sub-
II. “ jects in their due obedience to the same, hath hitherto

Anno 1582. “ very little prevailed, but that divers remain still obstinate,
 “ refusing to come to the church, and conform themselves
 “ in matters of religion, according to her Majesty’s [laws:]
 “ albeit we doubt not but that according to our former let-
 “ ters you have made true and perfect certificate of all such
 “ persons within your diocese unto the Justices, &c. and
 “ that they have thereupon caused them to be proceeded
 “ with according to law: yet to the intent we may particu-
 “ larly understand how things have passed both in your
 “ diocese and elsewhere, we have, for certain good consider-
 “ ations, thought meet to require you, as we have done the
 “ like to the rest of the Bishops, to cause in every parish
 “ within your diocese a diligent search and inquiry to be
 “ made of all such persons, as sith the end of the last ses-
 “ sion of Parliament have forborne to come to the church;
 “ and having been thereof lawfully convicted, do neverthe-
 “ less not conform themselves as they ought to do: and
 “ thereupon to cause a certificate to be made in writing sub-
 “ scribed with your hands, and the hands of some of the
 “ Justices of the Peace of the shire, where every such of-
 “ fender hath his residence. To the intent the same may
 “ be, according to the meaning of the law, delivered over
 “ into the Court, commonly called the King’s Bench, in the
 “ next Easter term. Wherein we pray you to use all such
 “ expedition as you may: and to address the said certificates
 270 “ unto us first in some convenient time, before or at the
 “ beginning of the said term; to the intent that we may
 “ peruse and consider the same, as cause shall require. And
 “ so on her Majesty’s behalf willing and charging you, that
 “ hereof you make no defaults, we bid you right heartily
 “ farewell. From Greenwich, the 1st of April 1582.”

Whereupon the Archbishop sent his letters to the officers of his diocese, to have due consideration and regard to the Council’s said letters; to see them duly and speedily executed; and to use such care and diligence therein as the tenor of the said letter required.

Marmaduke Middleton, late Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, was December 6 confirmed Bishop of St. David's in England: who was the last Bishop made or confirmed in this most reverend Prelate's time. What a miserable preferment this Welch bishopric proved to this Irish Prelate, (who seemed to have been a grave and good man,) may be perceived by a letter which he wrote to Secretary Walsingham soon after his going down. For having anno 1583 visited his diocese, as well *in clero* as *in populo*, he signified to him, "that he found great wants in both. In the *Clergy* "very few sufficient men. Their benefices poor; and yet "many of them hardly obtained; as with money, or granted "for leases; and they not having the third penny. In the "*people* small Popery, but greatly infected, by want of "Preachers, with atheism, and wonderfully given over to "vicious life. In the confines between his diocese, Hereford "and Landaff, of late, divers obstinate Papists had shewed "themselves daily; converting the people daily in those "parts. For whose apprehension he had sundry times "written to men authorized for the peace, yet could they "not be taken, by reason they had knowledge thereof. "And he himself wanting authority might only wish well, "but could do small good. There were also divers in his "diocese that pretended to be Ministers, and had counterfeited divers Bishops seals, as Gloucester, Hereford, Landaff, and his predecessor's, being not called at all to the "Ministry. Who with divers others of great misdemeanors had been borne withal: some by the space of eight, "ten, twelve, and some fourteen years. And now being "touched made small account of his jurisdiction, but exclaimed upon his severity: practising not only to stir up "the ill-will of the people against him, but also the dislike "of his honourable friends. As for his own estate, he came "barely into the country, without Chancellor, or any other "assistance. And being a stranger, he was hardly entertained; especially in ministering of justice, where corruption had borne so long sway. All his lands, even to his "very doors, were in lease by his predecessor. All the spi-

CHAP.
XIII.

Anno 1582.

Bishop of
St. David's
confirmed.The sad
condition of
that diocese.
PaperOffice.

BOOK II. “ ritual livings, worth 10*l.* by the year, advowsoned. All

“ his houses, except one, down to the ground; and that one
 Anno 1582. “ in most extreme ruin. Himself in great debt both to the
 “ Queen’s Majesty and others. His livings in annual rents,
 “ (fees and patents deducted,) not above 150*l.* and he infe-
 “ rior in all authority to his predecessor, [who was of the
 “ Council in Wales, in the commission of the peace, and
 “ held the chancellorship in his own hands, and held three
 “ livings and a prebend *in commendam*.] So that neither
 271 “ could he live with credit, nor keep hospitality. Nor could
 “ he prefer learned men without *Quare impedit*, or dou-
 “ ble: which he was unable to defend: neither to govern
 “ the people, who little esteemed ecclesiastical jurisdiction;
 “ and already condemned him for his uprightness, where-
 “ with heretofore they had not been acquainted.” All this
 and more was the sorrowful complaint this new Bishop made
 of himself and his diocese.

A Scotch-
 man li-
 censed.

A licence to administer holy things throughout the pro-
 vince of Canterbury was granted by Dr. Aubrey (who now
 executed the office of Vicar General) to one John Morrison
 a Scotchman, who had received his Orders in Scotland, ac-
 cording to the way of ordaining Ministers in the reformed
 Church there. Which licence, because it was somewhat

Grind. Reg. unusual, I shall here set down—*Cum tu præfatus Johan-
 nes Morrison, &c.* In English thus: “ Since you the fore-
 “ said John Morrison about five years past, in the town of
 “ Garvet in the county of Lothian of the kingdom of Scot-
 “ land, were admitted and ordained to sacred Orders and
 “ the holy Ministry, by the imposition of hands, according
 “ to the laudable form and rite of the reformed Church of
 “ Scotland; and since the congregation of that county of
 “ Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith and sincere
 “ religion now received in this realm of England, and esta-
 “ blished by public authority: we therefore, as much as
 “ lies in us, and as by right we may, approving and ratify-
 “ ing the form of your ordination and preferment [*præfe-
 “ ctionis*] done in such manner aforesaid, grant to you a li-
 “ cence and faculty, with the consent and express command

“of the most reverend Father in Christ the Lord Ed-
 mund by the Divine providence Archbishop of Canter-
 bury, to us signified, that in such Orders by you taken,
 you may, and have power, in any convenient places in
 and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to
 celebrate divine offices, to minister the Sacraments, &c.
 as much as in us lies, and we may *de jure*, and as far as
 the laws of the kingdom do allow, &c.” This was granted
 April 6. The exact copy whereof I have transcribed in the
 Appendix.

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XIII.

Anno 1582.

No. XVII.

The commissions that were issued out this year for visit-
 ing of the suffragan dioceses *jure metropolitico*, were as fol-
 low. There went forth a commission to visit the diocese of
 Norwich from Aubrey and Clerk: which two acted, as was
 said before, in all archiepiscopal matters and concerns; and
 the instruments ran only, *Tempore reverendi Patris D.*
Edmundi Grindal. This visitation was begun in the year
 1579.

The visita-
tion metro-
political.

Soon after in this year 1582, Aubrey had the sole juris-
 diction and office of Vicar General; the writs and instru-
 ments from this time running all along in his name, and no
 name of Clark henceforward mentioned.

Aubrey Vi-
car General.

Which makes me apt to think, that from henceforth our
 Archbishop had his sequestration taken off, and was re-
 stored to the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And
 I meet with a submission by him made without mention of
 the month or year; which being well taken of the Queen
 might occasion the taking off his suspension: and therefore
 perhaps this may be the proper place for it. After which
 submission, the Lords of the Council signified to him the
 reason of the Queen's displeasure that had been conceived
 against him. Upon which the Archbishop made this fol-
 lowing further confession and declaration of himself:

The Bi-
shop's sub-
mission and
declaration
of his do-
ings.

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“That being advertised of the cause of her Majesty's
 offence, as was set down by the Lords of the Council,
 and of her gracious inclination towards him upon his
 humble submission, doth confess that he is most heartily
 sorry that her Majesty hath been offended with him, as a

BOOK "matter more grievous to him than any worldly calamity.
II. "And though he refused to execute her Majesty's com-

Anno 1589. "mandment by reason of scruple of conscience, which
"moved him to think, that the exercises might have been
"in some points reformed, and so continued: and under-
"standing that her Majesty therein did use the advice and
"allowance of certain Bishops, his brethren, who by likeli-
"hood certified, that they in their own dioceses found the
"same more hurtful than profitable: in and for that he is
"persuaded that her Majesty had herein a sincere and
"godly meaning to the quietness of her people; and that
"also her commandment was not against positive law or
"constitution of the realm; he cannot but think and speak
"honourably and dutifully of her Majesty's doings, as of
"a godly Prince, meaning well of the Church and her
"people in this her Majesty's direction and commandment.
"And as he is most heartily sorry, that he hath incurred
"her Majesty's grievous offence for not observing that her
"commandment, so doth he most humbly and lowly be-
"seech her Highness not to impute the same to any obsti-
"nate intent, meaning to disobey her Majesty; but only
"that he was then moved in conscience to be an humble
"suitor to her Majesty to be spared from being the special
"instrument in suppressing the said exercises. And to the
"intent her Majesty may think that he meant no disobe-
"dience in any maintenance of them to continue contrary
"to her commandment, he doth pray her Majesty to be
"truly informed, how he himself did in his own bishopric,
"and other peculiar jurisdictions, suffer no such exercises to
"be used after the time of her Majesty's said command-
"ment."

The Church
of Litch-
field and
Coventry
visited.

January 20. a commission was issued out from Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, in his own name, to visit the city and diocese of Litchfield, being in a disturbance, directed to Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester; Will. Aubrey, LL.D. the Archbishop's Vicar General; Richard Cosin, LL. D. and — Griffith, Preacher of God's word.

The commission ran in these words, *Nos pro eo quo fun-*

gimur in universa nostra provincia munere, et illustrissimorum consiliariorum literis adducti et excitati. An inhibition to the Bishop of Coventry was likewise issued out from the Archbishop himself, February 18. To the chief of these Commissioners, viz. Bishop Whitgift, the Archbishop now wrote letters, to direct him in the deciding a great debate between two civilians, Beacon and Babington, contending for the chancellorship of that diocese, which controversy, it seems, came before the Council; and they referred it to the Archbishop. Whose letter was as followeth:

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XIII.

Anno 1582.

"After my very hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Where by order from the Lords and others of the Queen's Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, I sent to your Lordship a commission [to visit] the Dean and Chapter of Litchfield, being then in hope that their Lordships and I should be able, without your Lordship's trouble, to order and compound the controversy between my Lord of Coventry and Litchfield, and Beacon and Babington, for the office of Chancellor within that diocese: but now having travailed with my Lord Bishop to yield his conformity and consent, that Beacon and Babington together, according to a joint commission of his own granting, might quietly exercise the jurisdiction, until the right and validity of that patent might be tried by order of law, as my Chancellor and Dr. Hammond, after deliberate hearing of the cause, did also think reasonable, (as by the copy of their order here enclosed may appear to your Lordship,) and being no way able to win his Lordship to suffer that order to take place, whereof the Lords of the Council and I like well, I am forced to execute it by my own authority, which I could not so conveniently do any way, to void appeal and other impediments, as by a visitation. The burden whereof, partly by direction of the Lords of the Council, I make bold to lay upon your Lordship. Not meaning notwithstanding to trouble you and the rest to travail any further than to Litchfield itself; and there, only while you are in visiting of the cathedral church, to call

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The Archbishop to Bishop Whitgift about the visitation.

Beacon and Babington's contention.

BOOK II. " my Lord Bishop and those two competitors of the office
 Anno 1582. " before you; and by your Lordship's wisdom to com-
 " pound the controversy quietly, if you can: and if your
 " Lordship cannot, then to take the pains to examine the
 " matter; and to certify at your convenient opportunity
 " in whom you shall think the fault to be, and to prorogue
 " the visitation of the diocese until the last of June; and
 " the other for the church, as your Lordship shall think
 " convenient.

" And for your Lordship's better information, I have
 " sent you sealed in a packet herewith, all such writings as
 " were exhibited unto me by my Lord Bishop and both
 " the competitors; to the end that your Lordship, if the ne-
 " cessity of the case shall so require, may frame articles for
 " the examination of all whom the controversy doth con-
 " cern. I have likewise sent to your Lordship a commis-
 " sion, in your Lordship's name, to Beacon and Babington,
 " to exercise the jurisdiction for the government of the dio-
 " ceses, *pendente visitatione*, being conformable to the or-
 " der; with a determination notwithstanding, that your
 " Lordship shall alter or revoke the same commission upon
 " any cause, making me privy thereof by your Lordship's
 " letter.

" And for that this only controversy is the cause of this
 " visitation, I do mean that it shall be merely charitable,
 " and not to burden the Clergy of any procurations as yet;
 " and withal not to trouble your Lordship much longer
 " about this matter there, than you shall be occasioned
 " otherwise to tarry for the speeding of the visitation of the
 " church: yet your Lordship may direct these competitors
 " to attend upon your Lordship elsewhere, if you think
 274 " good, and find occasion for the appeasing of the contro-
 " versy, and which is so offensive in the opinion of the
 " Lords of the Council and mine; and so scandalous to all
 " parties whom it concerneth, and so prejudicial and hurt-
 " ful to the quietness of the diocese, that I trust your
 " Lordship will take pains to end it: and if you cannot so
 " do, yet until it may be otherwise done, to have care of

“ the government of the diocese, in effect yours, during
 “ this commission. And thus laying many burdens upon
 “ your Lordship, I commit the same to the grace and pro-
 “ tection of the Almighty. From Lambeth this — day
 “ of February 1582.”

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Anno 1582.

I set down the letter of this ancient and pious Prelate thus at large, being now one of his last actions in his public administration, approaching near the conclusion of his holy and exemplary life. In which letter may be observed his great care and diligence in looking after matters relating to the Church, his concern for offences and scandals, his labour for peace, his justice and integrity, his tenderness of putting the inferior Clergy to charges, and withal his accuracy in business notwithstanding his age.

Remarks
upon his
former letter.

There was soon after, according to our Archbishop's grave direction and advice, an instrument of the substitution of Beacon and Babington, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the city and diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, made to them by the abovenamed Commissioners, viz. the Bishop of Wigorn, Dr. Aubrey, Dr. Cosin, and Mr. Griffith. But notwithstanding this determination, the two that contested could not be brought to agreement, till more pains was taken with them by the Bishop of Worcester, as we shall see.

And in truth, great reason there was, that the Archbishop should be so much concerned in deciding and pacifying this quarrel, both as it was brought into his Court, as also because it grew into such sharp and unbecoming prosecution, to the breach of Christian charity. Dr. Beacon was a learned man, and perhaps had the best right; but the Bishop inclined to confer his interest on Babington, and so did a person not so well qualified; and in the judgment of Whitgift, one of the visitors, not sufficient for the place. And Beacon, partly in anger to the Bishop, and partly in zeal to carry his cause, sued the Bishop in the Star-chamber, in the Chancery, at the Council Table, and before the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Common Pleas, and at assizes and sessions in the country, yea, and

The contention between Beacon and the Bishop of Litchfield.

BOOK II. in his own consistory; and brought action upon action against him almost for every thing he did, and every word he spake, as the Bishop himself complained to the Lord Treasurer, about this very time that the Archbishop sent the above specified letter to the Bishop of Worcester, to proceed in the method mentioned, to put some end to this unhappy controversy.

Beacon's character.

Both the Bishop of Litchfield and Dr. Beacon were to be blamed; but take Beacon of himself, he was a learned and well-deserving man. He was Fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge, and wished well to the study of divinity, and the prosperous estate of learning and the Universities. And for one thing relating thereto he deserves to be men-

275 tioned with honour. About the year 1587, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, who was also High Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, he took the freedom to put him in mind of a singular piece of grace and favour that had been some years past granted by the Queen to the University, by his Lordship's means. And this remained in the records of Cambridge. It was, that she would herself have the names of all them that were learned, and students in divinity, sent to her; and from thence would take out persons from time to time, to supply the vacant benefices in her dispose and patronage. This she communicated to the University by their Chancellor; and it had this effect, that it revived the scholars then under great discouragements, and made every one fall to the study of divinity, in hopes of partaking in due time of the Queen's said favours. But this was hardly ever begun to be put in execution, or soon intermitted, as the said Beacon honestly signified to the Chancellor. He urged also to him the general complaints in those days, for want of sufficient instruction of the people in divers counties, of sharing of ecclesiastical livings between corrupt patrons, ordinaries, and hirelings; and of suffering many godly preachers in both Universities to remain less profitable to the Church, and less comfortable to themselves, and to the no less discouragement of the younger students. He therefore, in the name of all, made

His good letter to the Chancellor of Cambridge.

humble suit to him, being Chancellor of Cambridge, or rather to both Chancellors, that the said order of the Queen might be hereafter more religiously observed. And that every second or third year either University should be ordered to send up the names of their learned and well-disposed students in divinity, ripe and willing to be sent into the Lord's harvest; and those names to remain with the principal Secretaries, or Clerk of the Signet, and the Lord Chancellor, as faithful remembrancers of her Majesty's zeal and disposition for their timely preferments. And then he shewed what an influence this would have upon the Queen's subjects for imitation; and how it should revive the dulled and discouraged spirits of the University students; who, after their bodies and strength wearied and spent with study, might have some certain hope of seasonable employment, for the good of the Church, and their own profit and maintenance. But because this is but a digression, I leave the reader to peruse this good motion of Beacon, in his letter placed in the Appendix; and so I go on with our business.

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Nº. XVII.

When the visitation of the church of Litchfield was despatched, the same Commissioners had order from the Archbishop to visit the diocese also: which was done the spring and summer of the next year; and by this time the two contending parties about the chancellorship were brought in effect to agreement. But in June, for some considerations, it was thought fit to send to prorogue the said visitation to the last of June, a letter coming to the visitors from the Archbishop's Vicar General, dated June the 13th, so to do; it being his Grace's pleasure in that behalf. Which proved very unseasonable, as well because the Bishop of the diocese was by this means still kept from inspecting and taking care of his own diocese, and also because divers things in a good way of readiness were now to be let alone. Whereupon Whitgift sent this letter to the said Vicar General Aubrey, shewing the inconvenience of it, and to move his Grace therein.

The diocese
of Litch-
field visited.

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BOOK II. " *Sal. in Christo*. I have received your letter for the
 Anno 1582. " prorogation of the visitation of the diocese of Litchfield,
 Bishop " and have taken order accordingly. But I could have
 Whitgift to " wished it otherwise. Dr. Beacon and Mr. Babington are
 Dr. Aubrey " agreed; and so is my Lord the Bishop and Dr. Beacon.
 about the " This may be a means to set them at variance again.
 prorogation " Moreover the diocese in sundry parts is out of frame;
 of the visit- " and the Bishop allegeth the cause to be this visitation,
 ation. " and the restraint of his jurisdiction. You know that we
 " cannot deal therein, being out of that diocese; and yet
 " the fault of all is laid in us. As for Mr. Babington, I do
 " not think him a man sufficient for that government. And
 " therefore I pray you move my Lord's Grace to be con-
 " tent to suffer the visitation to cease; that the Bishop
 " may have his jurisdiction, and reform the defects of his
 " own diocese: that he have no cause to excuse himself by
 " us, and to lay the burden upon our necks, who have no
 " thing to do therewith, the commission being but *pro*
 " *forma*, as you know, and to reduce the Bishop to that
 " conformity, which now he hath, as I think, consented
 " unto, [*i. e.* in the controversy for the chancellorship, the
 " Bishop standing for one party.] And so with my hearty
 " commendations, I bid you farewell. From Grimley, the
 " 23d of June 1582, [1583.]

" Yours assuredly,

" Jo. Wigorn."

Which letter had this effect, that the Archbishop soon after sent an instrument, dated June the 27th, called *Relaxatio Jurisdictionis Episcopi Coventrien. et Litchf.* By virtue whereof he restored to the Bishop the exercise of his jurisdiction and authority in his diocese. The doing of which, I suppose, the Archbishop hastened, feeling his approaching departure, dying within nine days after.

CHAP. XIV.

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The Archbishop blind. Desires to resign. The Queen grants it. His care of a contribution for Geneva. Their case signified from the English Ambassador at Paris. Letters of the Council and Archbishop to the Bishops in their behalf. The Archbishop founds a free-school in St. Bees. His petitions to the Queen. His pension for his life.

IT was some time before this, that the good Archbishop Anno 1582. became blind, yet not without some hope of the recovery of his sight; but now in the latter end of this year 1582 all hope thereof seemed to vanish. This made him very willing to lay aside the charge of his bishopric; and as he had formerly desired the Queen to discharge him of his great and weighty office in the Church, which she would not then do; so now in January, she sent Piers, Bishop of Sarum, her Almoner, to him, to signify that it was her pleasure that he should resign, and thereby enjoy her Majesty's favour, and that he should have an honourable pension assigned him. And finding him not well able to manage his high function, she soon after signified the same by the Lord Treasurer.

As soon as he understood this, he first signified to the said Lord certain causes that had detained him from offering again a resignation: as, "that he had before entertained some hope of recovering his sight, as some others in like case had done: also, the good hope he conceived, by divers good likelihoods, of recovering her Majesty's gracious favour; by which, being obtained, he trusted to discharge the duty of a Bishop as well as some others: he had also founded a school in the north where he was born; which for lack of a mortmain was not yet finished: divers suits also were commenced to the overthrow of certain leases granted unto some of his servants, being the only reward of their long service: wherein his little

The Archbishop blind.

The Queen sends to him to resign.

The Archbishop's answer to this message.

BOOK " authority," he said, " as long as he remained Archbi-
II. " shop, might somewhat help to the maintenance of their

Anno 1582. " right: a multitude of his other servants were not yet
" provided for: his opinion, that her Majesty desired not
" his resignation, which he had before in time of his better
" health offered: and that some other also, as unable to
" serve as he, had offered the like, which she, as he had
" been informed, would not admit. These were the con-
" siderations which hitherto had stayed him from offering
" of this resignation of his place. But now, knowing her
" Majesty's mind, he would do it with all his heart; and
" would prepare himself accordingly to satisfy her pleasure,
" hoping for her favour, which he esteemed above all
" worldly things: trusting yet, and humbly praying, that
" by his Lordship's means she would permit and tolerate
" him to continue in place till a little after Michaelmas
" next, when the audit of the see was kept for the whole
" year; that he might see some end of his said suits, the
" finishing of his school, and the multitude of his poor ser-
278 " vants provided for; meaning in the mean time, both by
" his officers and himself, by God's grace, to have a vigi-
" lant care for the good government and well ordering of
" his cure. In which time he should also be more able to
" make a perfect account of all things, to the satisfaction of
" his successor. And after that time he would be most
" ready, with all humble thanks to her Majesty, to resign
" his place unto her Highness's disposition. Which favour
" he wished to obtain by the interest of him, the Lord
" Treasurer." This he wrote from Lambeth, January 30,
1582, and subscribed his hand after that manner, that one
may conclude it to be done by one that had not the use of
his eyes.

His care about a contribution for Geneva.

In the midst of these his concerns and afflictions, a matter came before him, wherein he shewed his earnest care and charitable heart. In the year 1581, the Duke of Savoy, by the Pope, and other Popish setters on, and by his own ambition accompanying, laboured to obtain the city and dominion of Geneva, famous for its religion, and a

great nurse of pious men, and harbourer of exiles for religion: and which had been taken, had it not been prevented by the seasonable aid of some of their neighbours, the Helvetians. Their condition by this time was reduced very low: and a gentleman was sent from them hither into England, to obtain contribution for them in this their necessity.

CHAP.
XIV.

Anno 1582.

But first he repaired to Brook, the Queen's Ambassador resident at Paris, and brought with him letters from the Syndics of Geneva to the said Ambassador, for the more effectual recommendation of him and his message into England. Whereupon the Ambassador wrote this letter, October 25, to Sir Francis Walsingham the Secretary, giving him certain intelligences relating to the present case of Geneva; and how not only Christian compassion, but care of ourselves, might induce us to assist and help that poor afflicted state.

The Queen's
Ambassador
at Paris
writes to
Secretary
Walsingham
about
it.

" Having received, right honourable Sir, a letter from the Syndics and Counsellors of the town of Geneva by the hands of Monsieur Mallet, I thought it my duty to let you understand thereof, enclosing herewith the copy of the said letter; to the intent the contents thereof may be known unto your Honour. The said Monsieur Mallet is sent from the citizens of Geneva towards her Majesty, for to declare what hath passed this year during their late troubles, with petition for some relief towards the sustaining of their charges, which hath been much above their power and small ability.

Ex Epist.
D. Fra.
Walsingham;
penes
me.

" They have, and shall have, the more need of her Majesty's bounty, in respect that the Duke of Savoy, though he entertaineth a treaty to compound the war, yet he continueth sundry secret preparations towards the annoyance of those of Geneva at the next spring. Through the which subtle dealing of the Duke of Savoy they are constrained to continue wages unto men of war; as likewise with much cost to fortify their town. It is, I suppose, sufficiently known unto her Majesty, the Duke of Savoy

BOOK " hath not enterprised this action against them of Geneva,
II. " as one moved thereunto only for his own pretences, but

Anno 1582. " rather persuaded and provoked through the malice of
" the Pope and his associates, confederate against those of
279 " the religion reformed. So as though they of Geneva bear
" yet the brunt, the action is intended and bent against all
" princes, estates, and others professing the religion. Which
" being so understood and known, I beseech you then, Sir,
" their case of Geneva may be in such earnest sort recom-
" mended unto her Majesty, as she may be thereby justly
" moved to do for them, as for members of Christ's Church
" injured and oppressed. Whereby herewith she may re-
" press, and keep far from her the same malice pretended
" in like manner against her Majesty and her estate.
" Through the which good deeds, and the benevolence
" which she shall vouchsafe to bestow on them of Geneva,
" I trust her Highness is to obtain at God's hand much
" grace and mighty defence against her enemies, with his
" peaceable continuance of her happy reign. Which God
" send. Beseeching you, Sir, that you will move her Ma-
" jesty so happily herein, as that piety shall more persuade
" to advance this cause, than the opinion of frugality may
" hinder such a godly, politic, Christian deed. Where-
" with, Sir, I betake you into the hands of the Almighty,
" who assist you in this, and in all other your affairs. From
" Paris, October 25, 1582.

" Your Honour's humbly to command.

" I beseech you, that herewith it may be remembered,
" how if the Duke of Savoy do proceed unto the marriage
" of the Duke of Florence's daughter, as they say, that
" then he is not only to be thereby much strengthened
" in Italy through the same alliance; but is like to be
" aided with the entire favour of the Pope and King of
" Spain: the rather, because this marriage is understood to
" be procured at the instance of the Spanish King and
" Pope. And moreover it is to be considered, how the
" Duke of Savoy shall be enriched with the dowry of two

“ millions in gold. The which sums are to be employed in
 “ bank. Whereby the yearly revenue of the Duke of Sa-
 “ voy will be increased unto the sum of 200,000 crowns.”

CHAP.
XIV.

Anno 1582.

And no doubt Secretary Walsingham promoted this af-
 fair, for which so great reasons were alleged. In fine, it
 was heartily espoused by the Queen and her Council. And
 in January letters were written from the Council to all the
 Bishops, to promote a liberal charity upon this occasion,
 through their several dioceses: shewing at large the pre-
 sent low and afflicted condition of Geneva. By the Coun-
 cil's special order the gentleman, the agent, was also con-
 ducted by Piers the Queen's Almoner, Bishop of Salisbury,
 and Cary the Dean of Windsor, to the Archbishop, to
 whom he was particularly recommended by that state:
 that by his advice a course might be resolved upon, the fit-
 test and most convenient to be taken. The Council also
 advised him, to request the Bishop of London and the
 Dean of St. Paul's, to join with them and the other in this
 so needful a service for the Church. And so prayed them
 all to make them [*i. e.* the Council] privy to their intent
 and proceedings. And here I think it well worthy to set
 down the Council's letter to the Bishops.

The Queen
recom-
mends the
case of Ge-
neva to the
Bishops.

“ After our hearty commendations unto your good
 “ Lordship. Whereas through the manifold and danger-
 “ ous practices intended by the Pope, and certain other
 “ Princes his confederates, the last year against the town of
 “ Geneva; a matter publicly known, the young Duke of
 “ Savoy being made an instrument therein, (as by whose
 “ pretensions to some kind of an ancient title to that
 “ *seigneurie*, their counsels might be best disguised,) the
 “ said Duke having for certain months, with a good power,
 “ most straitly besieged it; and standing in great likeli-
 “ hood to have taken it, had not the Bernates and the can-
 “ tons of Switzerland, confederates of that town, entered
 “ into an association for their defence: the said town of
 “ Geneva is now by this means brought into great extre-

The Coun-
cil's letter
in behalf
of Geneva.
Grind. Reg.

BOOK " mity and need of relief, the most part of their revenues
II. " being, as we are credibly informed, well near wasted in

Anno 1589. " maintaining of soldiers for their better defence: and the
" magistrates thereof, being forewarned sundry ways, that
" the fire is not altogether quenched, but that the next
" spring it is meant that new attempts shall be made by
" force against them, have of late sent a gentleman with
" letters to her Majesty, to acquaint her Highness with
" this hard state they stand in; and for their better support
" to require a loan of some competent sum of money for
" their aid: forasmuch as the occasions her Majesty hath of
" employment of great sums of money are many and
" weighty, beside the chargeable war of Ireland, moved
" also by the Pope and his adherents, by reason whereof
" her Highness hath not at this present such opportunity
" to relieve them as their necessity requireth, and as other-
" wise she would, if time might thereto serve:

" We have therefore thought good, for the care we have
" of an action of so good importance, and as we persuade
" ourselves your Lordship also hath, that that poor town
" may in some sort taste of the Christian charity that ought
" to be in us, to recommend their case unto you, and
" heartily to pray you, as in a matter that especially touch-
" eth all of your quality, both in conscience and calling, by
" way of Christian persuasion to move the wealthier sort of
" the Clergy, and other godly-affectioned within your
" diocese, to contribute some part of that blessing that God
" hath bestowed upon them, towards the relief of that poor,
" afflicted town: which in some part may seem to have de-
" served the fruits of Christian compassion, by former cour-
" tesies and favours shewed to sundry her Majesty's sub-
" jects in the time of the late persecution in Queen Mary's
" time. Wherein as they shall render charity for charity,
" and give good demonstration to the world, that in their
" wealth and peace they are not careless of the afflictions of
" Joseph; agreeable with the Apostle's doctrine, *Memores*
" *estote afflictorum, quia fuistis afflicti*: so shall you give
" us cause to think, that you not only care, as in Christian

"compassion you are bound, to relieve the present distress
 "of that poor town, which through God's goodness hath
 "served in this latter age for a nursery unto God's Church, CHAP. XIV.
 "but also to satisfy this our request; to the end we may Anno 1582.
 "continue that good opinion we have of your Lordship, as
 "in the maintenance and conservation of true religion, as 281
 "appertaineth to one of your calling. And so praying
 "your Lordship for your better direction in this collection
 "to follow such order as shall be prescribed unto you by
 "our very good Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to
 "whom we have especially recommended the care hereof
 "within his province; not doubting but he will carefully
 "and circumspectly direct you, how to advance this cha-
 "ritable relief, and that without any open occasion of
 "grudge or offence, we bid your Lordship right heartily
 "farewell. From the Court at Windsor the day of
 "January, 1582.

"Your Lordship's very loving friends,

"T. Bromely, Canc. W. Burghley, E. Lincoln,

"R. Leicester, H. Hunsdon, Jam. Crofts,

"Chr. Hatton, Fra. Walsingham."

Upon this our Archbishop in the said month of January,
 though it were in the midst of his troubles, wrote this large
 and effectual letter to all the Bishops of his province; and
 likewise to his Dean of Canterbury, his Archdeacon, and
 Dr. Lake's Commissary there: likewise to the Deans of
 every cathedral church and the guardians of the spiritualties
 in the sees vacant, viz. Ely, Bath and Wells, Chichester, and
 Oxford; exciting them to further the good work, and
 directing them in what method to proceed. The tenor
 whereof was as follows:

"Sal. in Christo. I have sent to you enclosed herein, a His letter
to the Bi-
shops for
Geneva.
Grind. Re-
gist.
 "letter from my Lords and others of her Majesty's most
 "honourable Privy Council, in the favour and for the
 "relief of the city of Geneva. Which city of late hath
 "been sore distressed by wars, and brought to very low
 "state, as more at large may appear by my said Lords'

BOOK II. " letters. Wherein their Lordships have laid down most

Anno 1582. " godly and effectually many weighty reasons, drawn out
 " of Christian charity, and the word of God, sufficient to
 " move and persuade all men to have pitiful and charitable
 " consideration of the miserable state of that poor town,
 " that hath been many years a safe refuge and haven for
 " such as have been constrained for profession of the truth
 " to fly from all places of the world. And although the
 " same reasons and exhortations in their Lordships' letters
 " are so deeply and so fully delivered, that neither I can
 " or need to add any thing thereunto; yet considering that
 " under her Majesty and their Lordships of her most
 " honourable Privy Council, the immediate charge of the
 " province doth appertain to me, and especially of the
 " Clergy, and that the consideration of this pitiful relief,
 " tending to the defence of so notable and sincere a Church,
 " dangerously sought, and distressed by many mighty
 " enemies, in truth, common to all such as love and tender
 " the maintenance of the Gospel, doth more peculiarly and
 " nearly touch and concern us of the state of the Church:
 " I think it my part and bounden duty to recommend the
 " furtherance of so good a cause to your Lordship, and
 " to do as much as in me lieth to increase your care here-
 " in.

282 " And therefore most earnestly to pray and exhort your
 " Lordship to employ all your travail and study towards the
 " effectual and speedy execution of my said Lords their
 " honourable and godly meanings. So as when returns
 " shall be made to their Honours and me of your proceed-
 " ings in this cause, your godly faithfulness, diligence, and
 " zeal therein, (besides the reward that you may assuredly
 " look for at God's hand,) may also receive at their Lord-
 " ship's hand good testimony and commendation.

" The particular means and manner of the accomplish-
 " ment of this piece of good service to God and his Church,
 " are to be referred to your Lordship's own wisdom and di-
 " rection, with remembrance of the cause well touched in
 " their Lordships' letters; that all things be done with as

“much secrecy, and with as little discontentment as may
“stand with the nature of such a matter. In my opinion
“it shall not be inconvenient for your Lordship before you
“assemble the Clergy, to call unto you the Dean of the
“cathedral church, and some well inclined persons of the
“chapter of the same church, with some other of the better
“sort of the Clergy in the diocese well affected, and im-
“parting to them the contents of the Lords’ letters, to con-
“sult and deliberate with them in what manner, and in
“what places and times the rest of the Clergy is to be
“assembled together for this purpose; and whether all in
“one day, as it were in general synod; or one deanery at a
“time; which is in my opinion more convenient and easy.
“And in this conference it is fit, that your Lordship, with
“their advice, shall make in writing a catalogue of all such
“of the Clergy, that are known of any sort to be of any
“ability, and meet to contribute; and to call together all
“such, and to use unto them, by yourself, or by some other
“sufficient person to be appointed by you, such exhortation
“and persuasion as shall seem to you agreeable to the mat-
“ter and nature of the assembly, excluding all others
“from the place. And in this first conference you shall
“do well, with the advice of the Dean and others, to make
“choice of two or four gentlemen of the laity of best call-
“ing and affection within the diocese, and to communicate
“to them their Lordships’ said letters; and to treat with
“them both for their own relief, and also to give their good
“advices, with whom of the laity it shall be fit to deal;
“and to entreat them, to be contented to be used as instru-
“ments to further this good deed; and to receive them-
“selves, or with you, a benevolence of such as shall be dis-
“posed. And to the end that your Lordship may the
“better direct the course of this service for yourself and
“others of the Clergy, I have made a schedule herein
“enclosed in what portion myself, and my very good Lords
“and friends, the Bishops of London and Sarum, and the
“Deans of Paul’s and Windsor, to whom it pleased the
“Lords to commit the consideration of this cause, have

CHAP.
XIV.

Anno 1582.

BOOK II. "generally given: wishing that this rate and portion may
 Anno 1582. "be followed, as nigh as may be, by your good inducement
 "and persuasion, according to the calling and ability of
 "every man: heartily and earnestly praying and requiring
 "your Lordship not to fail to cause to be delivered to their
 283 "Lordships before Easter next a full certificate of this col-
 "lection; sending there enclosed one schedule or catalogue,
 "containing the names of the Clergy with such sums
 "noted upon the names, what every man shall give to this
 "relief: and another, containing the names of them of the
 "laity that shall contribute in like manner, together with
 "the whole sum of money contained in both. Thus
 "referring the rest to your further care and good consi-
 "deration, I commit you to the grace and tuition of the
 "Almighty. From Lambeth the day of January, anno
 "Dom. 1582."

His own
contribution.

What all the collections were, I know not, nor is it need-
 ful here to set down: but that which was prescribed and
 given by the Archbishop himself, and the rest appointed
 by the Council to meet together for the managery of this
 business, was as followeth. The Archbishop 100 mark,
 the Bishop of London 50 mark, the Bishop of Sarum 50
 mark, the Deans of St. Paul's and Windsor 20 mark apiece.
 It was to be feared the inferior Clergy were not over boun-
 tiful, especially in the distant sees. I have seen the account
 the Bishop of St. David's gave of his Clergy and Laity in a
 PaperOffice. letter to Secretary Walsingham: which was, "that con-
 "cerning the collection for Geneva, he had dealt with some
 "of the best of his diocese, whom he found not greatly
 "willing, because it was in another country. And as for
 "his Clergy, they alleged poverty." Which perhaps was
 not an excuse, but a real truth, by reason of the horrible
 corruption of patrons in those parts, whereby the incumbents
 scarce enjoyed the third part of their livings.

The Arch-
bishop pro-
vides a
settlement
for his free-
school at St.
Begh's.

The Archbishop's most charitable and useful foundation
 of the free-school at St. Begh's, his own native town, was
 not yet fully settled. He wanted the Queen's licence of
 mortmain for it. Therefore he had before this time pre-

ferred an humble petition to the Queen to this purport, CHAP.
that she would vouchsafe to erect a free grammar school at XIV.
St. Begh's in the county of Cumberland: and that provision Anno 1592.
might be made for relief of certain poor scholars going out
of that school to Cambridge and Oxford. The Queen's
grant which he requested was to this effect, "That there
"shall be at St. Begh's a free grammar school for ever,
"which shall be called the free-school of Edmund Grindal,
"Archbishop of Canterbury, and shall be founded of one
"schoolmaster.

"That seven men are appointed to be governors of the The state
possessions and goods of that school: and that they and of the foun-
their successors shall be a corporation for ever *per nomen*, dation.
" &c. and shall have *perpetuam successionem*.

"That the Provosts of the Queen's college in Oxford,
"and the Parsons of Egremont in Cumberland, for the
"time being, shall be always of the number of the said
"governors. And when any of the rest of the governors
"die, the greater part then living shall elect new governors
"within six weeks. And upon default thereof the Bishop
"of Chester shall from time to time appoint new governors.

"That the Archbishop during his life may appoint the
"schoolmaster, and make statutes for the school.

"That after the Archbishop's death, the said Provosts 284
"of Queen's college may appoint the schoolmaster within
"two months after the place shall be void. And in the
"Provosts' default, the Master of Pembroke hall is to
"appoint such schoolmaster.

"*Item*, That after the Archbishop's death, the said
"Provosts of Queen's college, for the time being, with
"advice of the Bishop of Chester, may make statutes for
"the school: so as they be not contrary to the Archbishop's
"statutes.

"That the governors have licence to take lands, and all
"men licence to give lands, to the maintenance of that
"school and scholars: so as the said lands be not holden of
"the Prince *in capite*, or *by Knight service*: and that the
"same exceed not the yearly value of ——. And that

BOOK “the profits of the same lands shall be employed to the
II. “maintenance of the said school and scholars; and not

Anno 1582. “otherwise.”

The draught of this lay still before the Queen, remaining Jan. 30, unsigned. Which, among the rest of the Archbishop's present troubles, created him some uneasiness; and was one reason that retarded him from resigning, being desirous to get this first despatched.

The Queen
sends the
Archbishop
a new year's
gift.

He had conceived now and then good hopes of recovering her Majesty's favour, and that from divers likelihoods. One whereof seemed to be, that the last new year she sent him a new year's gift, a silver standing cup of fifty ounces. Which he by will afterwards bequeathed to his constant friend the Lord Treasurer Burghley. But now it appeared the Queen not only continued to require his resignation, but also thought not fit to grant him further time to resign, than the Annunciation next approaching. Which when he understood (though he had requested for sundry reasons to have held his place till Michaelmas) he humbly submitted unto her order. And withal thanked her, for that, of her gracious goodness, she had made mention, as he was informed, of an honourable portion to be assigned unto him for his sustentation, in those few and evil days, as he said, which he had yet to live. He also thanked the Lord Treasurer most heartily for his mediation and pains taken concerning the premises, praying him to continue his honourable favour towards him, till this matter came to a perfect end.

His peti-
tions to the
Queen.

First peti-
tion.

He had two petitions to make to the Queen. The one was, that she would grant him the house of Croyden, and some small grounds pertaining to the same, and of no great value, having not at that hour any house of his own to put his head in, after he should remove from Lambeth. This he signified to his friend, the Lord Treasurer; shewing him that in all resignations of Bishops, so far as he had read or heard, there had been always one house at the least pertaining to the see, assigned to the resigner, as partly might appear by a note which he sent him, taken out of the history

Num. XIX. of Matthew Paris. Which I have laid in the Appendix.

Croyden house, he said, was no wholesome house; and that both his predecessor and he found by experience: notwithstanding because of the nearness to London, whither he must often repair, or send to have some help by physic, he knew no house pertaining to the see so convenient for him; nor that might better be spared of his successor for the short time of his own life. The other petition was, that he might not be called to trouble after his resignation for dilapidations. From which, as he was informed by the learned in the laws, he was by law upon a resignation excused. Notwithstanding, although he did not distrust the equity of his successor, yet because he had been so much troubled with suits for dilapidations, he was fearful. And therefore prayed, that he might have some good assistance, if the case should so require. And in conclusion, he prayed his Lordship that hereafter he might more at length inform him of both these matters; and to further his petitions as opportunity served. This he wrote from Lambeth the 9th of February.

The assigning of the Archbishop's pension lay very much in the appointment of the Lord Treasurer. In order to which the Archbishop understood by Dr. Aubrey, that the said Treasurer was desirous to have some notes of the value of the archbishopric. Whereupon the last day of February but one, he sent the said Doctor and his own steward, to inform him of the estate of the same, and withal most instantly prayed him to be a means to her Majesty both for the proportioning of his pension; (wherein he doubted not her Majesty would have honourable consideration of his place, age, and infirmities;) and also to declare her pleasure for order, how the same might be answered unto him for the short time that he had to live: and as he, the Lord Treasurer, had been, next unto her Majesty, the principal procurer of all his preferments, which he would acknowledge while he lived with all thanksgiving; so he prayed him in this doing to be a means to bring him to some hope of quietness in a private life, being now by age, sickness, and infirmity, not able to sustain the travails which

CHAP.
XIV.

Anno 1592.

285

The second
petition.His pen-
sion.Applies to
the Lord
Treasurer
in order
thereunto.

BOOK appertained unto that great office. And by the grace of
 II. God he would not fail at the time heretofore appointed
 Anno 1582. to resign up his place in due form, for her Majesty's better
 satisfaction in that behalf.

The Treas-
 urer's mes-
 sage to the
 Queen for
 the Archbi-
 shop's re-
 signation.

Lady-day now drawing near, and the aged Archbishop willing to be eased of his burden, the Lord Treasurer sent this message to some person attending about the Queen, (it seems to have been the Secretary,) to inform her Majesty at his leisure, that the Archbishop was now ready at Lady-day, being the end of the half year allotted him, to resign his bishopric, to be conferred by her upon some other, to enter into actual government of the Church of England, which sustained, he said, great lack for present action. That he yielded himself to her Majesty's goodness to have some pension during his short life, which he [the Treasurer] wished to be great and honourable, although it should be to the successor burdenous for the present. But he that should have it must shape his garment with his cloth for the time. That he had seen into the value of the Archbishop's possessions, and found them to be about 2780*l.* per ann. according to the rate of the book of first-fruits. That he had also seen the particular books of the annual receipts; which grew somewhat, but not much, above: and if the then Archbishop
 286 might have 7 or 800*l.* a year pension, he thought his successor with good husbandry might make the rest to be 2000*l.* According to which he might compound for his first-fruits, and for no more. For some particular requests the present Archbishop made, (which the Lord Treasurer sent in a paper by itself,) he thought his successor might agree to; so as the value of the things demanded were parcel of the other pension.

CHAP. XV.

Moves for his resignation. Makes his last will. His bequests, and charitable gifts. His death. His monument and epitaph. The state of his school. His care of repairs. Dilapidations. His relations. His Chaplains and Officers.

BUT the going through with the resignation was not compassed by the 25th of March, according to the time the Queen allotted: for in April 1583, the Archbishop signified yet again to the Lord Treasurer, that he was ready to go through with the resignation of his place, as soon as it might please her Highness to appoint. I suppose she was not yet provided with one to put in his place, Whitgift Bishop of Worcester, if Fuller may be believed, resolving not to enter upon that see as long as Grindal was alive. Now did the Archbishop send Dr. Aubrey his officer to understand the Lord Treasurer's direction therein; praying him, that he would have favourable care of his pension, according to his continual wonted friendship towards him, and that his learned Counsel, at his Lordship's best opportunity and leisure, might have leave to attend upon him, and use such short conference, as his Lordship might well suffer, for the manner of the assurance thereof; which he wholly referred to his wisdom and consideration. And withal he sent a draught of his resignation by the said Dr. Aubrey, to whom he committed by mouth some order to understand his Lordship's pleasure in a point or two touching that matter. This message was from Lambeth, April 12, 1583.

The sum of his petitions were these four. First, To have the house at Croyden, which hath been lien at by his last predecessors. *Item*, To have the park at Croyden; wherein at his entry to this see, Sir Francis Carew, Kt. and one George Withers had several interests. For redemption

Anno 1583.

His resignation still in hand with.

His requests.

BOOK whereof the said Archbishop gave to them eighty-three
II. pounds, six shillings and eight pence; and did mind to

Anno 1583. leave the same after his death clear to his successor. *Item*,
To have a close called Stubbs, containing twenty acres, lying
near to the said house. *Item*, To have eighteen acres of
meadow lying at Norbury in Croyden.

289 The Archbishop all this while (though quick and unim-
paired in mind) was but in a bad condition of health, beside
the loss of his sight. Which indisposition partly prevented
the further transacting of this business, and bringing it to a
conclusion: so that he remained still in May Archbishop.

Makes his
last will. The eighth day of which month he made his last will and tes-
tament; wherein he styled himself *Archbishop of Canter-*
bury, whole in mind and of perfect remembrance. "There-
" in, as he bequeathed his soul into the hand of his heavenly
" Father, humbly beseeching him to receive the same into
" his gracious mercies for his Christ's sake, so he bequeathed
" his body to be buried in the choir of the parish church of
" Croyden without any solemn herse, or funeral pomp.
" Notwithstanding his meaning was, that if it pleased God
" to call him out of this transitory life, during the time
" that he should remain in the possession of the archbishop-
" ric of Canterbury, that the heralds should be reasonably
" compounded withal, and satisfied for their accustomed
" fees in such cases. And then the first bequest he made
" was, that having nothing worthy to be presented unto her
" Majesty, he humbly beseeched the same to accept at his
" hands, the New Testament of Jesus Christ in Greek,
" of Stevens' impression, as an argument of his dutiful and
" loving heart towards her Highness." This was a truly
royal present, not only in respect of the book itself, whose
author is the King of kings and Lord of lords, but in re-
gard of the print, being one of the finest and correctest
editions of the New Testament that ever was.

His be-
quests. The bequests of his will were of two sorts; such as were
MSS. penes for the uses of charity, and such as were intended as testi-
me. monies of his favour or respect. Which I will set down ac-

ording as I meet with them contracted and abbreviated from the will itself; to which are added, his charities otherwise granted.

CHAP.
XV.

Anno 1583.

*Given and appointed to be bestowed upon good uses by the
Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal, late
Archbishop of Canterbury before his death.*

Annual sums.

Imprimis, In yearly revenues for the maintenance of one free grammar school in St. Beghes in Cumberland, where he was born, 30*l. viz.*

To the schoolmaster 20*l.*

To a poor scholar to be usher there 3*l. 6s. 8d.*

And the rest to the reparations of the school, and to be laid up in a stock for the purchase of revenues from time to time, for the maintenance of poor scholars in the Universities, *viz.* 6*l. 13s. 4d.*

Item, In yearly revenues to Pembroke hall in Cambridge 22*l. viz.*

To the Reader of Greek 2*l.*

For the maintenance of one Fellow 10*l.*

To the maintenance of two Scholars 6*l. 13s. 4d.*

The residue to the use of the college 3*l. 6s. 8d.*

And the said Fellow and Scholars are to be chosen of 288 such as have been brought up in the said school.

Item, In yearly revenues to the Queen's college in Oxford, for the maintenance of one Fellow, and two Scholars, to be chosen out of the said school. Whereof, to the Fellow above the allowance of a fellowship in the college, yearly 20*s.*

To the two Scholars 6*l. 13s. 4d.*

The residue to the college, *viz.* 20*l.*

Sums not annual.

Item, For five pounds yearly to be purchased for the maintenance of one scholar in Magdalene college in Cambridge, to be chosen of such as come from the said school, 100*l.*

BOOK *Item*, For the building and furnishing of the said school
II. 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Anno 1588. *Item*, For the purchase of lands, or other profits, for the relief of the poor alms-houses in Croyden 50*l.*

Item, For reparations of the parish church there 5*l.*

Item, To Christ's college in Cambridge a standing cup, price 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Item, Given to divers of his servants, since his sickness above 330*l.*

Other legacies given by his will.

Imprimis, To her Majesty a Greek Testament.

Item, To his successor, certain pictures and implements.

Item, To the Lord Treasurer a standing cup of fifty ounces.

To the Bishop of Worcester a ring with a sapphire.

To Sir Francis Walsingham a standing cup of forty ounces.

To Mr. Newel, Dean of St. Paul's, a gelding.

To the petty Canons and inferior officers of the church of Canterbury 10*l.*

To Pembroke hall in Cambridge certain books, and a standing cup double gilt.

To the Queen's college in Oxford certain books, and a nest of bowls, and in money 50*l.*

To the city of Canterbury to set the poor on work 100*l.*

To the poor of Lambeth and Croyden 20*l.*

To the poor of St. Begh's 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

To the parish church of St. Begh's, a communion cup, and a great Bible.

To his servants unnamed, half a year's wages apiece : and all his household shall have their ordinary diet in his house for one month.

To divers of his kindred named, certain plate, horse, and householdstuff, and debts forgiven, and in money 450*l.*

To certain Chaplains named, one advowson apiece, and books.

To divers of his servants named, certain geldings, and wages, and in money and debts forgiven 209*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

To divers of his friends, in debts forgiven, &c. 98*l*.

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XV.

To one John Brown, Fellow of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, certain books, a gown cloth, and a hood, and a bed and furniture thereto, 10*l*. Anno 1583.

To Mr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, a horse. 289

To the said Mr. Redman, and to Mr. Scot, and Mr. Woodhal, if they take upon them the execution of his testament, 50*l*. apiece. And to such of them as shall refuse the execution 10*l*.

The residue is to be bestowed by the discretion of his executors, upon the poorest of his kinsfolk and servants, and upon poor scholars, and other good uses. The whole will may be perused by those that please, being placed in the Appendix.

Num. XX.

The executors he appointed for the performance of his will were William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, John Scot, Esq. steward of his house, and William Woodhal his nephew. And he prayed the Lord Treasurer, and Sir Francis Walsingham, to be his overseers. The executors.

It was not two months after he made his will, that the holy Archbishop concluded his life. For on the sixth of July (that very day thirty years, his first royal master, the good King Edward VI, deceased) he, spent with cares and labours, for the good of the Church, after a very exemplary and useful life, surrendered his soul to God. And so I find the day noted by a Minister of London in those times, in a journal which he kept; with this character of him subjoined, *vir pius, mitis, castus et bonus*; i. e. a pious, a mild, a chaste, and a good man: dying in his great climacteric year, viz. sixty-three. Dies.
MSS. D.
Johan. Ep.
Ellen.

July the 9th following, Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Scot, and Woodhal, Esquires, executors, as aforesaid, to the Archbishop, brought to Dr. Aubrey, Vicar General of the see, a little chest covered with black leather, bound about with iron, locked and sealed up, with the several seals of the Archbishop, viz. the archiepiscopal seal, and the seal of the faculties. Which said chest or casket had the said seals in it, sealed up before his death, and not opened sithence The seals broken.

BOOK II. his decease. But having not then the key, whereby they

Anno 1583.

might then have taken out the same seals, to be defaced and broken, (the key being at Lambeth, the said executors, by the consent of Dr. Aubrey, left the casket with Incent the Register, to be by him safely kept, till they should bring the key. The next day the key was brought, and the two seals taken out, and delivered to Dr. Lewen, Commissary of the Faculties; and then and there defaced, and broken asunder by one Robert Lewis, a graver of seals.

Buried.

He was buried, according to his desire, in the chancel of Croyden church. And on the south side of the communion table against the wall is his effigies in stone lying at length, raised a pretty height from the ground; his hands in the posture of praying: his eyes have a kind of white in the pupil to denote his blindness. A comely face; a long black beard somewhat forked, and somewhat curling, vested in his Doctor's robes. As the monument is large and fair, so the verses and inscriptions are not short. I shall give an account of them, and the rather, because they give an account of the man. In one part of the monument are these verses placed, as the character of him:

His monument and inscription.

290 *GRINDALLUS doctus, prudens, gravitate verendus,
Justus, munificus, sub cruce fortis erat.
Post crucis ærumnas Christi gregis Anglia fecit
Signiferum, Christus cœlica regna dedit.*

Beneath his effigies on one side are these verses read;

*Præsulis eximii ter postquam est auctus honore,
Pervigilique greges rexit moderamine sacro,
Confectum senio, durisque laboribus, ecce
Transtulit in placidam mors exoptata quietem.*

On the other side these;

*Mortua marmoreo conduntur membra sepulchro,
Sed meus sancta viget, fama perennis erit.
Nam studia et musæ, quas magnis censibus auxit,
GRINDALLI nomen tempus in omne ferent.*

The ⁴Επιγραφή, or inscription, is large and historical; and is as follows.

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XV.

Anno 1583.

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS

Cumbriensis, Theologiæ Doctor, eruditione, prudentia et gravitate clarus, constantia, justitia, et pietate insignis, civibus et peregrinis charus; ab exilio (quod Evangelii causa subiit) reversus ad summum dignitatis fastigium (quasi decursu honorum) sub R. Elizabetha eVectus, ecclesiam Londinen. primum, deinde Eborac. demum Cantuarien. rexit. Et cum hic nihil restaret, quo altius ascenderet, è corporis vinculis liber ac beatus ad cælum evolavit 6^o Julii, anno Dom. MDLXXXIII. atat. suæ LXIII. Hic, præter multa pietatis officia, quæ vivus præstitit, moribundus maximam bonorum suorum partem piis usibus consecravit. In paræcia divæ Beghæ (ubi natus est) scholam grammaticam splendidè extrui, et opimo censu ditari curavit. Magdalenensi cætui Cantabr. (in quo puer primum academia ubera suxit) discipulum adjecit. Collegio Christi, (ubi adultus literis incubuit) gratum Μνημόσυον reliquit. Aula 291 Pembrochiana (cujus olim Socius, postea Præfectus extitit) ararium et bibliothecam auxit, Græcôque prælectori, uni Socio, ac duobus Discipulis, ampla stipendia assignavit. Collegium Reginae Oxon. (in quod Cumbrienses potissimum cooptantur) nummis, libris, et magnis proventibus locupletavit. Civitati Cantuar. (cui moriens præfuit) centum libras, in hoc, ut pauperes honestis artificiis exerceantur, perpetuè servandas, atque impendendas, dedit. Residuum bonorum pietatis operibus dicavit. Sic vivens, moriensque, Ecclesiæ, patriæ, et bonis literis præfuit.

As to that part of the Archbishop's will that concerned his school, that most useful piece of charity, I have received from a learned gentleman and diligent searcher into antiquities, this account of the ancient and modern state of it; viz. That St. Bee's school was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, her letters patents bearing date the 15th of June, in the twenty-seventh of her reign, by the name of the *Wardens and*

The state of
St. Bee's
school.

Ralph
Thoresby of
Leeds, Esq.

BOOK II. *Governours of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the free grammar school of Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canter-*

Anno 1583. *bury, in Kirkby Beacock, alias St. Begh's, in the county of Cumberland.* The patent recites, that it was at the suit of the Archbishop in his lifetime, (for he was dead before the school was founded,) and after his death, at the suit of his executors, William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Scot, Esq. late steward of the household to the Archbishop; and William Woodhal, gentleman, his nephew.

Kirkby Beacock in the patent, more truly to be writ Kirkby Begogh, [i. e. *villa ad fanum Begæ*;] for so it is called in all the ancient charters, from Begogh, a famous Irish female saint, of great sanctimony: who settled there in the time of the Saxons; though she seem also to have reached to some parts of Yorkshire; where there is a town named Beal, alias Begh-hall, in memory of this Saint Begh.

William de Meschines erected a priory, and made it a cell of S. Mary's, *juxta muros Ebor. anno 1140*, giving thereunto *totam terram, et totum feodum inter has divisas, viz. à pede de Whitost-haven [nunc White-haven] ad Kekel donec redit in Egre, et per Egre quousque redit in mare, &c.* These lands vesting in the crown by the dissolution of monasteries, were granted to Sir Thomas Chaloner, Kt. from whom were purchased in old rents at Sandwath and St. Begh's 32*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per ann. and some land there, of about 5*l.* per ann. value, wherewith the said school was endowed.

In the 28th of the Queen, Tho. Chaloner, Esq. son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, gave an acre and an half of ground, parcel of the site of the priory: where the Archbishop's
292 executors built the school and master's house. He gave also forty loads of coals yearly out of his coal-mines of St. Begh's, to be spent there: reserving a right to place two scholars in the school by the name of Chaloner's scholars.

Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven hath lately at his own charge added a fair library to the school: and a benefaction of 5*l.* per ann. Dr. Lamplugh, late Archbishop of York, gave also 5*l.* per ann. to it. Which some say is since withdrawn.

Several lands formerly belonging to the school are either sold, or let out for a thousand years: but, I hope, in so weighty a trust, it hath been done upon very good consideration. There now remains in cash 178*l*. CHAP.
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Anno 1563.

The interest whereof brings in 10*l*. 12*s*. 4*d*. per ann.

Out of the whole revenue there is allowed to the master, 20*l*.

To an usher, 8*l*.

To their steward and receiver, 3*l*.

And for a Court dinner, 13*s*. 4*d*.

The residue was kept as a stock for repairs, and other extraordinary occasions. But now usually what is spared is given to the master; and heretofore did commonly make his salary better than 40*l*. per ann.

It was always the Archbishop's care to preserve the revenues of the sees, over which he presided, and to keep the houses in repair, and laid out largely for that intent yearly. But yet soon after his death his executors were troubled for dilapidations by his next successor, Whitgift, translated from the see of Wigorn. Whereat they applied to the Lord Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham, appointed by Archbishop Grindal overseers of his last will: shewing them, how the said Archbishop was ever, for all the sees wherein he sat, known and taken to be the most diligent repairer of his houses; and was otherwise *bonus paterfamilias*; i. e. "a good husband" for preserving the commodities of his sees. And that he left his houses generally in much better case, than they were left by Archbishop Parker. Though, in truth, the said Archbishop was a great repairer; yet all little enough by reason of the lamentable condition all was found in: which was to be laid at the door of Cardinal Pole, the said Parker's immediate predecessor. And yet he took but 600*l*. of the said Pole's executors. So that Grindal left no notorious decays, but all things in as good state as houses of that ancientness and largeness were usually maintained in; and might for ever by common estimation be kept in sufficient repair with as little, or rather less yearly charge, than Grindal yearly bestowed of his own money, over and beside

BOOK the sum which he received of Parker's executors, which
II. was 350*l*. For Archbishop Grindal having very good ex-

Anno 1583. perience and understanding in what state of repairs Bishops ought to leave their houses, did in his life-time so carefully provide for convenient repairing of his, and bestowed there-upon such large portions, that it was thought his successor would have cause in equity to demand little or nothing for dilapidations. And this was well known to a number both
293 of his servants and others, that were to have portions of the remain of his goods.

The Arch- And for proof of this they made it appear what expenses
bishop's ex- he had been at, when he was Bishop of London: that he
penses upon
the church
and houses
of London. bestowed on the reparation of St. Paul's church 1184*l*. 18*s*. 11½*d*. That the palace of London was very sufficiently repaired, and so left at his departure, and like long to continue so with small charge; having expended on that house, during his incumbency, 147*l*. 2*s*. 2*d*. proved by his steward's bill. Moreover expended on Fulham house and the bridges, 356*l*. 15*s*. 7½*d*. very sufficiently repaired, and so left. Lastly, expended upon Hadham house 200*l*. 10*s*. 9*d*. very sufficiently repaired, and so left.

The execu- In conclusion, the executors offered their reasons to the
tors' plea. two foresaid persons of quality, that moved them to think, that they were not so deeply to be charged for dilapidations as was required by the present Archbishop by a view by him made. First, because there were some things in the view, of that nature that they could not be comprehended under the name of dilapidations. And some things there were that had been long in decaying, as battlements of stone, &c. that either were not necessary, or would yet for many years continue without hurt to the house, or much more decay of them, as upon perusing the same might particularly appear. That there were also many places counted to be in decay that were in as sufficient repair as might reasonably be required. There were also many decays valued at so high a rate, as they might after the usual manner be repaired sufficiently for much less than they were rated at. In consideration whereof the executors of the said Archbishop Grin-

dal were humble suitors, that his present Grace would be pleased to take 250*l.* in full satisfaction: yet so as the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, in whom the late Archbishop reposed special trust, should consent thereto. This relation that I have given of this matter will acquaint us how faithful our Archbishop was in that trust, (none of the least,) in keeping up the edifices, and not thinking much in bestowing a part of the revenues, that they might remain in good and creditable condition; a thing very apt to be neglected, to the scandal of the Clergy; many at least of them; who have enjoyed ample incomes from the Church, and lived plentifully upon them; and yet have not had (I will not say the grace, but) the gratitude, to lay out any competent share of them upon God's houses or their own, to keep them as they found them; leaving decays and ruins as monuments of their ingratitude to posterity.

He lived and died unmarried. His relations, besides those occasionally mentioned in the beginning of this history, his last will and testament will supply us with some account of. I meet with no males of his name, but one, named William Grindal, who is called his servant, to whom he gave a legacy. All the rest of his kin were sisters children. And they, or at least some of them, were these; William Woodhal his nephew, who is wrote *Esquire* in this Archbishop's register, whom he made one of his executors. He had several nieces by his brother Robert Grindal deceased; namely, Mabel, Anne, Barbara, and Frances; to each of whom he gave 50*l.* by his will. And several nieces by his sister Elizabeth Woodhal, late deceased also; namely, Dorothy, Katharine, Elizabeth, and Isabel; to each of them also he bequeathed 50*l.* His said sister had also yet another daughter, called Mabel, but deceased; who left children also behind her; to whom the Archbishop their great uncle left 50*l.* to be divided among them. He had another niece, named Isabel Wilson, perhaps wife to Wilson his chaplain; and another, whom he called his niece Woodhal, wife, I suppose, of Woodhal his nephew before mentioned: and lastly,

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His relations.

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BOOK yet another niece, named Frances Young: to which three
II. he also gave legacies.

Anno 1588. His household officers, chaplains, and servants, were many.
 His chap- Whereof these were some at his death. His chaplains were,
 lains, offi- Mr. Wilson; to whom by his will he gave the advowson of
 cers, and the parsonage of Wonston in the diocese of Winton; which
 servants. was his option, upon the consecration of John Watson Bi-
 shop of that see: Mr. Robinson, Provost of Queen's college,
 Oxon, to whom he bequeathed the advowson of a dignity
 and prebend in the church of Litchfield, or the advowson of
 certain dignities and prebends in the church of St. David's:
 Mr. John Chambers; to whom also he gave an advowson in
 the church of St. Paul's or some other falling void. All
 which seemed to have been options. His officers were these:
 John Scot, Esq. steward of his house, and one of his execu-
 tors; Richard Ratcliff, Gent. his comptroller; Richard Framp-
 ton, Gent. his secretary; Tho. Estwick, his gentleman usher;
 Tho. Nicolson, usher of his hall; John Sharp, clerk of his
 kitchen; Richard Somerdine, yeoman of his horse; Will.
 Henmarsh, Gent. Tho. Palmer, Gent. Rob. Sandwich of Stil-
 lington, Will. Grindal, Will. Hoxby, Rich. Matthew, John
 Acklam, Will. Hales, Will. Tubman, Reginald Gledal, Tho.
 Fox: to all whom he gave legacies.

CHAP. XVI.

Observations upon this Archbishop. His temper. His affection for true religion. His abilities in preaching. His government of the Church. His labour to furnish the Church with learned Ministers. His zeal for the exercises on that account. Some things observed concerning them. His constancy. His plainness and freedom. His humility. His dealing with Puritans. His free counsel to the Queen.

AND thus I have brought to an end my relation of this great and good man: who all along led an unblemished and useful life; devoting himself to the service of God, and the advancement of pure religion, purged from all the dregs of Popish superstition: and for these ends (by the good providence of God) saved out of the Romish fires, wherein several of his companions perished under Queen Mary. I have now nothing else to do but make some reflections upon him, and to enter into some considerations of his temper and qualifications, as a man, as a Christian, and as a Minister, a Bishop, and a chief-Pastor of the Church of Christ in this kingdom. 295

He was of a mild and subdued temper, and friendly disposition; (a good groundwork to build true religion upon:) in his deportment courteous and affable: not touchy, nor soon angry: well spoken and easy of access; and that even in his elation: always obliging in his carriage, loving and grateful to his servants, and of a free and liberal heart. His temper.

His fear of God, and sincere love of religion, evidently appeared in his willingly foregoing of his own country, his ease, his presidentship in Pembroke hall, his good prebends in the churches of St. Paul's and Westminster, and all his preferments and hopes; and living abroad in a strange land, that he might preserve his conscience, and serve God in purity and truth, cheerfully comporting with narrower and straiter circumstances of living. His religion.

BOOK
II.A great
preacher.

He was a great preacher in King Edward the Sixth's time, and one of the eminentest in that faculty both at Court and University. And at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Protestant religion was to be declared and inculcated to the people, he was one of the chief, employed to that end frequently in the *pulpit* at Paul's, and before the Queen and nobility. Whereby at that unsteady, ticklish time, he did good service to religion, the minds of men being more enlightened in religious matters, then controverted, and their judgments rectified and confirmed.

Dreads Po-
pery.

Upon his first coming over from his exile, Queen Elizabeth being possessed of the crown, when preferment in the Church was to be laid upon him, his dread of Popery created him some demur in accepting the same; fearing to comply with the very appearances and shadows of it in the habits and some other rites appointed, till he had satisfaction, partly by serious consideration with himself, and partly by the advice of certain foreign Divines, chiefly P. Martyr and Henry Bullinger, men of the greatest learning in divinity that age afforded: being instructed, that many things, yea inconveniences, were to be borne with for the Church's peace and safety. And therefore afterwards, when some for these external matters in religious worship made seditions, and brake the Church's quiet, he thought himself bound, as a faithful and careful overseer of the Church of Christ in England, when all his mild persuasions and arguments proved ineffectual, to prosecute the refusers, and to use the severer methods warranted by the laws against them.

His govern-
ment.
Provides
the Church
with
preachers.

And this leads us to consider him in his government, when ecclesiastical power and conduct was committed to him. One of his chief cares in this station was to supply the churches under him with preachers; of which there was a great scarcity everywhere in his time; and the people then especially needing them, when so much superstition and
296 ignorance, by the industry of the late Popish policy, had overspread them. Yet withal our Archbishop took special care what preachers he allowed. Of this he once made this

protestation to the Queen: "That for his own part, (and CHAP. XVI.
 " he spoke it without ostentation,) he was very careful in al-
 " lowing such persons only as were able and sufficient to be Vide his letter.
 " preachers, both for their knowledge in the Scriptures,
 " and also for testimony of their good life and conversation.
 " And that he gave great charge to the rest of the Bishops
 " of the province to do the like. That he admitted no man
 " to the office that professed either Papistry or Puritanism.
 " And that generally the Graduates of the University were
 " only admitted to be preachers; unless it were some few
 " that had excellent gifts of knowledge in the Scriptures,
 " joined with good utterance and godly persuasion."

Therefore while he was at York, he procured above forty What he did in York-shire.
 learned preachers, and they Graduates, within less than six
 years, to be placed in that diocese, (a great number in those
 times,) besides those he found there; and there he left
 them. "The fruits of whose travails in preaching," as he
 told the Queen, "she was like to reap daily, by most as-
 " sured dutiful obedience of her subjects in those parts.
 " For his opinion firmly was, that by frequent preaching
 " the word of God two very good things would prevail
 " among the people, viz. true religion towards God, and
 " obedience and loyalty towards the Prince." And for the
 proof of the latter, he mentioned a remarkable instance that
 once happened in Queen Elizabeth's reign: which was, that Anno 1569.
 when all the north, almost, had made an insurrection and
 rebellion, the town of Hallifax (where had been a consider-
 able while good preaching) remained firm and loyal to her,
 and set forth four thousand men armed, to resist and quell
 these seditious persons.

Another thing which in his high station he laboured to Labours to make a learned Clergy.
 redress, was the ignorance and sloth of the Clergy. And in
 order to this reformation, and for the furtherance of the
 Priests and Curates in knowledge, and for the provoking
 them to the study of the Scripture, upon his first coming to
 the see of Canterbury, he earnestly set himself to encourage
 and regulate the exercises, called *prophesyings*, which had
 been used before, but with some abuses, in most dioceses,

BOOK
II.

and had the countenance of the respective Bishops. But the well-meaning Archbishop could not succeed in this his purpose; being checked in it very angrily by the Queen, who had no good opinion of them, as being practised also more privately by the Puritans, to confirm them in their dislike of the established religion, and out of policy, (too accurate, perhaps,) supposing the heads of most who resorted to these exercises, by the declarations and expositions of Scripture that were then made, would be filled with notions and opinions, that might render them at length turbulent in the state. The Archbishop, on the other hand, had quite different sentiments of them, and that they would tend much to the improving of the Clergy and edifying of the people, as had been by good experience already found. So that he would never be brought to give forth his orders for the putting them down. Hence the

297 Queen conceived a prejudice against him; hardly ever after blowing over. And which the Earl of Leicester, we are told by an author, by his artifice blew up more and more in the Queen against him, till she had suspended him from his function, and would not be persuaded to take off his sequestration for a long while, whatever inconveniences the Church lay under by it. And that, that which provoked that great Earl was the Archbishop's immoveable justice towards one Julio, an Italian physician, his favourite, whom Grindal resolved to prosecute, notwithstanding the Earl's intercession for him, and the Queen's too, for a grievous crime, *viz.* in having two wives, and one of them another man's. But I suspend my belief, whether Leicester were his enemy for this, or whether he were now his enemy at all. But the Queen certainly was. And therefore among his chief misfortunes may be reckoned his advancement to the chair of Canterbury, which almost as soon as he enjoyed, occasionally brought him into dislike with the Queen, who before was mightily esteemed and valued by her, for his innate goodness, excellent abilities, and great services.

King James
appoints
prophecies
in Scotland.

And here I shall make some stop, to observe something further concerning these prophecies: it was not much above

seven or eight years after the Queen's offence with our Archbishop, that King James, the learned Monarch of Scotland, publicly allowed and encouraged them in his kingdom, as excellently conducive to Christian knowledge, (in the Clergy especially,) without any jealousy of the inconveniency of them, since his Bishops were concerned in the appointing and regulating them. This so apposite to our purpose may deserve to be related.

"For when in his Parliament, anno 1584, (in the fourth act thereof,) the King had shewn his resolution for the maintenance of Bishops in his kingdom, (whose government in his Church, some of his subjects, for a time, had intercepted,) and had removed and discharged a form late invented, (as it ran in a certain Declaration of that King,) called the *Presbytery*: whereby a number of Ministers of certain precincts and bounds, accounting themselves all to be equal without any difference; and gathering to themselves certain gentlemen and others of the King's subjects, usurped all the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and altered the laws at their own appetite:

CHAP.
XVI.

Declaration
of the
Kings In-
tention,
and Mean-
tow. the
last Actis
of Parliam.
Impr. at
Edinb. an.
1585.
Penes Re-
verend.
Patr. D.
Joan. Ep.
Elien.

"And when, in the twentieth act of that Parliament, the King ratified and approved, and reestablished the state of Bishops within his realm, to have the oversight and jurisdiction every one in his own diocese: which form of government and rule in ecclesiastical affairs (as the Declaration went on) had not only continued in his Kirk from the days of the Apostles by continual succession of time, and many martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth; but also since that realm embraced and received the Christian religion, the same state had been maintained, to the welfare of the Kirk, and quietness of the realm, without any interruption, while within this few years some curious and busy men practised to introduce into the Ministry an equality and parity in all things."

Then at length, in the conclusion of the said Declaration, 298 the King proceeds to his *intentions*, which are digested into fourteen articles. Whereof the first was, that his inten-

The King's
intentions.

BOOK
II.

tion was, by the grace of God, to maintain the true and sincere profession of the Gospel and preaching thereof within his realm: the second, that his intention was to correct and punish such as seditiously abused the chyre [chair] of truth, and factiously applied, or rather bewrayed the text of Scripture, to the disquieting of the state, and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his Highness's and Council's honour: the third, that if any question of faith and doctrine arose, to convocate the most learned, godly, wise, and experienced pastors; that by conference of Scripture the verity might be tried, and all heresy and schism by that means repressed: the fourth, that for keeping of good order in every parish, certain, to be censors of the manners of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the Bishop or visitor; who shall have his Majesty's authority, and officers of arms concurring, for the punishing of vice. These I have specified to introduce the fifth, which was in these words, (according to the Scotch dialect.)

Intendeth
to maintain
prophecies.

“That his Majesty's intention was, to maintene the exercise of Prophecy, for the increas and continuing of knowledge amongis the Ministry. In the *quhilk* ane wise and grave man *selectit* be the Bishop, or Commissioner, at the Synodal Assembly, sall preside; and rander ane compt of the administration of that bounds, quhair the exercise is haldin. For the *quhilk* cause some respect of leving sall be had unto him, quha sustenis the burdening.”

From whence it may appear in what esteem and request Prophesying was in the neighbouring nation among those of the episcopal persuasion: and how at the same time that King had discharged the presbyterial Church-government and established Episcopacy, he took special care for the maintenance of this exercise, and to what good use and benefit he reckoned it would tend, *viz.* the increasing of knowledge in Ministers, according to the judgment and experience of our Archbishop in this kingdom. And further, it is observable, that for the more regular and quiet management of these prophesyings, the King trod in the

Archbishop's steps, in appointing, that there should be some one wise and grave person selected by the Bishop, or Commissioner, to preside within the respective bounds of the several exercises.

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XVI.

And it is further remarkable, that this King did not put down these assemblies, because of some ill use that had been or might be made of them, but took care rather of putting them under certain regulations. And herein likewise he seemed to have taken pattern by the Archbishop. "For FO. C.
" thus the King, in his foresaid declaration, gave commis-
" sion to his Commissioners at their visitations, to consider,
" in what part of the country the exercise or interpretation
" of the Scripture by conference of any certain number of
" the Ministry within such bounds, might be most commo-
" diously, once in fifteen days: for that, as his Majesty in-
" hibited all unlawful conventions which might engender 299
" trouble and contention in the country, so he was well
" affected to see the Ministry increase in knowledge and
" understanding, and by all means to fortify and ad-
" vance the same. And therein his Highness's command-
" ment was, that a grave, wise, and sage man should be
" appointed President, to have the oversight of that
" bounds, and be answerable therefore to the Bishop, his
" Council, and Synod, &c. that all things might be or-
" derly done in the Kirk, peace and quietness maintained
" in the realm, &c.

" In the mean time his Highness inhibited and expressly
" countermanded, under the pains contained in his Majesty's
" acts of Parliament, and all other pains arbitral at his
" Majesty's sight and Council, that no Ministers took upon
" hand to convene themselves for the foresaid cause, with-
" out the appointment and order taken by the said Bishops
" or Commissioners: whereby his Highness might be cer-
" tainly informed, that the foresaid Ministers convened
" not, to meddle with any civil matters or affairs of state,
" (as was accustomed before,) but only to profit in the
" knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by an-
" other in the administration of their spiritual office."

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II.

By this digression I have endeavoured to alleviate our Archbishop's fault, and to vindicate him from any seeming compliance with the innovators, or doing any thing, by his countenancing these exercises, to the prejudice of the religion established, but rather to the general edification of clergy and people.

The exercises enjoined by Sandys Bishop of York.

Yea, and for a further remark in the behalf of these exercises; whether or no they were put down in the other province, or the Queen had better thoughts of them afterwards upon some regulation, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that but a year or two after they were forbidden, (*viz.* anno 1578.) Archbishop Sandys, in his metropolitical visitation of his province of York, enjoined them to his Clergy there: for being returned to Bishopthorp from that visitation, he gave in a letter this following account thereof to the Lord Treasurer: "That he found a very ignorant people, and yet willing and of capacity to learn. Whereupon he set the preachers on work, to preach at every market and great town every second Sunday; and that he took his part, and did as much as the rest. And that besides, for the increase of learning in the Ministry, he gave order, that every Archdeacon should keep four Synods in the year: and that the Ministers there assembled, (some principal points of religion having been before propounded to them,) all should be prepared to speak, but such only should speak as should be called thereunto by some grave persons, appointed moderators; and that they should speak to the matter, and not *vagari*, [*i. e.* stray from it.]" And this to be done among the Ministers themselves: the laity, it seems, were not allowed to be present promiscuously. So that it appears hence that these prophecies were still countenanced and practised; and the Bishops thought them still the best means for begetting a faculty of preaching, and increasing of learning in the Clergy; especially being secured from confusion.

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Lord Bacon's judgment.

To all this let me add the judgment of the learned Lord Bacon in a discourse to the aforesaid King, (then King of

Great Britain;) where he considered, whether it were not requisite to renew that good exercise which was practised in this Church some years; and afterwards put down by order indeed from the Church, in regard of some abuses thereof, inconvenient for those times; and yet against the advice and opinion of the *greatest and gravest Prelate of this land*, (as he worthily styled our Archbishop,) and was commonly called *prophesying*: and then, having described the manner of it, said, "that in his opinion, it was the best way to frame and train up Preachers, to handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, that had been practised: for we see," said he, "orators have their declarations; lawyers have their moots; logicians their sophems; and every practice of science hath an exercise of erudition and initiation before it come to the life: only preaching, which is the worthiest, and wherein it is most in danger to be amiss, wanteth an introduction."

CHAP.
XVI.

ment of
prophecies.
Considerat.
of the Edi-
fic. of the
Ch. of Eng-
land.

But though the Queen's offence was one of the most grievous things that ever happened to him in the world, (as he professed,) yet for the averting of it he would take no irregular course: being endued with that immutable constancy of mind in persisting in a thing that he reckoned his duty, for the more faithful discharge of his office, that I look upon it truly as one of the best passages of his life, his plain, yet humble refusal of the Queen's order to him, *viz.* to put down the Ministers' exercises; and his resolution to decline what she absolutely required; since he could not, nor would balk his own conscience, knowing what great good and benefit accrued to God's Church and people thereby. And the freedom and plainness of the declaration of his mind to the Queen in his letter, adds to his commendation: offering freely the resignation of his high place in the Church, and to be turned again to a private life, rather than to do any thing against conscience, notwithstanding even the command of his Prince; though in all indifferent things it bore (as it ought to do) a mighty sway with him. Writing thus to her; "that for his own part, because he was well assured, that the said exercises were both pro-

His con-
stancy.

His plain-
ness and
freedom.

BOOK
II.

“fitable to increase knowledge among the Ministers, and
“tended to the edifying of the Church, he was forced with
“all humility, and yet plainly to profess, that he could
“not, with safe conscience, and without the offence of the
“majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of
“them; much less could he send out any injunction for
“the utter and universal subversion of the same.—
“And that if it were her Majesty’s pleasure, for this or any
“other cause, to remove him out of this place, he would
“with all humility yield thereunto, and render again to
“her Majesty that which he received of her. He con-
“sidered with himself what a horrible thing it was to fall
“into the hands of the living God, and that he that acted
“against his conscience edified to *hell*; and what should he
“win, if he gained, he would not say, a bishopric, but the
“whole world, and lost his own soul?”

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Not puffed
up by his
prefer-
ments,

Neither did this incomppliance with the Queen proceed
from any elation of mind by reason of his high place and
dignity; for such external, accidental things made no
change in his temper and disposition, which was ever at the
same stay of meekness and gentleness: however he had
been severely charged by some with pride, covetousness,
persecution, and such like crimes, that are commonly wont
to be thrown as imputations upon those that hold such sta-
tions in the Church as he did. Thomas Sampson, the Pu-
ritan, and his old acquaintance, and late Dean of Christ’s
Church, Oxon, took occasion to tell him of these things at
large by a letter. The good Bishop, now Archbishop of
York, returned him a very friendly and obliging answer,
written *sine fuco aut fastu*, laying aside all state, and at
large relating to him what his temper indeed was; and so-
lemnly protested himself to be free, and innocent of these
rude reports that went of him; yea, and that he loved
some godly brethren, that wished such things reformed as
were amiss. Insomuch, that Sampson in another letter
declared himself satisfied, and that he knew now what to
say, when hereafter he should hear any such slanders
started concerning him.

His pro-
testation
concerning
it.

Nor did he affect at all grandeur or state, notwithstanding he bore the title of *Lord*, as he also declared, when he opened his mind to his said old acquaintance, saying, "that he was not *lordly*, nor set by that *lordly* estate," though Sampson somewhat too petulantly seemed to "make a doubt, whether he said true or no." For thus Sampson herein expressed his mind: "He trusted," he said, "he the [Archbishop] had learned a better lesson than the common sort of men had: for as the manner now is, the proud man will say he is not proud; and the covetous man will say that he sets not by money; but he hoped the Archbishop said of himself as he was:" adding, "And if you, whom policy hath made a great Lord, be not *lordly*, but do keep the humble and strait course of a loving brother and Minister of Christ's Gospel, shall I say you are a *phœnix*? I will say, that you are most happily by God's special grace preserved and directed."

CHAP.
XVI.

Affected not
grandeur.
Notwith-
standing
his title,
he was not
lordly.

He is commonly now-a-days thought to have held the reins too loose in respect to this sort of men; and for his slackness in his government of the Church's affairs he is vulgarly blamed: but I think it may appear to be an unjust accusation, by what it is evident he did towards them, as we shall see. He best knew what courses were fittest to be used, who lived in those times, and observed how things then stood in the State and Church; and did *consilium pro tempore et re nata capere*; i. e. take counsel according to the time and present urgency of affairs, as Cæsar wisely advised Labienus, when he left him in Gaul to look after affairs in his absence. And if Grindal be condemned for this gentle usage, Whitgift, his next successor, is commended for the same by Sir George Paul, writing thus: "Happy sure it was for that crazy state of the Church, not to meet with too rough and boisterous a physician: for he preserved it with conserves and electuaries, and some gentle purges; which with strong purges in all likelihood might have been much more in danger." And again, the author professes, "he could not sufficiently express that Archbishop's

His dealings
with Puritans.

Whitg. Life,
p. 82.

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BOOK II. "singular wisdom and clemency; albeit some younger spirits were of opinion, that he was much to blame in that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage." Which words may well enough befit our Archbishop, when his mildness is by any objected to him; especially since that upon occasion was joined with severity too.

He labours
the reclaim-
ing them.

For his zeal and affection to the state of the reformed Church of England shewed itself, as upon every occasion, so particularly in endeavouring to reclaim those they styled *Precisians* and *Puritans*; who for some few ceremonies made a breach in Christian communion: for though his spirit, as was mentioned before, was easy and complaisant, and liked not of rigor; yet when he saw that no other means would bring them to obedience, he approved of restraint, especially of the heads of the faction, whom he styled *fanatical and incurable*. When a proclamation against these men came forth from the Queen anno 1574, and letters were sent withal to the Bishops; wherein they were blamed for their too much gentleness towards the schismatical faction, and strict orders appointed to be taken with them for the bringing them to come to their parish churches, our Prelate observed what a very heavy burden was laid upon their shoulders, and that generally and equally, without respect or difference; whereas there was not like occasion of offence given by all, as he discoursed privately by letter from York with the other Archbishop of Canterbury; and assured him, that it was to him a great grief, and would have been ten times greater, had not they [the Council in their letter] so well beaten down the others' arrogant innovating spirits: which he trusted would work some benefit to the Church, if the captains were not countenanced, as they had been by those that were no Bishops, [however the blame were laid upon the Bishops.]

Puritan
Ministers.

He liked not that the Puritan Ministers, who would not conform themselves to the orders of the Church, should retain their prebends and preferments in it: as did one Dr. Penny, who was turned physician: that of a preacher, as

he said, became a layman, and still kept a prebend at St. Paul's; and so did Wiburn, Johnson, and others, hold prebends in some churches or other. "They are," said he, "content to take the livings of the Church, and yet affirm it to be no Church; [to that pass of disaffection they were now grown.] *Beneficium datur propter officium*; i. e. the benefice is given for the office. If they will do no office, let them enjoy no benefit." And in conclusion, with an eye to these men he prayed, "that God would send us all humble and quiet spirits, [which those men, he meant, wanted,] and thankfully to acknowledge "God's great mercies towards us;" in planting, he meant, the reformed religion in the kingdom under a gracious Queen, when, in the late reign, those that professed it would have been most glad to have enjoyed it upon the terms it now stood, (that is, as it was settled under King Edward VI.) and have thanked God from the bottom of their hearts for it.

The last thing I shall remark in this great Prelate is, 303 that though his spirit were humble and meek, and most yielding to Christians of the meanest rank in the offices of charity, and where religion received no detriment; yet upon occasion he would be bold and free with persons of the highest quality, (even the Prince herself,) to speak his mind, and give his counsel or reproof without fear or faint-heartedness, when the good of religion or the Church was concerned: as he did once when the Queen seemed to assume too much, as he thought, in the business of the *exercises*. Whereupon he took the boldness with her, like an Archbishop, to advise and warn her in two things, wherein she seemed to have gone somewhat beyond the limits of her duty. The first was, that she would refer all ecclesiastical matters, which touched religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church, unto the Bishops and Divines of her realm, according to the example of godly Christian Emperors and Princes in all ages: for that they were things to be judged, as an ancient Father writ, in *Ecclesia aut Synodo, non in palatio*, i. e. in the Church or Synod, not

CHAP.
XVI.

His boldness in a good cause.

His free and notable advice to the Queen. Vid. Letter, No. IX.

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II.

in the palace. That when her Majesty had question of the laws of the realm, she did not decide the same in her Court, but sent them to her Judges to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of doctrine or discipline of the Church, the ordinary way, he told her, was to refer the decision of the same to the Bishops and other head Ministers of the Church. And he quoted the words of St. Ambrose to an Emperor for this purpose, that "in case of the faith, the Bishops were wont to judge of Christian Emperors, not Emperors of the Bishops." He wished to God her Majesty would follow this ordinary course; whereby she would procure to herself much quietness of mind, better please God, avoid many offences; and the Church would be more quiet, and peaceably governed. The other advice (which he prudently called by the name of a *petition*) was, that when she dealt in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touched the Church of Christ, she would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex autoritate*, as she might do in civil and extern things; but always to remember, that in God's causes the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature is to take place: that it was the Antichristian voice of the Pope, *Sic volo, sic jubeo*. In God's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God. Moreover he exhorted her to remember she was a mortal creature, and "to look not only," as it was said to Theodosius, "upon the purple and princely array wherewith she was appareled, but to consider withal what that was that was covered therewith." Was it not flesh and blood? Was it not dust and ashes? Was it not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth again, God knew how soon? "Must you not," said he, "appear also one day before the dreadful tribunal of the crucified Christ, to receive as you have done in the body? Although ye are a mighty Princess, yet remember, that he which dwelleth in heaven is mightier." He beseeched her, that when she dealt in religious causes, she would set the Majesty of God before her eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside; and to deter-

mine with herself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non mea sed tua voluntas fiat*, i. e. Not my will, but thine be done. “God hath blessed you” (as he proceeded) “with great felicity in your reign, beware you “do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy; “but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, “impute your said felicity, first to the goodness of the “cause ye have set forth, that is, Christ’s true religion; “and secondly, to the sighs and groans of the godly in “their fervent prayers to God for you; which hath hitherto, as it were, tied and bound the hands of God, that “he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your “people, most justly deserved. Take heed, that ye never “once think of declining from God, lest that be verified of “you, which is written of Joash; who continued a prince “of good and godly government for many years together, “and afterwards, *when he was strengthened*, saith the text, “2 Paral. xxvi. *his heart was lifted up to his destruction*, “and he neglected the Lord. Ye have done many things “well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be “blessed. For if ye turn away from God, then God will “turn away his merciful countenance from you. And what “remains then to be looked for, but a terrible expectation “of God’s judgments, and a heaping up of wrath against “the day of wrath?” A reproof, proceeding, as it is probable, from the observation the reverend Father had taken of some lukewarmness into the which the Queen of late seemed to have sunk.

Thus, with a kind of apostolical spirit, he could, upon just occasion, exhort and rebuke without respect of persons, and with all authority.

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XVI.

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II.

CHAP. XVII.

What Camden, Holinshed, Stow, and other historians have related concerning this Archbishop. Unfairly represented by Fuller. A passage of Dr. Heylin concerning him considered. Some further account given of him, from a MS. history in Pembroke hall, Cambridge. A dialogue written by him. The conclusion.

The characters given of him by historians.

TO draw to a conclusion. In the discharge of this high function he lived and died unblameable, and was universally esteemed and beloved. Fair and honourable are the characters our best and most ancient historians give of him with one consent.

Camd. Eliz.
p. 80. Edit.
1675.
P. 287.

Camden, where he speaks of the new Bishops under Queen Elizabeth, calleth Edmund Grindal, now appointed for London, "an excellent Divine." And where he comes to relate his death, saith, "he was a religious and grave man, that flourished in great grace with the Queen, until by the cunning artifices of his adversaries he quite lost her favour; as if he had leaned to conventicles of turbulent and hot-spirited Ministers, and their prophecies, as they called them; but in truth, because he had condemned the unlawful marriage of one Julio, the Italian physician, with another man's wife, while Leicester in vain opposed his proceedings therein."

Holinshed
Chron.
p. 1354 a.

Holinshed, another of our historians, nearest to those times, gives this account of him: "This good man in his life time was so studious, that his book was his bride, and his study his bridechamber: whereupon he spent both his eye-sight, his strength, and his health, &c. Of whom much might be spoken for others imitation; but this shall suffice, that as his learning and virtues were inseparable companions, so the reward of both is the good name that he hath left behind him, as a monument perpetual." This is all he saith of him without the least word to lessen him.

Stow.

Stow, another faithful historian, that was contemporary with him, where he mentions his death, speaks of his great

and numerous benefactions; and so doth Godwin in his Catalogue of Bishops, without any the least diminution of him.

CHAP.
XVII.

The next writer I shall name, that undertook to give some historical account of this Archbishop, was Thomas Rogers.

Godwin.

Rogers, who lived in his time, and was, as it appears, well acquainted with the emergencies of the Church in those days; Chaplain also to Archbishop Bancroft, (who was known not to be slack in discipline, nor partial to Puritans.) This reverend man was the author of a learned book, (and formerly much read and esteemed,) entitled, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, professed and protected in the Realm*, &c. printed above an hundred years ago. In the preface whereof, dedicated to his patron, the abovesaid Archbishop, he related some history of the first Archbishops of Canterbury, that were the restorers of true religion among us, and through whose hands the reformation of it passed. Where coming to Archbishop Grindal, he express-

Preface to
the Faith,
Doctrine,
&c. profes-
sed and pro-
tected in
this realm.
Pr. 1607.

eth him to be, "a zealous confessor and tried soldier," [i. e. in respect of his sufferings for religion,] and, "a right faithful and worthy Prelate." And then he relates, "how the Queen advanced him after his return from his banishment, first to London, and then to the two other archiepiscopal sees." And, "that the care of this Bishop was great to further the glory of God; but that through the envy and malice of his ill-willers his power was but small; his place high, but himself made low through some disgrace brought upon him by his potent adversaries, which he meekly and patiently endured." And the same author adds his observation of two considerable inconveniences, that his troubles, and the prohibiting him from acting in his place and calling, occasioned: the one was, "the flocking of Jesuits into the kingdom: the other, the insolence and boldness of the home-faction." By which he meant, the brethren that opposed the government and discipline of this Church.

And lastly, this historian ranks our Archbishop (without the least note of neglect in his function, or diminution of his character) with the rest of the excellent Archbishops of Can-

BOOK II. terbury, from Cranmer to Bancroft: all of famous and venerable memory, "in respect of the uniform doctrine by
 306 "them drawn up at first, and afterwards defended and
 "maintained; and, that the whole Church of England was
 "much bound unto them. And that, not they only that
 "were then alive, but their successors and posterity, should
 "have cause in all ages, while the world should continue, to
 "magnify Almighty God for his inestimable benefit, which
 "they had and should receive from them; and who had
 "inspired them with wisdom from above."

Harrington.
 ton.

Brief View.
 Pr. 1659.

Sir John Harrington (who lived in these times of Queen Elizabeth, and some time after) undertakes to give some strictures of her Bishops; but they are commonly but light rumours of court, and often idle and trifling. Yet what he says of Archbishop Grindal points not to any misgovernment of the Church: but that whereas it was commonly said, that he was blind some years before his death, this writer would make a mystery of it, telling us, that he was not blind, but that when Queen Elizabeth enjoined him to keep his house, his friends gave out that he was blind; and that he kept at home the better to conceal this punishment the Queen had laid upon him. Very likely, had the report of his blindness happened at the same time that the Queen had commanded his confinement: but he was not blind till five years after, at least: and that he was then blind, I have seen the subscription of his name, that evidently shews it to be writ by a blind man. Some other passages he ventures to write of the Archbishop so slight and improbable, that I shall not repeat them. But this author writes not one word of his remissness in government, or countenance towards such as opposed the constitutions of the Church.

Full.
 Church
 Hist. b. ix.
 p. 130.

Till Mr. Fuller came, a man within memory, and first broached this notion (as far as I can perceive) concerning Grindal. And his relations seem to be more hearsays, than built upon any authentic authority, either of records or good MSS. He says, "he was generally condemned for
 "remissness in parting with more from the see, than ever
 "his successors thanked him for:" this is a hard charge, but

spoken in general terms. If he means exchanges with the Queen, he and all the rest of the Bishops were forced to make these exchanges by an act that passed for that purpose in the beginning of her reign. And what endeavours he and two or three more of the first Elects made, by a secret letter to her Majesty, and by a voluntary proffer of a large yearly equivalent, to forbear the making use of that power the Parliament had given her, hath been before shewn. But that Grindal was not so easy to part with the revenues of his bishopric this historian shews himself, by relating how stoutly he opposed parting with the palace at Lambeth to the great favourite; which made the Leicestrian faction (he saith) to malice him.

This writer speaks also of some, "who strained a parallel " between Eli and Grindal, in respect of his being guilty of " dangerous indulgence to offenders: and as a father of the " Church, he was accused of too much conniving at the factious disturbers thereof." But he gives not one instance thereof. Indeed Fuller seems to note these things concerning the Archbishop, rather as reports and rumours taken up in his times, than as matters of undoubted truth. At length he placeth the Archbishop's remissness and neglect in requiring subscription to the last year of his life but one: 307 and attributes it to his age and impotency. Though he adds, (to make what he had said before consistent,) that in greater strength he did but weakly urge conformity. He should not have forgot to mention the Archbishop's suspension; whereby his hands were very much tied up from acting in his place and function: during which time great liberty was taken by such as were disaffected to the Church and its constitution. What truth is in the foregoing passages, and how our Archbishop discharged himself in his office, I refer the reader to what hath been before impartially written: yet in conclusion, this historian calls him, "a Prelate most primitive in all his conversation."

There is yet another of our modern historians, namely, Dr. Heylin. Dr. Heylin; who, speaking of those English Protestants that in the beginning of our Reformation stood affected to

BOOK II. the discipline of Geneva, writes, that they made use of Bishop Grindal to bring about their purpose, by making him instrumental to the setting up of a church in London for the French Protestant Refugees, to worship God together in, according to the manner used in their own reformed churches

Hist. of the Reform. p. 305. at home : viz. "that Grindal, the new Bishop of London, " was known to have a great respect to the name of Calvin," [and so he had, no doubt, to that of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the rest of the pious foreign reformers of religion.] "That the business therefore was so ordered, that by Calvin's letter unto Grindal, and the friends they had about the Queen, way should be granted to such of the French nation that had repaired hither to enjoy the freedom of their own religion, to have a church unto themselves: and in that church not only to erect the Genevian discipline, but to set up a form of prayer, that should hold no conformity with the English Liturgy." [And this liberty to these foreigners was no more, than but a little before was granted to Grindal and his fellow exiles in the cities and places where they sojourned.] "And Calvin gave Grindal thanks for his favour therein."

Ep. Calv. 295.

There is a letter indeed extant among Calvin's Epistles, whence Dr. Heylin had what is said above; bearing date, May the 15th, 1560. The import whereof is only this: that that pious Pastor of Geneva returned his thankful acknowledgments unto our Bishop for that care he had taken of those poor French Protestants that had settled themselves in the City of London, by his obtaining for them a liberty from the Queen of worshipping God purely, [*i. e.* without the superstitions of the Romish Church,] and that they might have a faithful Minister of their own to preach God's word, and perform other ministerial offices among them. And it appears, that to this civil letter of Calvin, the Bishop gave as respectful an answer: and withal desired him accordingly to recommend some able and fit Minister unto that congregation. And not long afterwards Calvin sent, by consent, Nicolas Galasius, an elderly and very reverend

man, of great piety and worth, and very dear unto him, to supply that place. CHAP.
XVII.

And surely Bishop Grindal could do no less than this, 308 since he was too grateful to forget the like respects shewn to him and many others of the English nation that fled abroad in the last reign upon the same account of religion, as these godly French now did hither; and since he and they received the like freedom and favour in the several places in Germany and Switzerland, where they but lately had settled themselves: and likewise that he might testify that Christian communion and brotherly concord which he bore to all the Reformed Churches.

And this was the beginning of the Walloon church situate in Threadneedle-street, London: which hath continued ever since for the French nation; who there quietly and inoffensively serve God after their own custom to this day. The French
church in
Threadnee-
dle-street.

To all these historians, I shall in the last place add one history more; and that is a MS. preserved in Pembroke hall, Cambridge: wherein account is given of all the Masters of that college, drawn up by the pen of one who himself was sometime Fellow there, and afterward a learned Bishop of this realm. Whence we shall trace some footsteps of this venerable man from his youth to his latter days; which by relating here will supply some vacancies and omissions in the preceding history of him. MS. De
Custod.
Pembro-
chian.
Wren, Bi-
shop of Ely.

While he was a boy, going a journey with his father on foot after some violent rains, God made use of him to save the old man's life. For attempting to go over a rotten bridge, (over which their way lay,) the youth perceiving the danger, called suddenly to his father, and withal pulled him back with his hand; which as soon as he had done, the bridge, by the force of the waters, presently brake down. And thus, God making him the instrument of preserving his father from such a sudden death, no question the blessing of his father, accompanied with God's blessing, descended on him. Saves his
father's life.

Being removed to the University, such notice was taken of his parts, diligence, and learning, that as soon as he was His pro-
gress in the
University.

BOOK
II.

capable of a fellowship in the college, being Bachelor of Arts, anno 1538, he was chosen Fellow by Robert Swinburn, Master, *vel hoc nomine non malum*, i. e. on this very account no evil Master of Pembroke, (saith this historian,) meaning, in preferring such a worthy scholar.

In the year 1540, being yet but Bachelor of Arts, he was chosen junior Treasurer of the college. That year, or rather the next, (according to the University register,) he commenced Master of Arts.

July the 4th, 1544, he obtained the college's title under Ridley, then Master, to John Bird, the first Bishop of Winchester; who was then looked upon as a great favourer of reformation: receiving (as it seems) his Orders from him. Anno 1548, he was declared public Proctor of the University.

Anno 1549, he became President of the college: and is often called in the acts of the University, *assistens Vice-Cancellarii in judiciis*; i. e. the Vice-Chancellor's assistant in matters judiciary. [And being their Bachelor in Divinity, he was elected Lady Margaret Preacher by the unanimous consent of the Masters and Presidents of the University.]

Ex Regist.
Academ.
Tho. Baker,
B. D.

Anno 1550, he removed to London to be Chaplain to Ridley, Bishop of that see. Here Martin Bucer, the King's Divinity Professor, wrote to him from Cambridge, kal. Septembr. 1550, upon certain business with the said Bishop, wherein he styles our Divine, *eximium eruditione et pietate, membrum Christi præcipuum, et collegam suum in sanctissimo administrandi verbi Dei munere*; i. e. eminent for his learning and piety, a chief member of Christ, and his associate in the most sacred ministry of the word of God.

MSS. C. C.
C. C. Tho.
Baker, B. D.

By his patron, the Bishop's help, not long after he was made one of King Edward's Chaplains. [And the next year, viz. 1551, he became one of the four itinerant Preachers, especially appointed by the King, to instruct the people in the knowledge of the Gospel throughout the realm. For which service, it is probable, a prebend (which he enjoyed in Westminster) was conferred on him as a reward: which he resigned afterwards to Bonner, Bishop of London.]

A little before that King's death, a report went, [which our writer took from Godwin, Bishop of Landaff,] that Ridley being to be translated to Durham, (whereof there was more than fame,) Grindal should succeed him at London. [Which, though it did not presently happen, yet in God's due time, after some years trial of him, did.]

CHAP.
XVII.

Catal. of
Bishops, p.
178.

Upon his return home after his exile, his college presently cast their eyes upon him for their Master. For when in the year 1559, Dr. John Young, their former Master, was discharged by the Queen's visitors, (or rather went out by an unwilling resignation,) the college quickly despatched a most affectionate letter to Mr. Grindal, their former colleague, and now Elect of London, declaring, "how extremely satisfied they were that he should succeed; and that they saw the time was now come, that they had the liberty to choose him, not their Master only, but their patron and defender; whom they ever desired, ever preferred before all others: reckoning him equal to the learned Young, their last Master, and endued with all good abilities as well as he, bringing this moreover along with him, that he [Grindal] was *wholly theirs*, [meaning of their foundation,] which was the only thing they wanted in Young [who was bred up in another house of learning.] And that therefore, the very day after his deprivation, they hastened, and, with one mind and vote, unanimously chose him their *Custos*. And that whatsoever they could do, they had done. Adding, that they hoped he would not refuse that house which educated him, nor reject the highest place there, since there was a time he had not refused the lowest: nor yet forsake those men who preserved his memory, when he was absent: and lastly, they prayed him to embrace them, who strove together in loving him; and to receive them into his protection." This was the sum of their epistle to him in Latin, dated from their college the 12 kal. of August, [i. e. the 21. July, an. 1559.]

His college
elect him
their Mas-
ter.

Their epi-
stle to him.

But when the reverend man, for certain causes, had declined to accept the mastership thus offered him, this occa-

310
After some
refusal,

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II.

sioned two other letters from the college; one to the visitors, that they would exhort him by their influence and authority to accept it; or if it could not be, that they might have the liberty granted them to choose another. The other to Grindal himself; wherein they labour to persuade him, notwithstanding his advancement to the bishopric, yet to be their head: shewing him, "how in former times they had enjoyed several Bishops for their Masters; as Booth, Rotherham, Layburn, and lately Ridley; a person, who as he was endued with excellent knowledge, so with the highest affection towards them: and between them and himself had been so great a friendship and familiarity."

Accepts it.

He was prevailed on, at this renewed entreaty, to accept the government of them. And Aug. 3. 1559, (being the fourteenth day after his election,) he appointed John Pilkington, M. A. his Proctor; who in his name and stead performed all things necessary for his admittance. And leave of absence was the same day allowed him from the college.

Resigns the
said mastership.

He held the mastership of this college but a little time, his other weighty affairs in the Church hindering his residence there: and he seemed to have resigned in May 1562, if not before. The three next Masters that succeeded were all recommended by him, as the college's letters to the Bishop, upon their elections of them, do import: viz. Matthew Hutton, B. D. John Whitgift, D. D. and John Young, D. D. all men of great figure for piety and learning; and afterwards Bishops. The last whereof was his Chaplain; and who preached the Clerum-sermon for him at the Commencement 1564, for his degree of Doctor of Divinity, granted him by a grace of the University that year.

Dear to the
college.

The dearness between the college and their patron, and how entirely they depended on him, upon former experiences of his care, appears from that passage in one of their letters to him: *ex quo nos à Papisticâ fecit primus repurgâras, et in clientelam tuam receperas*, &c. "From the time that you first purged us from the dregs of Popery [that is, while he was Visitor and their Master] and took us

“ under your care, we have had ample experience of your
 “ patronage and favour, and in you alone we have re-
 “ posed all our counsel and hope.”

CHAP.
 XVII.

For divers were their letters to him (still extant in the
 foresaid college MS.) according as occasion presented.
 Some, of thankfulness for his large and repeated bene-
 factions; some congratulatory, upon his advancements and
 translations: all heartily expressing the love, the honour,
 and the high veneration they had for him. It will suffice to
 see in what manner they addressed him upon his last and
 highest elation to the chair of Canterbury: where after
 they had used all possible expressions of their thankfulness
 for some late endowment of that college, from his founda-
 tion of the school at St. Bee's, they descend to shew their
 great complacency at that high and most honourable trust
 of the Church of England now reposed in him by the
 Queen.

In their epistle they take notice, “ how in the height of 311
 “ his honour he still spake most affectionately and fre-
 “ quently concerning their college, (as their Master had often
 “ told them,) and of the care he still took of them and their
 “ concerns. And what could be more advantageous, more
 “ glorious for Pembroke hall, than to be under the kind eye,
 “ not only of an excellently learned and singularly pious
 “ man, but of a Bishop, an Archbishop, and in one word, of
 “ Grindal. That never was there any, nurtured in that
 “ University, educated in their college, of greatest fame in
 “ history for learning, to whose fidelity, virtue, and integrity,
 “ they would sooner recommend themselves, than his; that
 “ in him, now Primate of all England, the Pembrochians
 “ gloried. That divers Bishops, as of Carlisle, Exon, Win-
 “ ton, Durham, London, York, formerly scholars of their
 “ college, were praise-worthy for their notable learning and
 “ virtue: but now at last, to their eternal honour, they had
 “ not only an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Metropolitan,
 “ a Primate, and a first Prelate of the whole realm, but him
 “ adorned with all the ornaments of mind and fortune.
 “ They triumphed in such a learned Mecænas, and right

Their epi-
 stle to him
 upon his
 advance-
 ment to
 Canter-
 bury.

BOOK. "noble patron. And conclude with their earnest prayers
 II. "for him, that God would long preserve and protect his
 "Grace, as well for their own private benefit, as for the
 "common good of Church and State." If any be minded to
 peruse the whole epistle, elegantly penned in Latin, expres-
 sive of their sincere gratitude and high estimation of him, he

Num. XXI. may read it in the Appendix.

His bene-
 factions to
 Pembroke
 hall.

And this college had good reason to shew affection to
 Grindal in regard of his ample benefits bestowed on it:
 which in thankful remembrance the foresaid writer hath
 left upon record in the said MS. And these following were
 the testimonies of the Archbishop's beneficence and good-
 will towards them, at several times: viz. a stipend of 40s. a
 year for a Greek Reader, payable out of a portion of tithes
 of the manor of Westbery in Ashwell, granted anno 1568:
 the inheritance whereof he confirmed to the college by his
 last will, bearing date April 2, 1583.

And about the same time he obtained from a certain
 widow another perpetual benefit for the college, called a
 scholarship. And there is still extant an epistle sent from
 the college to him, gratefully acknowledging both; though
 the latter, it seems, is now utterly lost.

In the year 1570, he obtained a licence from the Queen
 for the college, to purchase lands in mortmain to the value
 of 40*l*. In thankful acknowledgment whereof they wrote
 him another letter.

He gave them also an annual rent of 20*l*. from St. Bee's
 school of his foundation, for a fellowship and two scholar-
 ships in the same college. And he framed a book of statutes
 for their condition and government, by royal licence.

He appointed moreover, that out of monies arising from
 the foundation of St. Bee's, every eighth year for ever, some
 new fund should be purchased for the maintaining of a
 scholar. And that this college, and that of Queen's in Ox-
 ford, should alternately enjoy the benefit accruing thence
 312 each eighth year. But this never but once hath been per-
 formed by such as have had the oversight of the said
 school: whereof the college hath complained.

Of this school some account hath been given already ; to which, for a farewell, let me here add briefly what is most remarkable in the statutes, drawn up at good length by the most reverend the Founder, for the government of the same, as they have lately come to my hands, from a right reverend Prelate.

CHAP.
XVII.

Statutes of
St. Begh's
school.
D. Guil. D.
Ep. Carleol.

I. The schoolmaster is obliged to bring up his children in the fear of God, good learning, and good manners.

II. He or his usher shall teach the children to say by heart the catechism in English, set forth by public authority.

III. The schoolmaster shall teach them the greater as well as the lesser catechism, set out by authority, [this seems to be Alexander Nowell's catechism, approved in the Synod 1562,] and no other catechism ; except publicly authorized.

IV. The usher shall teach them the A B C in English, the Psalter, and the Book of Common Prayer. And the master the small catechism in Latin, set out by authority.

V. The master is advised to teach his scholars *Palingenius*, *Sedulius* and *Prudentius*. But,

VI. The Archbishop leaves him at liberty to teach what books he pleased ; except the Queen's Grammar, and the catechisms before mentioned. But now proceed we from the school to the rest of the Archbishop's benefits to the college.

He also gave divers books to the common library : whereof some were Greek, of the curious print of Henry Stevens, as a reverend person (formerly Fellow of that house, and educated at the Archbishop's said school at St. Bee's) hath informed me. And to the Master's study he gave an Hebrew Bible in several tomes in sixteens, (preserved in an oval box,) which once belonged to Tho. Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and diligently noted by him when he was abroad in exile. Such a promoter was our Archbishop of Greek and Hebrew learning, (which the Papal Church studiously discouraged,) that the holy Scriptures might be read in their original languages ; and that the

Dr. Joh.
Gaskarth.

BOOK II. Greek fathers, and ancientest ecclesiastical writers might be more commonly read and understood by the students of divinity.

And lastly, he gave the college a gilded pot of 40 ounces and upwards, which in honour to him they called *poculum Cantuariense*; i. e. the Canterbury cup. All this liberality and the singular favours of this Prelate do, no doubt, excite that college for ever to honour his name and memory.

313 I do not find our Archbishop left much in print behind him: yet one tract (whereof as we are informed by the foresaid MS. history, he was author of) may be worth mentioning to such who have any mind to see a specimen of his learning, viz. a *Dialogue between Custom and Truth*, which is still to be seen in John Fox's Acts and Monuments: written in a clear method, and with much rational evidence, against the *real*, that is, the gross and corporal, presence in the Sacrament. Fox indeed concealeth his name, (forbid, I suppose, by the author to disclose it,) only signifying, "that it was writ by a certain learned and reverend person of this realm, and who, under the persons of *Custom* and *Verity*, manifestly laid open before our eyes, and taught all men, not to measure religion by custom, but to try *Custom* by truth and the word of God. For else *Custom* may soon deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever." And he thought fit to place this discourse next after a public disputation upon the same argument of the learned man Peter Martyr at Oxon, and another by the other learned men before the King's visitors at Cambridge, and the *Determination* of Bishop Ridley; as a full and satisfactory despatch of the gross Papal *transubstantiation*.

This discourse was writ by him soon after his coming back into England, for the better service of the Church, that was then to be purged of Popish doctrines and superstitions: as appears from those words, wherein *Custom* is brought in thus speaking. "Are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how men do daily speak against the Sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the

A book of
the Arch-
bishop's
writing.

Acts and
Monu-
ments,
p. 1263.

“*real* body of Christ?” *Verity* answereth, “In sooth, I
 “have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late
 “into this country: wherefore you must pardon me,
 “if my answers be to seek in such questions.” But you
 have been longer here, &c. In this tract, after he had
 excellently explained the sense of those words of Christ,
This is my body, he proceeded to produce divers sentences
 out of the ancient Bishops and Doctors of the Church to
 confirm his interpretation; because *Custom* had boasted of
 Doctors and old writers, and men inspired with the Holy
 Ghost, that were against the doctrine of the Protestants:
 and that in these days the wisest and best learned called
 them *heretics*. And at length in the conclusion of his dis-
 course he tells *Custom*, “That as shortly, and in as few
 “words as he could, he had declared unto him what Christ
 “meant by those words, *This is my body*, what the Apostles
 “thought therein, and in what sort they delivered them to
 “their successors; and in what sense and meaning the
 “holy fathers, and old writers, and the universal and catho-
 “lic Church had evermore taken them.”

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XVII.

And thus I have, by the assistance of God, despatched
 the life and actions of this holy Archbishop; that is, as
 much of them as I, a single and private person, could col-
 lect by my searches into MSS. and records, and other
 writings, and could find at this great distance of time.
 Many other memorable passages of his Christian and exem-
 plary life and behaviour (in his younger days, at the Uni-
 versity, and while he was Chaplain to Bishop Ridley and
 King Edward; in his pilgrimage, while he exercised his
 faith and patience in a strange land for conscience sake;
 and in his elder age, in his more public capacity of a great
 Prelate of this Church,) no doubt are lost and buried in ob-
 livion. But the various notices of him (neither few nor tri-
 vial) which I have retrieved and digested in this volume,
 will, I hope, be taken in good part by all such as love and
 honour the memory of those excellent Bishops, through
 whose hands and cares, accompanied with many difficulties

The conclu-
sion.

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466 OBSERVATIONS UPON ABP. GRINDAL.

BOOK
II.

and unknown struggles, the reformation of religion passed, and the Church of England recovered the good constitution of doctrine, worship, and government, in which it stood under blessed King Edward VI. and whereof we, the posterity, enjoy the comfort and benefit to this day.

AN APPENDIX

1

OF CERTAIN

ORIGINAL PAPERS,

LETTERS OF STATE, AND OTHER MSS.

WHERE TO REFERENCE IS MADE

IN

THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

Number I.

Martin Bucer, the King's Professor in Cambridge, to Mr. Grindal, Chaplain to Ridley, Bishop of London; to represent to him his late disputation with Young.

*Eximio eruditione et pietate Edmundo Grindallo Præsidi
aulæ Pembrochianæ*

S. D.

REVERENDISSIMO Domino Londinensi nôsti (doctis-
sime et charissime Grindalle) quantopere precer omne bo-
num: nec dubito te illi hoc renunciare. Jam oro te, ut
quæ hic mitto de causa, quæ versatur inter me et Jungum,
velis primum ipse diligenter perlegere atque recognoscere:
tum reverendissimo Domino Londinensi exhibere, adjuncta
non alia commendatione, quam Christi Servatoris nostri
gloria à te postulat. Horribilibus me adversarii petunt ca-
lumniis, et onerant falsissimis criminibus. Præterea, Jungus
coram concilio Universitatis dixit, et cum stomacho, me esse
in gravi errore. Cum essem coram, dixit mitius, tamen re- 2

Ex Script.
Buceri An-
glican.

BOOK ipsa idem; nempe se mihi non consentire: et quare hoc?
I. Quia Scripturæ et Patres aliud doceant. Scripturæ igitur et Patribus adversor. Credo autem, confiteor et doceo ea ipsa per omnia quæ docet homilia regia *de bonis Operibus*. Si cui videatur me docere aliud, prodeat ille, et hoc ostendat.

Principium igitur agendi apud quosdam, nequem offenderis, vel Christi quoque et Ecclesiæ causa. Possunt enim res mutari, et ea ubi offensio obest, facit, ut satis lentè et remissè agatur in hâc causâ à quibusdam. Atqui tam principem religionis articulum prodere in nullius creaturæ gratiam debeo: nec momento in hoc me munere convenit tolerari, si in hoc Christianæ doctrinæ capite erro.

Jungi scriptum, quod multa falsa continet, mihi petenti, et meum scriptum omnibus offerenti, negatur.

Scio quàm fidelissimè agere Christi et meam causam D. Parkerum et D. Sandes; similiter Procancellarium D. Busbe. Jungus et ejus causa utinam placeret Jungi magistro, uti debet coram Domino. Res autem habet, ut habet.

Te itaque per Christum Dominum oro et obsecro, hæc omnia quæ scribo et mitto, exponas bona fide reverendiss. Domino Londinensi, ejusque reverendiss. Patris consilium mihi in hac causa impetres. Quod confido mihi impertire non gravabitur cum pro munere episcopali, cum pro sollicitudine, quam huic Academiæ peculiariter debet, ut ejus Visitor, Doctor, Theologus, et aulæ vestræ Præfectus. Quodque dederit consilium, nisi brevi ipse sit adventurus, mittas ad me per certum hominem quamprimum. Causa Christi agitur, et Ecclesiæ ejus, atque Academiæ.

Misissem libenter et scriptum Jungi, sed, ut memini, impetrare illud non potui. Misi hæc omnia et ad clariss. virum D. Checum, eumque rogavi, ut reverendiss. Londinensi omnia communicaret. Sed potest mora intercedere. Ideo omnia volui et per te reverendissimo Domino exhiberi. Miris enim artibus adversarii fidem ministerio meo derogare student, ubiubi possunt: et possunt apud non paucos, nobiles et alios. Viva enim Christi religio ac doctrina perpau-
 corum electorum est.

Jactant nunc plerique ex adversariis, se premi nimium homiliâ regia, ne ausint contra me disputare. Indeque creditur cras neminem eorum ad disputandum proditum. Fatentur igitur homiliam pro me regiam contra ipsos facere; et tamen ei subscripserunt. O hominum religionem! O incogitantes divini judicii animos! Eo tu vero, mi frater, diligentius instes, ut quamprimum reverendissimi consilium, quid faciendum mihi esse censeat, clarè expositum ad me perscribatur. Membrum es Christi præcipuum, collega meus in sanctissimo administrandi verbi Dei munere, tua non minus quam mea, et omnium Christianorum causa agitur. Vale quàm optimè, causam hanc, ut Christi, acturus reverendiss. Domino ac patrono meo obsequium et vota mea studiosè offeras. Cantabrigiæ, pridie cal. Septembr. anno 1550.

BOOK
I.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,
M. Bucerus.

Number II.

3

Brevis quædam formula revocationis Hadriano Hamstedio per reverendum Episcopum Londinensem oblata, ultima Julii, anno M.D. LXII.

EGO Hadrianus Hamstedius, propter assertiones quas-
dam meas et dogmata verbo Dei repugnantia, dum hic in ecclesia Londino-Germanica Ministrum agerem, decreto Episcopi Londinensis, ministerio depositus atque excommunicatus, nunc post sesquiannum, vel circiter, rebus melius perpensis, et ad verbi Dei regulam examinatis, aliter sentio: et culpam meam ex animo agnosco; doleoque me tantas offensiones et scandala peperisse.

Hi sunt autem articuli, seu assertiones, in quibus me errasse fateor.

I. Primò, Quod scripto quodam meo contra verbum Dei asseruerim, atque his verbis usus fuerim, *scil.*

BOOK

I.

“ Quod Christus ex mulieris semine natus sit, ac nostræ carnis particeps factus, id non fundamentum esse, sed ipsius fundamenti circumstantiam quandam, etiam pueri primis literis imbuti agnoscent. Itaque qui Christum ex mulieris semine natum esse negat, is non fundamentum negat, sed unam ex fundamenti circumstantiis negat.”

II. Secundò, Quod Anabaptistas Christum verum mulieris semen esse negantes, si modo nos non proscindant, et condemnent, pro fratribus meis, membrisque corporis Christi debilioribus, in scriptis quibusdam meis, atque aliis disceptationibus, agnoverim: et per consequens, salutem vitæ æternæ illis ascripserim.

III. Tertiò, Quod negantes hujusmodi Christi ex Virgine incarnationem asseruerim, in Christo Domino, unico fundamento fundatos esse: eorum hujusmodi errorem, lignum, stipulam, et fœnum, fundamento superædificata appellans: quo non obstante ipsi servandi veniant, tanquam per ignem. De quibus testatus sum me benè sperare. Quemadmodum de omnibus aliis meis charis fratribus in Christo fundatis.

1 Joann. iv.
Joan. Epist.
ii.

Cum tamen Spiritus Sanctus per Joannem Apostolum manifestè affirmet, “ Negantes Christum in carne venisse (de ipsa carne loquens, quæ assumpta erat ex semine Abrahæ, et ex semine Davidis) esse seductores, et antichristos, et Deum non habere.”

IV. Quartò, Etiam in hoc graviter me peccasse fateor, quod constanter asseruerim, negantes Christum esse verum mulieris semen, non proinde necessariò, et consequenter negare, eum esse nostrum Emanuelem, Mediatorem, Pontificem, Fratrem: neque propterea negare ipsum verum hominem esse, carnisve resurrectionem. Nam istam consequentiam, negantes Christum esse verum mulieris semen, eadem opera negare Christum esse nostrum Emanuelem, Mediatorem, &c. planè necessarium esse agnosco: et non minus quàm illam, quâ usus est divus Paulus, ad Corinthios decimo quinto, “ Si resurrectio mortuorum non est, nec Christus quidem resurrexit. Quod si Christus non resurrexit, inanis est videlicet prædicatio nostra; inanis autem est et fides vestra.”

1 Corinth.
xv.

V. Quintò, Quod aliquoties in meis concionibus, præter officium pii ministri, usus fuerim argumentis, persuasionibus, similitudinibus, et dicteriis, ad istas assertiones populo persuadendas: videlicet, similitudine, non referre cujus sit coloris vestris regia. Et litigantes de carne Christi, militibus de tunica Christi aleâ ludentibus comparando: cæterisque hujusmodi. Quæ omnia eo tendunt, ut hunc fundamentalem fidei nostræ articulum extenuarent, et negantibus salutis spem non præcluderent. Agnosco enim plurimum interesse, utrùm Christus nostram carnem, an aliquam aliam cœlestem, seu ætheream assumpserit. Cum non nisi in nostra carne judicio Dei satisfieri, et pro peccatis hostia Deo accepta offerri potuisset.

VI. Sextò, Agnosco etiam in eo culpam meam, quod in concionibus meis affirmaverim, unicuique in Ecclesia reformata liberum esse, infantem suum sine baptismo ad aliquot annos reservare, neque ullius fratris conscientiam, in hac re, ad aliquod certum tempus astringi posse.

VII. Postremò, Quod horum præscriptorum errorum monitores, utriusque ecclesiæ ministros contempserim; atque ipsum adeo reverendum Episcopum Londinensem, utriusque peregrinorum ecclesiæ superintendentem. Imò potius, contemptis omnibus admonitionibus, ad jus provocarim. Quo tamen convictus, legitimis et fide dignis testimoniis, culpam agnoscere renuerim. Quodque prædictos omnes ecclesiarum ministros, et alios monitores accusarim, tam dictis quam scriptis, Londini, et in partibus ultramarinis; quasi non ordine, justè et debità ejectione, et excommunicatus fuerim. Agnosco enim me optimo jure hoc promeruisse, atque ordine à dicto Episcopo mecum fuisse actum.

Cui dictus Hadrianus subscribere recusat.

BOOK
I.

Number III.

5 Letters from the Council to the Bishop of London ; to disturb the Mass said in certain houses in London.

PaperOffice.
Bundl. entitled.
Ecclesiast. 1567.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your Lordship. The Queen's Majesty, understanding by divers credible means, that there be sundry conventicles of evil disposed subjects : which, notwithstanding continual teaching, and great clemency used by her Majesty to the reducing of them to live in one uniformity of religion, do obstinately, not only refuse to obey the laws of the realm, provided for maintenance of order in religion, by using to have the private Mass and other superstitious ceremonies celebrated in their houses ; but also to make secret collections of money, which they send out of the realm to the maintenance of such as are notoriously known enemies to the authority of the Queen and her crown. In which matter her Majesty hath expressly commanded us to procure some speedy reformation. And namely, hearing of these former contempts to be maintained in the house of Falmouth and Nicolson, hath charged us to cause the same to be tried and punished. For which purpose we do require your Lordship to confer with Mr. Alderman Bond, one of the Sheriffs of London, (to whom we have written to come to your Lordship to-morrow in the morning,) and to proceed in these matters as you shall devise and think meet.

And for that purpose we think it good, that your Lordship do prescribe to the Sheriff, that he with speed enter into the house at such hour as you shall appoint, and take sure order that none escape the same house, until due search be made of all persons there to be found. And further, to search for all writings, letters, books, and other things belonging to the usage of the Mass, and tending to make proof of any disorder above mentioned. And the parties that shall be found culpable, or probably to be suspected, to commit in several custody, as shall seem best, to obtain of them, being duly examined, the truth of their offences, or their understanding of other.

And to the intent this search may be both circumspectly and duly done to the satisfaction of her Majesty; we think good your Lordship in our names shall require our loving friends, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Osborn of the Exchequer, and Mr. Henry Knolles, to join with the Sheriff, adding thereto any other whom you shall think meet. And generally we heartily pray you, if you think any other place likely to be also suspected of the like disorders, that you cause the like proceeding to be used as circumspectly as you may, and of your doings to advise us.

BOOK
I.

Number IV.

6

A Psalm compiled out of the Book of Psalms, and appointed by the Bishop to be used in public, upon the abatement of the plague.

Psal. cxxiii. 1. UNTO thee, O Lord, lift we up our eyes,
O thou that dwellest in the heavens.

2. Even as the eyes of servants look unto the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hands of her mistress: even so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until he have mercy upon us.

Psal. xviii. 3. In our trouble we have called upon the Lord, with our voice we complained unto our God, and our prayers entered into his ears, and he heard us out of his holy temple.

Psal. iii. 4. Many there were that did say of our souls,
There is no help for them in their God.

5. But salvation belongeth unto thee, O Lord, and thy blessing is upon thy people.

Psal. xxvii. 6. We will tarry the Lord's leisure with patience, and put our trust in him, and he will comfort our hearts.

Psal. ix. 7. They that know thy name, O Lord, will put their trust in thee, for thou hast never failed them that seek thee.

BOOK
I.

Psal. cxlvii. 8. Thou healest those that are broken in heart, and givest medicine to heal their sickness.

Psal. lxxix. 9. Finish therefore, O Lord, the work of thy mercy, that thou hast begun in us: save the residue that are appointed to death.

Psal. xvii. 10. Shew thy marvellous loving-kindness to us, thou that art the Saviour of them that put their trust in thee.

Psal. cxliii. 11. Quicken us, O Lord, for thy name's sake: for thy mercies' sake bring our souls out of trouble.

Psal. xc. 12. The glorious majesty of our God be upon us: prosper thou the work of thy hands upon us: O prosper thou the work of thy hands.

Psal. vii. 13. God is a righteous Judge, strong and patient, and God is provoked every day.

14. If a man will not turn, he will whet his sword, he hath bent his bow, and made it ready, and ordaineth his arrows against the wicked and ungodly.

Psal. iv. 15. Let us therefore always set God before our eyes: let us stand in awe and sin not: let us offer up the sacrifice of righteousness, and put our trust in the Lord.

Psal. xviii. 16. Let us have an eye unto the laws of the Lord, and keep his ways, and not forsake our God, as the wicked doth.

17. Let us live uncorrupt before him, and eschew our own wickedness.

7 Psal. v. 18. Let us come near unto his house even in the multitude of his mercies, and in his fear let us worship toward his holy temple.

Psal. iv. 19. Then he will lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and bless us.

20. Then may we lay ourselves down in peace and take our rest; for it is the Lord only that maketh us dwell in safety.

Psal. v. 21. For thou, O Lord, wilt give thy blessing unto the righteous, and with thy favourable kindness wilt thou defend him, as with a shield.

Psal. iii. 22. O how plentiful is thy goodness, which thou

hast laid up for them that fear thee ; and that thou hast prepared for them that put their trust in thee, even before the sons of men. BOOK
I.

23. Thanks be to the Lord ; for he hath shewed us marvellous great kindness in a mighty city.

Psal. xvi. 24. We will thank the Lord, because he hath given us warning : we will sing of the Lord, because he hath dealt lovingly with us : yea, we will praise the name of the Lord most high.

Psal. v. 25. Let all them that put their trust in the Lord, rejoice ; they shall ever be giving of thanks, because thou defendest them, they that love thy name shall be joyful in thy salvation.

Psal. xviii. 26. The Lord liveth, and blessed be our gracious helper ; and praised be the God of our salvation, which hath delivered us from the snares of death.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost :

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever, &c.

Number V.

The Psalm and Prayer appointed by the Bishop to be used, upon the public thanksgiving for the cessation of the plague.

The Psalm.

Psal. cxlvii. 1. O praise the Lord ; for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God : yea, a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful.

Psal. cv. 2. O give thanks unto the Lord, and call upon his name, and tell the people what he hath done.

Psal. xcii. 3. For it is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises unto thy name, O most Highest.

4. To tell of thy loving-kindness early in the morning, 8 and of thy truth in the night-season.

Psal. xiii. 5. We will sing of the Lord, because he hath

BOOK dealt so lovingly with us ; yea, we will praise the name of
I. the Lord most Highest.

Psal. xxx. 6. We will magnify thee, O Lord, for thou hast set us up ; and not made our foes to triumph over us.

Psal. xcii. 7. For thou, Lord, hast made us glad through thy works ; and we will rejoice in giving praise for the operation of thy hands.

Psal. xxx. 8. For, O Lord our God, we cried unto thee, and thou hast healed us.

9. Thou hast brought our souls out of hell, thou hast kept our life from them that go down to the pit.

Psal. lxxxvi. 10. For great is thy mercy towards us, and thou hast delivered our souls from the nethermost hell.

Psal. lxxviii. 12. Praised be the Lord daily, even the God which helpeth us, and poureth his benefits upon us.

Psal. ciii. 13. The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering, and of great goodness.

Psal. cxvi. 14. Gracious is the Lord, and righteous ; yea, our God is merciful.

Psal. xxx. 15. For his wrath endureth but the twinkling of an eye, and in his pleasure is life : heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.

Psal. ciii. 16. He will not alway be chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever.

17. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our wickedness.

18. For look how wide the east is from the west, so far hath he set our sins from us.

19. For like as a father pitieth his children, even so is the Lord merciful to them that fear him.

20. For he knoweth whereof we be made ; he remembereth that we are but dust.

Psal. lxxxvi. 21. For thou, Lord, art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee.

Psal. lxxxv. 22. Thou hast forgotten the offence of thy people, and covered all their sins.

23. Thou hast taken away all thy displeasure, and turned thyself from thy wrathful indignation.

Psal. xxx. 24. Thou hast turned our heaviness to joy : BOOK
I.
thou hast put off our sackcloth, and girded us with glad-
ness.

Psal. xc. 25. Turn thee again, O Lord, at the last,
and be gracious unto thy servants.

26. O satisfy us with thy mercy, and that soon ; so shall
we rejoice, and be glad all the days of our life.

27. Comfort us again, after the time that thou hast
plagued us ; and for the *year* wherein we have suffered ad-
versity.

28. Shew thy servants thy work, and their children thy 9
glory ; and the glorious majesty of the Lord our God be
upon us. Prosper thou the work of our hands upon us ;
O prosper thou our hand work.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy
Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

The Prayer, or Collect.

WE yield thee hearty thanks, O most merciful Father,
that it hath pleased thee in thy wrath to remember thy
mercy, and partly to mitigate thy severe rod of this terrible
plague, wherewith thou hast hitherto most justly scourged
us for our wickedness ; and most mercifully revoked us
from the same : calling us, (who in health and prosperity
had clean forgotten both thee and ourselves,) by sickness
and adversity, to the remembrance both of thy justice and
judgment, and of our own miserable frailness and mortality :
and now lest we, by the heaviness of thine indignation,
should have utterly despaired, comforting us again by the
manifest declaration of thy fatherly inclination to all com-
passion and clemency. We beseech thee to perfect the
work of thy mercy graciously begun in us. And foras-
much as true health is to be sound and whole in that part
which in us is most excellent, and like to thy godhead, we

BOOK
I.

pray thee thoroughly to cure and heal the wounds and diseases of our souls, grievously wounded and poisoned by the daily assaults and infections of the old serpent, Satan, with the deadly plagues of sin and wickedness. By the which inward infections of our minds, these outward diseases of our bodies have, by the order of thy justice, O Lord, issued and followed. That we, by thy fatherly goodness and benefit, obtaining perfect health, both of our minds and bodies, may render unto thee therefore continual and most hearty thanks: and that by flying from sin, may avoid thine anger and plagues; and ever hereafter, in innocency and godliness of life, studying to serve and please thee, may both by our words and works, always glorify thy holy name. Which we beseech thee to grant us, O Father of mercies, and God of all consolation, for thy dear Son, our only Saviour and Mediator, Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

10

Number VI.

A form of an Act drawn up for the better observation of the Lord's day. And for hindering markets to be kept thereon.

E MSS.
Guil. Petyt.
Armig.

FIRST, be it enacted, &c. that upon every Sabbath-day and principal feast-day, be kept neither open fair, nor market throughout the year; and that all persons or incorporations having by patent such days expressed, may change the same days with the day immediately following, or going before the said Sunday or principal feast-day; upon pain as well to the buyer as to the seller, to forfeit half of the ware so bought or sold to the promoter, &c. and if any either seller or buyer offend thrice in such fault, then to be judged to prison for fourteen days following, without bail or mainprize; and so convicted before the Ordinary, his officer, or before any Justice of the Peace, they shall without any partiality, and with expedition award as well the said penalty accordingly, as the imprisonment, in case above expressed.

Item, That no victualler or craftsman have his shop open before the service be done in his parish where he dwelleth; and that his servants be not set on work, or other whiles sent abroad about their worldly affairs, which might be deferred, and performed on the week-day. And that any master be answerable for his servants, of their coming and resorting to the church, except in cases of necessity; as in serving urgent affairs of the commonwealth, or the changeable necessity of their neighbours, which otherwise cannot be delayed without great hurt and danger. And that this case of necessity be so judged and provided by the discretion of the Ordinary, or by the Justice of the Peace next to the same his own dwelling. BOOK
I.

Item, That all manner of persons, with their household servants, shall frequent their own parish church to the Common Prayer; and there to remain the whole time of the same; and also shall receive the holy Communion in such days and times, or so oft as is appointed by the Book of Service. And whosoever doth customably absent himself from the Common Prayer, and neglect to receive, as is provided, to be chargeable to the fine set thereupon, to be levied by the churchwardens. And if they be found negligent to levy the forfeiture, then they to make answer to the Ordinary for all such fines forfeited, to be put into the poor man's box, and be distributed once every quarter by the Curate or Parson of the same town. And the churchwardens to do such charitable and indifferent distribution, as they may be judged to be clear from all partial respect and corrupt affection.

Item, If any person or persons of what condition soever he be, be found notably to transgress his duty in coming to the divine service, as aforesaid, or to neglect to receive the holy Communion, as it is prescribed, that then beside the penalty before limited, he shall be taken and reputed as a person excommunicated without further process and promulgation of sentence; and that he, so long time as he remains in such wilfulness, be discharged of the benefit of the Queen's

BOOK
I.

Majesty's laws, and be made unable to sue, or to hold plea in any of the courts of the realm, whereby any recovery of debt or benefit may rise unto him during the time he so do stand and persist in such wilful disobedience. And that it may be lawful to the adversary of any such person to allege the notorious negligence and contempt of such offender; and so thereby to be dismissed of all action of debt, trespass, &c. whatsoever. So that the Ordinary, or any next Justice of the Peace, do, by his or their writing, testify the notorious default in any person so offending, as aforesaid.

Item, In any city or town, where there be two, three, or more parishes, when any Preacher lawfully authorized shall fortune to resort thither to preach the word of God, that the Curates of other parishes be warned by the Curate of such parish or parishes where such sermons shall be made, that they may the sooner appoint the time of the Common Prayer so to be ended, that there be left sufficient time for the Preacher, for all such as shall be disposed to resort thereunto. And that the parishioners make not their excuses of not coming to their parish church by any such sermons-hearing: and if any such person or persons offend by despising to come to such sermons, or give themselves to gaming, drinking, or idle being at home, to be presented by the churchmen of such parishes, to be considered according as the Ordinary shall, by his discretion, think convenient.

Item, That if the churchwardens and questmen, sworn to present such defaults of any manner of person, do neglect to do the same accordingly, to their knowledge; that then every such quest so offending shall forfeit in the name of a pain twelvecence for every fault, to be converted to the poor man's box. And that no man whatsoever, so presented and detected by the virtue of the oaths of such questmen, shall molest or trouble at the law any of the questmen for such presenting, upon pain that every such detected offender commencing any action against the detector in such case, shall forfeit to the Queen's Majesty's use ten pound. The moiety whereof shall be to the use of the Queen's Majesty,

and the other half to the party which shall give information thereof to the Ordinary, or any Justice of Peace nigh to their dwelling-place. BOOK
L

Number VII.

12

A form of an Act for the better execution of the writ De excommunicato capiendo.

FORASMUCH as in these our days divers subjects of this realm, and other the Queen's Majesty's dominions, are grown into such licence and contempt of the laws ecclesiastical, and censures of the Church, that unless it were for fear of the temporal sword and power, they would altogether despise and neglect the same: which temporal sword and power, being oftentimes slowly and negligently executed, by reason of the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*, being only directed unto the Sheriff within whose circuit the party excommunicate doth abide, by the negligence, corruption, favour, or delay of the same Sheriff, is either not executed at all, or else so slowly, that the execution of justice thereby is letted or delayed; and the party excommunicated thereby encouraged to continue and persist in wilful and obstinate contumacy and disobedience: whereby the corruptions and censures of the Church do run in great contempt, and like daily to grow into more, unless some speedy remedy be provided in that behalf: may it therefore please your, &c. that it may be ordained, enacted, and established, by the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same; that from henceforth all writs *De excommunicato capiendo* may be directed to the Sheriffs, Under-sheriff, and all Justices of the Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, and other ministers or officers whatsoever, or unto any one of them, within whose circuit or precinct the party or parties excommunicate doth abide. And that it shall be lawful unto him, one of the said Sheriffs, Under-sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, or other officers or ministers

E MSS. G.
Pelyt. Armig.

BOOK
I.

whatsoever, unto whose hands the said writ shall come, by virtue of the same, to attack and apprehend the body of the person or persons excommunicate, and to carry and convey the same unto the next prison or gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize, until such time as the said party or parties, with effect, shall humble and submit himself, or themselves, unto the commandment and laws of the Church: and also to satisfy unto the party or parties thereby grieved or damnified, all such costs or damages as he or they have thereby any ways borne or sustained, at the taxation of the spiritual Judge, according to the laws ecclesiastical.

Provided, that all other laws, orders, statutes, and customs, which heretofore have been ordained, provided, and used, for the punishment and correction of such as be, or shall be, for any cause excommunicate, shall stand and remain in the same force and strength as they did stand in before the making hereof, any thing in this former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

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Number VIII.

Justus Velsius's rule: entitled, Christiani Hominis Norma, ad quam se explorare perpetuò quivis debet.

PaperOffice.

1. **QUISNAM** est Christianus? Qui quod Christus per se, et naturâ extitit, et est, id participatione atque gratiâ est redditus, et reddendus.
- A.
2. Quidnam per se et naturâ extitit Christus, et est? Primum, Deus in homine, deinde et homo Deus.
- B.
3. Quare Christum Deum in homine extitisse dicis? Quia dum Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, Deum ad nos cœlitus deduxit, nostræque passibili naturæ conjunxit et univit, ut nobis in terra tanquam advenis quibusdam constitutis, ad cœlestem patriam, unde primi hominis inobedienciâ excidimus, reditus et itineris initiator esset et dux, perfectâ suâ ad montem usque crucis obedienciâ; per quam peccato mortuus est semel.
- C.

4. Quomodo peccato mortuum Christum dicis, cum in peccato nunquam vixerit? *Peccatum enim non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore suo.* Quia etsi ipse in peccato nunquam vixerit, corpore, animâ, et Spiritu ab omni injustitiæ contagione immunis; tamen nostra peccata in carne suâ pertulit, dum et à peccato inflictum passibilitatis et mortalitatis vulnus in se recepit, et pœnam peccati pro nobis ἀντὶ λυτρον redditus sustinuit, seseque pro eo hostiam immaculatam per Spiritum æternum Deo Patri exhibuit et obtulit.

5. Quare eundem Hominem Deum esse asseris? Quia dum ab elementis hujus mundi mortuus est, et moriendo omnem corruptibilitatem et mortalitatem exuit, gloriosa sua resurrectione carne verbum factâ et habitante in Deo, hominem ad Deum evexit, ipsiusque impassibili naturæ conjunxit et univit.

6. Quomodo utrumque id homo participatione et gratiâ reddi potest? Per duplicem regenerationem, internî alteram, alteram externi hominis: quarum illa nos Deos in hominibus in hoc seculo constituit, hæc homines-deos in futuro efficit.

D.
E. F.

7. Quenam est internî hominis regeneratio? Qua ex aquâ et Spiritu renascimur.

8. Quidnam est ex aquâ nasci? Secundum internum hominem peccato mori, et corruptionis mortisque metus servitute liberari, exuendo corpore peccatorum carnis per non manufactam circumcisionem Christi; et veteri homine cum actibus suis deponendo: atque in aquâ baptismatis, tanquam 14 in mari rubro, submergendo, et cum Christo consepeliendo in mortem, ut deinceps actuosus non sit.

9. Quidnam est ex Spiritu nasci? Secundum eundem internum hominem justitiæ reviviscere, et in spem omnimodæ incorruptibilitatis et immortalitatis erigi, per vim resurrectionis Christi, et renovationem Spiritus Sancti in mentem nostram copiosè effundendi; ut induto novo homine, qui secundum Deum conditus est in justitiâ et sanctitate veritatis, tum in novitate vitæ ambulemus, membra nostra accommodantes arma justitiæ Deo, tum externum hominem continenter supplantantes, et in servitutem redigentes, mortifi-

BOOK
I.

cationem Jesu in corpore nostro perpetuò circumferamus, quo et vita Jesu in corpore nostro per externi hominis fiendam regenerationem, manifestetur.

- G. 10. Quænam est externi hominis regeneratio? Ejus ad incorruptibilitatis et immortalitatis consortium à mortuis in novissimo die resuscitatio; quando erit et Deus, perfectâ obedientiâ omnibus ipsi jam subditis, omnia in omnibus. Ad quam nemo perventurum se tum speret, qui non hîc in interno hominè verè renatus, mortem primam, id est, animi et interni hominis devicerit. Nam hic solus, eam qui devicerit, nec à morte secunda et corporis, quæ ipsi ad vitam est transitus, nec ab æternâ illa cum corporis tum animi, qua æternis suppliciis utrumque addicetur, quicquam, utpote nihil juris in ipsum obtinente, lædetur: reliquis omnibus nunquam finiendos intolerabiles cruciatus perpessuris.

Hanc ego, nec aliam ullam Christiani hominis normam novi, quæ tuta certè sit et fidelis: ad quam me meaque jugiter examino: quod et cuivis, qui seipsum decipere nolit, faciendum censeo. Atque ad hanc dum ex hominis Christiani vero affectu et charitate alios quoque revocare conor, id mihi Psalmistæ usu venire experior, *Et posuerunt adversum me mala pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione mea.* Quid igitur ipsis (proh! dolor) expectandum sit, ex eodem illo discant Psalmo, *cujus initium, Deus laudem meam ne tacueris; quia os peccatoris et os dolosi super me apertum est.* Vos autem mihi in Christo dilectos sedulò moneo et hortor, ut hanc normam à mentis vestræ oculis nunquam amoveatis, sed omnem vestram vitam ad eam perpetuò exploretis ac dirigatis. Nam sic tantummodo servari hoc pessimo tempore poteritis,

Vestræ omniumque Salutis amantissimus

Justus Velsius Haganus.

Number IX.

*Bishop Grindal's animadversions upon Justus Velsius's 15
scheme of Christian Religion, or his Rule, whereby Chris-
tians should examine themselves.*

In scripto Velsii, (scil. in Christiani hominis Norma) hæc animadvertantur.

NON edi ab ipso fidei confessionem, ut oportuit; si modò cupit satisfacere iis, qui resipiscentiæ fructus in eo de-
siderant: sed veluti normam præscribi ad quam omnium conscientias exigi vellet.

si Paper Of-
fice. Fides
Confessio-
nem exigit.

Atqui in hac normâ nulla fidei fit mentio, sine qua frustra de religione Christiana, frustra de regeneratione aut novo homine disceptatur.

Nulla men-
tio fidei.

Astutè ergo præterit vim et modum justificationis per fidem; item quid de viribus hominis ejusque arbitrio, quid de operibus sentiat.

Justificatio
per fidem
præteritur.
De libero
arbitrio.

In iis verò ipsum perniciosè errâsse, multorum turbâsse conscientias, et orthodoxæ doctrinæ contraria docuisse, certissimum est. Nec desunt in Angliâ oculatî testes qui ipsum convincant.

Erravit in
his.

Quæ verò nunc scripta dedit, tametsi multis sacræ Scripturæ verbis intertexta sunt, tamen à purâ Scripturæ sententiâ, veraque doctrina longè discedunt.

Nam Christiani hominis definitio quam tradit, præterquam quod jejuna nec sufficiens est, absurditatem maximam et à fide nostrâ alienam; continet. *Christianus*, inquit, *is est, qui quod Christus per se et natura est, gratia redditur.* Ac subjungit, *Christus per se et natura est Deus in homine, et homo Deus.* Quid hinc sequitur? Christianum esse Deum in homine, et hominem Deum. Ac ne videar id ex meipso inferre, id postea apertè concludit.

A.

B.

At non ita loquitur Scriptura. Nam quæ propriè et unice competunt Christo capite nostro, id membris tribui sine sacrilegio et blasphemia non potest. Nullus ergo Christianus Deus in homine, aut homo Deus dici debet. CHRISTUS enim solus est *Immanuel*, solus Redemptor, solus *μεσότης*,

Scriptura
non ita lo-
quitur.

BOOK I. *ixérns*, &c. hanc dignitatem, hæc officia membris non disper-
tit; *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*, dicit Dominus. Efficacia
quidem et fructus eorum distribuuntur membris, quos per-
cipiunt per fidem. Fiunt enim Filii Dei, templa Dei, quia
Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis habitat. Sed non ideo Dii in ho-
minibus, aut *homines Dii* dici possunt.

16 Detegendus ergo est anguis, qui sub involucris Scripturæ
tanquam sub herbâ latet, et in lucem proferendus est. Nam
quæ garrit de unione nostrâ cum Christo captiosa et fallacia
sunt.

C.
Initiator
Christus. Præterea, cum initiatorem Christum vocat, multum de
ejus majestate et virtute imminuit. Hoc enim solummodo
ei tribuit, ut introducat, ac veluti elementa doceat; ut nos
post talem initiationem nostris viribus ad perfectionem con-
tendamus.

D.
Duplex re-
generatio. Quod regenerationem facit duplicem, unam interni, alte-
ram externi hominis, ex Scriptura non didicit, quæ totum
hominem renovari jubet. *Nisi quis renatus*, &c. Joan. iii.
De externo homine sic loquitur Paulus, 2 Corinth. iv. *Licet
is qui foris est homo noster corrumpatur, tamen is qui intus
est renovatur de die in diem*. Eundem verò esse *externum*
hominem, qui *vetus* dicitur, apparet ex aliis locis, ut Eph.
iv. *Vos edocti estis deponere veterem hominem secundum
pristinam conversationem, qui corrumpitur secundum desi-
deria erroris. Renovamini autem Spiritu mentis vestræ:
et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est
in justitia et sanctitate veritatis*.

E.
Deos in ho-
minibus. Quod interni hominis regenerationem Deos in hominibus
constituere dicit in hoc seculo, alienum est à formâ loquendi
quâ Scriptura utitur. Nusquam enim dicit nos regenera-
tione fieri Deos, sive in hoc seculo, sive in futuro. Sed hinc
apparet, quorsum prius dixerat nos fieri id quod Christus
est, et Christianos reddi Deos in hominibus. Vult enim sta-
tuere perfectionem quam sibi ipse finxit esse in homine
Christiano, et persuadere omnes Christianos esse Deos; id
est, ab omni labe et culpâ immunes. Quæ arrogantia quam
detestabilis et execranda sit, nemo pius non videt.

F. Non minus alienum atque impium est, quod dicit Christi-

anum in futuro seculo Deum fore; idque nullo colore, aut ullâ expositione tegi aut leniri potest. Nec enim dicit BOOK
I.
Christus, Eritis Dii; sed eritis beati, benedicti, vivetis, vitam æternam possidebitis. Nec quisquam est qui plus expectare, aut sibi polliceri possit aut debeat, quam quod Christus dixit Apostolis, Matth. xix. 28. *Vos qui me sequuti estis in regeneratione, cum sederit Filius hominis in sede majestatis suæ, sedebitis et vos super duodecim sedes, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel.* Unicuique ergo sufficere debet, si gloriæ Christi pro mensurâ suâ particeps reddatur.

Videtur autem externi hominis regenerationem accipere pro ultimâ resurrectione, in quâ quid somniet nondum assequor. G.
Regenera-
tio externa
pro resur-
rectione.

In eo vero se maximè prodit, cum testatur se nullam aliam normam Christianæ religionis agnoscere. Nec enim posset apertius rejicere doctrinam fidei, et remissionis peccatorum. Atque hinc constat ipsum novum quoddam evangelium fabricare; nec dubito, quin alia monstra alat, quæ nondum ex iis, quæ protulit detegi possunt. Rejicit doc-
trinam fi-
dei.

Edm. London.

Number X.

17

Boner, late Bishop of London, to the Queen, excusing his refusal of the oath of supremacy.

Auxilium meum à Domino.

Serenissima, clementissima et optima Regina, salutem:
addere etiam oportet, felicitatem, eamque perpetuam,
cum omni meo obsequio et servitute.

ET quoniam religiosè dii sunt adeundi, teque veluti in terris deam, non oscitanter et negligenter accedere conveniat, liceat mihi (O clementiss. Regina) cum tuâ bonâ veniâ te cum omni obedientia, humilitate et reverentia per literas alloqui, quando præsens per carceris angustias id facere non

E MSS.
Guil. Petyt.
Armig.

BOOK I. possum; hoc scil. adjungens quod olim Cæsari dixit Ovidius
absens,

Ingenium vultu statque caditque tuo.

Quâ sententiâ nihil aliud significatum volo, quàm si tua insignis clementia meas actiones, quas multi (prout varia sunt mortalium ingenia) variè interpretentur, vel probet, vel improbet, ego vel felicem, vel infelicem prorsus meipsum judicaturus. Et nè majestatem tuam multis regni tui negotiis occupatam, longo et inani verborum strepitu diutius quàm par est, detineam, id mihi præfandum est, nolle me quicquam de tuâ summâ potestate detrudere; quam, ut par est, sartè tectam esse, et colendam apud omnes, ubique, profiteor et contendo.

At excipies, dicesque, de potestate principis non esse disputandum. Scio id quidem, optima Regina: nam id me olim docuit juris civilis prudentia, (cui pro mea virili tum temporis operam dabam) id scil. attestata sacrilegii instar criminis esse de principis facto judicioque aliter censere, quam ipse princeps censet. Cur ergo, inquires, juramentum quod statuti tenor exigit, non præstitisti? Audi, O! pietissima Regina, præstandum esse aliquando juramentum scio, aliquando vero non præstandum. Sed explica, inquires, apertius. Præstandum esse tum demum censeo juramentum, quando absque periculo salutis æternæ præstari et observari possit: præstandum esse, si suos habeat comites, nempè veritatem conscientiæ, judicium discretionis, sive deliberationis, et justitiam; ut licitum et justum sit quod juratur. Non præstandum verò, quando res ita non se habeat. Id quod verbis quidem apertis divus Hieronymus cum Hieremia Prophetâ attestatur. Et Innocentius Tertius, vir summæ doctrinæ, et virtutis clarissimè confirmat in cap. *Et si Christus de jurejurando.*

- 18 Porro, quando scriptum sit, juramentum non ut vinculum sit iniquitatis inventum esse; deinde, quando *omne quod non est de fide*, attestante Apostolo, *peccatum est*; et qui contra suam conscientiam facit, ædificare censetur ad gehennam; denique cum certum sit, tuam pietatem (quantumvis urgeant alii) nolle subditos tuos illaqueare aut pec-

cato mortali aut perjurio: mihi persuadeo in tua virtute et lenitate, oh! clementissima Regina, me in hoc meo facto honestâ ductum conscientiâ, nec displicuisse Deo, nec tuæ excellentissimæ Majestati. Atque ut ita de me et censeat et loquatur, meumque factum sic interpretari velit, humiliter et reverenter obtestatam illam esse volo.

BOOK
1.

Inhære hic volebam et insarcire (charissima Princeps) quosdam Hieronymi et Augustini sententias, ad negotium hoc valdè pertinentes: sed habui rationem tuæ Majestatis, verebarque me nimîâ loquacitate meâ castas illas et prudentes aures tuas offendere; ideoque sententias illas seorsim extra epistolam apposui, ut aliquando ubi libitum est pro tuo otio (si visu sunt dignæ) perlegere possit tua clementia. Cui me humillimè iterum iterumque commendo. Raptim ex carcere ubi includor, sede scil. tribunalis tui regii in Southwark xxvi. die Octobris 1564.

Parcere prostratis nobilis est ira leonis.

Humillimus subditus Serenæ Majestatis tuæ ad pedes tuos provolutus humillimè, Edmundus Bonerus manu propria, sed rudi tamen et inculta.

Hieronymus in epistolam ad Ephes. et recitative in cap. *Si Dominus* xi. sic ait, “ Si Dominus ea jubet, quæ non sunt adversus sanctis Scripturis [sanctas Scripturas] subjiciatur domino servus. Si verò contraria præcipit, magis obediat spiritus quam corporis Domino, &c. Deinde, si bonum est quod præcipit imperator, jubentis exequere voluntatem: si malum, responde, *Oportet Deo magis quam hominibus obedire.* Hoc ipsum et de servis apud dominos, et de uxoribus apud viros, et de filiis apud patres. Quia in illis tantum debeantur [debeant] dominis et nostris parentibus esse subjecti, quæ contra Dei mandata non sunt.”

Augustinus in sermone de verbis Domini, et recitative in cap. *Qui resistit* xi. sic dicit, “ Qui enim resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Sed quid si illud jubeat, quod non debes facere? Hic sanè contemne potestatem. Tamen mendo potestatem, ipsos humanarum rerum gradus ad-

BOOK "vertitis. Si aliquid jusserit curator, nonne faciendum est?
I. "Si contra proconsul, non utique contemnis, sed eligis
 "majori servire. Nec hic debet minor irasci, si major pri-
 "latus est. Rursum, si aliquid jubeat imperator, et aliud
 "Deus, quid judicatis? Solve tributum: esto mihi in ob-
 "sequium. Rectè, sed non in idolio. In idolio prohibet
 "major potestas. Da veniam, O imperator. Tu carcerem,
 "ille gehennam minatur. Hinc jam tibi assumenda est
 "fides tua, tanquam scutum, in quo possis ignito jaculo ini-
 "mici extinguere."

Then follows another allegation out of the same author.

*Serenissima Regina nostra Domina Elizabetha
 omni virtutum genere præcellenti,
 hæc literæ dentur.*

19

Number XI.

*Bishop Grindal to Bullinger, concerning the controversy of
 the habits.*

Reverendo in Christo D. Henrico Bullingero, Tigu-
 rinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro fidelissimo, ac fratri in Do-
 mino charissimo, Edmundus Grindallus, &c. Salu-
 tem in Christo.

E Biblioth.
 Tigur.

CLARISSIME D. Bullingere, ac frater in Christo cha-
 rissime, D. Joannes Abelus tradidit mihi literas tuas Domi-
 nis Wintoniensi, Norwicensi, et mihi communiter inscriptas,
 unâ cum scripto vestro de re vestiaria. Quorum ego exem-
 plaria ad Dominos Wintoniensem et Norwicensem statim
 transmisi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias,
 tum quod nostrarum ecclesiarum tantam curam geris, tum
 quod me hominem tibi ignotum participem facis eorum,
 quæ ad nostros de rebus controversis scribuntur. Vix cre-
 dibile est, quantum hæc controversia de rebus nihili eccle-
 sias nostras perturbavit, et adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat.
 Multi ex ministris doctioribus videbantur ministerium de-
 serturi. Multi etiam ex plebe contulerunt consilia de seces-

sione à nobis facienda, et occultis cœtibus cogendis. Sed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad sanio- rem rediit. Ad eam rem literæ vestræ pietatis et prudentiæ plenæ, plurimum momenti attulerunt. Nam eas Latinè ac Anglicè typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex ministris, vestro judicio atque autoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora consilia de ministerio deserendo. Sed et ex plebe quam plurimi mitius sentire cœperunt, postquam intellexerunt nostros ritus à vobis, qui iisdem non utimini, nequaquam damnari impietatis: quod ante publicatas vestras literas nemo illis persuasisset. Sunt tamen qui adhuc manent in priori sententia. Et in his D. Humfredus, et Samsonus, &c. Nihil verò esset facilius quam regiæ Majestati eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed cum hoc non faciunt, nos apud serenissimam Reginam ista contentione irritatam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc episcopi sumus (eos dico, qui in Germania et aliis locis exulaverant) in primo nostro reditu, priusquam ad ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorsus amoverentur. Sed cum illud à Regina et statibus in comitiis regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis consiliis, optimum judicavimus non deserere ecclesias propter ritus non adeo multos, neque per se non impios, præsertim cum pura evangelii doctrina nobis integra et libera maneret. In qua ad hunc usque diem (ut- cunque multi multa in contrarium moliantur) cum vestris ecclesiis, vestraque confessione, nuper editâ, plenissimè consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos nostri consilii. Nam interea, Domino dante incrementum, auctæ sunt ecclesiæ, quæ alioque Eccebolis, Lutheranis, et Semi-papistis prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ verò istorum intempestivæ contentiones de Adiaphorâ (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt ecclesias, et discordias seminant inter fratres. Sed de nostris rebus hactenus.

In Scotia non sunt res tam benè constitutæ, quam esset optandum; retinent quidem adhuc ecclesiæ puram evangelii confessionem: sed tamen videtur Scotiæ Regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effe-

BOOK
I.

cit, ut sex aut septem missæ Papisticæ singulis diebus in aula sua publicè fierent, omnibus, qui accedere volunt, admissis; cum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admisso, esset contenta. Præterea cum primum inita esset reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis monasteriorum, quæ fisco adjudicata sunt, stipendia evangelii ministris persolverentur: at ipsa jam integro biennio nihil solvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit Minister, non ita pridem ejecit; neque exorari potest, ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen extra aulam hactenus nihil est innovatum: et proceres regni, nobiles item ac cives, multo maxima ex parte, evangelio nomen dederunt, ac multa magnaque constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his præcipuus est D. Jacobus Stewardus, Murrayæ comes, Reginæ frater nothus, vir pius, et magnæ apud suos autoritatis. Perscribitur etiam ad me ex Scotia, Reginæ cum Rege marito pessimè convenire. Causa hæc est. Fuit Italus quidem, nomine David, à Cardinale Lotharingo Reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is cum Reginæ à secretis et intimis consiliis esset, ferè solus omnia administrabat, non consulto Rege, qui admodum juvenis et levis est. Hoc malè habebat Regem: itaque facta conspiratione cum nobilibus quibusdam et aulicis suis, Italum illum, Reginæ opem frustra implorantem, ex ipsius conspectu abripi, et statim, indicta causa, multis pugionum ictibus perfodi atque interfici curavit. Hujus tam inmanis facti memoriam Regina, tametsi Regi filium pepererit, ex animo deponere non potest. Hæc paulo verbosius de Scotia, ex qua fortassis rarò ad vos scribitur ora, ut Dom. Gualterum, ac reliquos collegas tuos meo nomine salutes. Dominus te nobis et ecclesiæ suæ quam diutissimè conservet. Londini 27. Augusti, 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,

Edmundus Grindallus, Episcopus Londinensis.

Number XII.

Grindal, Bishop of London, to Zanchy, giving him account 21
of the state of the present differences in religion.

S. Ex postremis meis ad te literis, ad decimum octavum Foxii MSS. Decembris datis, intelligere potuisti, doctissime Zanche, causas extitisse justas et graves, cur de tuis ad regiam Majestatem reddendis literis, deliberationem mihi cum viris piis et doctis suscipiendam statuissem. Quamobrem liberatus illâ, quæ tum me impeditum dixi, prælonga et plena sollicitudinis circa Hispaniensem legatum curâ, probatissimos quosque capiendi consilii causa adibam, exque iis, re coram explicata, quid ipsis videretur diligenter exquirebam. In iis et ecclesiastici ordinis viri lectissimi, longeque principes, et regię Majestatis consiliarii aliquot, et alii quidam magni judicii viri, Deumque timentes, sententiam rogati, de literis minimè exhibendis, pluribus in medium adductis rationibus, ad unum omnes statuerunt. Eorum autem ad quos nuperrimè datis ad me literis scripsisti, neminem prætermisi, cujus vel consilium diligenter percontando non petiverim, vel à quo, sive per literas, sive in congressu familiari, responsum in eandem sententiam non tulerim. Quas autem singuli sui judicii attulerunt rationes, eas sigillatim referre omnes, et longum esset, nec fortasse expedit. Sunt qui dissentientium inter se partes non te rectè perspexisse; alii nè rei quidem controversæ statum plenè te percepisse, ex illis quas ad amicos quosdam scripsisti literis, non temerè conjecturam facere videntur. Sed nec facilis fortè erit explicatio.

Verùm quo certius et melius è re nata negotii certitudinem, varietatem, magnitudinem, ipse tibi expiscari possis, conabor quidem sedulò, ut ab ipsis fundamentis, re paulo altius repetita, omnia tibi reddam quàm explicatissima. Sic ergo habeto.

Quo primum tempore serenissima Elizabetha fœlicissimis auspiciis regni gubernacula suscepit, doctrina cultuque profligato Papistico, ad eam administrandi verbi Dei, Sa-

BOOK I. cramentorumque et totius religionis normam, quæ, regnante beatæ quidem, sed et luctuosissimæ memoriæ Edwardo Sexto, in nostris ecclesiis descripta constitutaque fuerat, omnia revocavit. In hanc celeberrimo convocato concilio, quod pervulgata sermonis consuetudine *Parlamentum* vocamus, ab omnibus regni ordinibus plenis suffragiis assensum est. Hujus tanta est autoritas concilii, ut quæ in eo scribuntur leges, illæ, nisi jubente eodem, dissolvi nulla ratione poterant. Quare cum in hac ipsa, de qua jam dixi, olim à Rege Edwardo conscriptæ religionis. Forma,

22 multa de vestiendi ratione ad ecclesiæ ministros propriè accommodata præcipiantur; deque rebus aliis, quæ vel aboleri vel emendari nonnulli viri boni cuperent, quo minus huic operi manum quispiam admovere potuit, legis auctoritate prohibebatur. Regiæ verò Majestati, ut ex episcoporum quorundam consilio, quædam immutare possit, lex ipsa concedit. At vero de lege nihil nec mutatum nec imminutum est. Nec sanè episcoporum quod sciam quisquam reperitur, qui non et ipse præscriptis pareat institutis, et cæteris, ut idem faciant, ducem se suasoremque præbeat. Quamobrem, in quo ipsi tibi jam antè ultrò concesserint, non est quod persuadendo magnopere labores, ut scil. vel ipsi in sua maneant statione, vel Regina erga eosdem tergiversantes mitius se gerat. In eandem cum episcopis sententiam cæteri quoque ecclesiarum ministri, docti indoctique ferè omnes, non invitè concedere sanè videntur.

Quædam desiderantur.

Doctrinam inconcussam jam hactenus illibatamque in nostris ecclesiis tenemus. A disciplinâ igitur cum omnis nostra deflexerit controversia, ista sunt de quibus queri plerumque solet. In vestitu ministrorum communi ex præscripto requiritur vestis talaris, pileum quadratum colloque circumducta stola quædam ab utroque humero pendula, et ad talos ferè dimissa. In publicis precibus, omnique administratione sacra, præter ista communia, lineum quoddam indumentum, quod novo vocabulo *superpellicum* dici solet, ministrantibus ut accomodetur, ecclesiastica jubet dis-

ciplina. Ex quibus cum depravatæ religionis sacerdotes, ab iis qui evangelii lucem administrent, quasi tesseris quibusdam, discriminari causentur nonnulli, talibus obsequiis vel idololatrarum probare hypocrisin, vel suum fœdare ministerium. Non sibi licere dicunt. Moderatiores verò, licet ut edictis pareant ritibus nullo se modo cogi patiantur, tamen nec aliis quòd obedientiam præstant, vitio verti volunt, nec rerum illarum usum ut impium habendum ducunt. Sunt autem nonnulli, qui peculiarem illum vestiendi morem sicut tuerentur, ut eo remoto, et sacra omnia tantum non profanari, et magno cum ministerium ornamento, tum populum documento fraudari, acriter contendunt. At enim ordinis ecclesiastici, ut dixi, pars major in ea persistere videntur sententia, ut quantumvis aboleri ista posse putent, et plurimi certè desiderant, tamen cum in deserta statione, quam in suscepta veste, plus inesse statuunt peccati, tanquam ex malis minimum, parere jussis, quam loco cedere satius ducunt.

Atque in tanta sententiarum varietate, sui ejusque animi sensa solidis se rationibus probè munita tenere quisque confidit. Sed mitto rationes: res enim nudas commemorare statui.

In Baptismi Sacramento administrando, interrogationes responsionesque, quæ de more adhiberi solent, alii ut è mero papatu deductas, alii ut infantibus inutiles, ipsis autem susceptoribus duriores quam ut præstando pares esse poterint, severè criminantur. Item, ejusdem administrandi 23 sacri quædam ratio præscribitur, quam et *privatam* dicunt; et de vita periclitantibus nominatim conceditur; hæc cum ad mulieres, quibus adesse solis parientibus licet, verbis non apertis, sed tacitis devolvi videatur, multorum reprehensione non caret. In Cœnæ celebratione genuflexio præcipitur; deque pane azymo nonnihil controversum est. Ordines ecclesiastici petentibus ex solius episcopi arbitrio dispensantur. Qui autem per manuum impositionem ad sacrum ministerium consignantur, iis preces publicas cæteraque administrare sacra licet. Evangelium autem, nisi nova aliunde accersitæ potestatis impetrata accessione, an-

BOOK
I.

nunciare non licet. Episcopi nisi ex mandato Regio nec eliguntur, nec ordinantur. Hiique ut suo quisque archiepiscopo obedientiam præsent, sacramento obligantur. Sunt autem, qui Archiepiscoporum, Archidiaconorum, et similium nomina auctoritatemque, quasi quæ dominatum quendam in ecclesia sacris libris vetitum constituent aboleri. Presbyterium autem per singulas ecclesias ex Apostolorum præscripto instaurari oportere contendant. Ad summam, nè singula persequar, ita per omnes partes nostram disciplinam et mancā, et corruptam esse querantur: ut de totius etiam ecclesiæ (quam, disciplina remota, nullam esse volunt) incolumitate, certitudineque dubitationes aspergere subobscurè videantur.

Quæ cum ita sint, auctoritate quadam ecclesiastica caveatur, nequis sacrum administrandi evangelii munus suscipiat, susceptamve retineat, qui non et ista de quibus jamdiu loquimur, generisque ejusdem alia, libro quodam comprehensa, pro ratis habeat, et nihil eo libro contineri, quod cum verbo Dei pugnet, suo quisque ascripto chirographo profiteatur. Nec vero siquis, quo minus id sibi facere liceat, conscientiæ queratur aculeos vel siquid aliud contra afferat, ad causæ præsidium valere ea quicquam possunt, rectè ne an secus in medio relinquo. Neque enim alicujus vel factum vel institutum improbandi causa, hunc mihi laborem susceptum putes: ipsos enim homines sententiis inter se variantes, propter summam eorum pietatem, doctrinam, auctoritatem utrobique colo, venerorque. De rebus nullum meum interpono judicium. Siquid inter narrandum in alteram partem præponderare videbitur, id ad rei majorem explicationem accommodatum, non affectibus indultum, existimabis. Ego enim ad ista scribenda, non animi aliqua perturbatione, sed officio ducor. Nam cum et hanc tibi de qua scriberes materiem suscepisses, et meum aliquod in eo desiderasses officium, cum quas ob causas tuo minus satisfecerim rogatui, reddendum mihi rationem putavi: tum nequa via per errorem à recto propositi argumenti scopo calamum deflecteres, qua potui cura et diligentia adesse tibi volui; ita tamen ut ego tibi ad eam quam

instituisi scribendi provinciam autor esse nolim; multo minus, ut nullo ad parandam gratiam adjumento, principis BOOK
1.
 animum rei novitate percellas. Res enim lubrica, incertique est eventus, ut quæ non semel ante prætentata, ex parvis scintillulis magnas sæpe flammæ excitaverit.

Sin omnino hoc vobis curæ erit, ut ope aliqua vestra, 24
 consiliisque nostras juvetis ecclesias, alia vobis ingrediendum esse via videtur. Primum enim, ipsos episcopos per literas excitandos esse, ut cum Regiæ Majestati ad ea emendanda quæ offensiones pariant, cursumque impederint Evangelii, quibus poterint modis accommodatissimis suasores impulsoresque se præbeant, tum etiam siquæ volent, minus impetraverint omnia, ut in pœnis exequendis erga fratres et comministros suos, præsertim eos quibus grave conscientiæ onus incumbet, aliquanto leviores esse velint, et ad tolerantiam propensiores. Non quòd viros tantos vero pietatis erga fratres affectu carere, cuiquam unquam in mentem venerit, nam et aliis laudatissimis in amplificanda fovendaque Christi Ecclesia amoris sui testimoniis abundant, et severitatem illam, qua, in tuenda legum autoritate, uti plerunque solent, ad vitandam in ecclesiis *ἀραξίαν*, qua pestis nulla major esse potest, à piis patribus.

Cætera (heu!) desiderantur.

Number XIII.

25

Franciscus Farias and Molinus, two Spanish Protestants; their address to the Bishop of London, being in danger of the inquisition.

QUOD à te, humanissime atque amplissime Præsul, hu- Paper Office.
 miles petimus, est, ut in re gravi consilium præstes, tanquam pater verusque Pastor. Intelleximus atque nobis pro certissimo compertum est, quemdam hominem Evangelii hostem (qui ab Hispaniâ fugerat certis de causis) ut in regis Hispaniarum gratiam veniret, quamdam calumniam fabricâsse: atque cum Legato Hispaniæ, Gubernatriceque

BOOK
I.

Flandriæ tractâsse. Scopus calumniæ hic est, ut duo Hispani, qui hic sumus propter Dei verbum exules, (sunt jam octo anni,) tradamur, in Hispaniamque ducamur. Calumniæ fabula talis est: quod Rex Hispaniæ animadvertatur, ut præcipiat Hispanicis inquisitoribus, informationes facere contra nos magnorum criminum. Quibus informationibus addatur alia contra quemdam Hispanum, pessimum hominem, qui à Flandria aufugit propter latrocinium et alia crimina, nuncque hic habitat; et simul cum istis informationibus Rex Philippus scribat Reginæ; rogans ut tales homines criminosi tradantur suo Legato, ut illos in Hispaniam mittat. Sicque homo iste, qui Flandriæ fuit manifestus malefactor, nobiscum primus in ordine ponatur, nè de nobis dubitetur, illo similes esse, vel peiores.

Quantum ad informationes, quæ hic afferri possunt, testamur Deum, pro cuius nomine exilium patimur, quod nullæ possunt adduci, quæ, si veræ sint, potius non sint in laudem, quam in vituperium nostrum. Sed tamen, cum hoc nobis planè manifestum est, quod quum, religionis causâ, maximo odio Hispanis inquisitoribus simus, et in inquirendis nobis et aliis, qui nobiscum ab Hispaniâ egressi sunt, à die, quo exivimus usque nunc, sint expensi plusquam sex mille coronati aurei, non dubitamus, quin Hispaniæ inquisitores tot falsos testes inveniant, quot ipsi velint. Et sic facillimè imponere nobis poterunt omnia crimina quæ ipsi voluerint. Præsupposito nunc, quod tales informationes simul cum Regis Philippi literis Majestati Reginæ præsententur, ut præcipiat nos tradi, ut in Hispaniam ducamur, scire cupimus periculumne incurramus? Nam si ita res se habet, aliam regionem quæremus, ubi talis calumnia locum non habeat. Quapropter, ter piissime Præsul, brevi tuum consilium desideramus, ut nostris negotiis in tempore providere possimus. Nam Judas non dormit, ut nos tradat; fortassisque informationes jam in itinere sunt. Deinde, alter nostrum uxorem habet gravidam, quæ si pro-
26fectus differatur, itineris laborem sustinere non poterit. Et sic moræ causa possemus tradi, ducique, ubi, verbi Dei causâ, immanissimis tormentis vitam ageremus. Quod si

Dei providentiâ sic decretum est, adorabimus eum, precabimurque nos suâ fide muniat, et corroboret, ut possimus pro ejus nominis gloriâ fideli constantique animo ad finem usque persistere.

BOOK
1.

Number XIV.

A Letter from the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners in behalf of some members of the Dutch Church, London, imprisoned in Flanders for religion.

COMMUNI rumore certaue fama ad nos est perlatum (magnifici generosique Viri) tres fratres nostros, negotiorum suorum causa, isthac in patriam suam contententes, à mense jam plus minus uno in itinere apud vos captos fuisse, ac etiam nunc captos detineri, eisque etiam non parum negotii exhiberi nomine religionis, quasi à fide Catholicæ Dei Ecclesiæ uspiam deflecterent. Nos porro satis mirari non possumus adeò præproperam ipsorum captivitatem: præsertim dum significatum est nobis piorum virorum literis, eos iter suum quietè prosecutos esse, neque ullam disputationem cum quoquam mortalium instituisse; ut vel contra publica patriæ vestræ decreta deliquisse meritò dici nequeant.

Paper Of-
fice.

Quod verò fidem ipsorum attinet, quæ nunc in controversiam rapitur, certò scimus eos sanam de Christo Domino (cui uni Lex et Prophetæ omnes testimonium perhibent) fidem habere: posteaquam eum verum Deum ex vero Deo, Patrique ipsi co-æternum, co-æqualemque esse agnoscunt; verumque hominem ex hominis, nimirum, Virginis matris substantia, ac denique unicum Mediatorem, Sacerdotem, Prophetam, Regem ac Servatorem humani generis, maximè vero fidelium: ipsumque esse unicum ostium ovium suarum, quæ vocem ipsius audiunt, per quem qui introierit, servabitur. Qui aliunde ingressum quærunt in vitam æternam, esse fures et latrones; neque ullo prorsus modo servari posse, Christo ipsomet Domino, qui est ipsa veritas, neque mentiri potest, id attestante. Quam quidem fidem

BOOK
I.

de Christo Domino, reliquisque capitibus Christianæ religionis apud nos jampridem publicè sunt professi fratres prædicti; seque omni admonitioni correctionique fraternæ ex Dei verbo subjecerunt, juxta Majestatis Regiæ voluntatem. Ut extra omnem omnino sit controversiam, eos non esse vagos erroneos aut homines leves, sed subditos Ecclesiæ

27 hic nostræ multò fidelissimos; qui jam longo tempore pro majore saltem parte peregrè vixerunt, hincque etiamnum jamdiu sine ulla omnino offensione cujusque habitarunt: ac retenta hic habitatione sua, negotiorum quorundam suorum causa, isthuc sub spe mox redeundi sunt profecti.

Itaque ut hanc ipsam de eis existimationem habeatis, ac proinde eos nimirum Jacobum Diasaert, Christianum de Queker, ac Adrianam Skoningks, virginem, carcere mox liberandos curetis, ac ad sua salvos redire permittatis, rogamus quam possumus instantissimè. Nos, quibus Majestas Reginalis summam auctoritatem in causis religionis delegavit, nemini ex vestris, aut cuique peregrino, qui quietè hic vivere voluit, ullum negotium religionis nomine hactenus facessimus. Quod si hic qui in nostram se fidem dederunt, atque Ecclesiæ nostræ membra sunt in aliis regionibus in hunc modum tractantur, cogemur etiam ipsi (quod non optamus) eâdem mensurâ aliis nationibus metiri. Sed de vestra æquitate omnia nobis pollicemur. Hortamur verò, ut ab omnibus sanguinis innoxii effundendi consiliis vos quam longissimè segetis, nè in severissimum judicium Dei viventis, in cujus manus horribile est incidere, ipsi incidatis, præsertim si cognita veritate sanguinem innoxium effuderitis. Valete, &c.

Number XV.

The names of the members of the Dutch Church, London, 28 which were fled from the King of Spain's dominions for religion: sent to the Bishop of London by his order, from the Ministers and Elders. Which list was as follows.

Catalogus eorum qui ex ditione Philippi Hispaniarum Regis Ecclesiæ Belgico-Germanicæ Londinensi subsunt.

A.

Anthonius Ashe, Ecclesiæ
 Senior,
 Arnoudt Van den Boinne,
 Arnoudt de Bruynne,
 Andries Janssen,
 Anthonis Jordaens,
 Adriaen Kraanmeester,
 Abraham de More,
 Adriaen Breckpott,
 Adam Gerards,
 Ardt Van de Roist,
 Alexander Van,
 Adriaen Gillis,
 Adriaen Gonards,
 Arnoudt Janssen,
 Anthonis Marcelis,
 Andries Heilbroeck,
 Alardt Janssen Van Horne,
 Ardt Pieterssen,
 Adriaen Speelman,
 Alexander Bogaert,
 Abraham Michiels,
 Alardt Janssen Sciynwerker,
 Anthonis Van der Molen,
 Alexander de Ridder,
 Anthonis Bernards.

B.

Bertholdus Wilhelmi, Verbi
 Minister,
 Bartholomeus Moennen,
 Balthen Kermaus,
 Bartholomeus Cornelissen.

C.

Claudius Dottegnie, Senior,
 Cornelis Smolders,
 Cornelis Janssen Tesse-
 maker,
 Cornelis Boess,
 Clement Wouterus,
 Cornelis Janssen Slotmaker,
 Christiaen Sernaess,
 Christiaen Kram,
 Christiaen Buyl,
 Cornelis Jacobsen,
 Christiaen Boeyer,
 Christiaen Liebardt,
 Cornelis Joisten,
 Cornelis de Klerck,
 Claude Engelandt,
 Cornelis de Hoighe,
 Cornelis Borne.

D.

Dierick Van Roistveldt,

BOOK Dierick Janssen,

L.

David Lingels,

David Henrickson,

David Janssen,

Dierick Joppen,

Dierick Cornelissen.

29

E.

Erasmus Hoen.

F.

Fransois Hoinch, Diaconus,

Ferdinandus Dottegnie,

Frantz Pape,

Frantz Jacobs,

Frantz Van den Winckel.

G.

Gerardt Artis, Senior,

Gilley de Beste, Diaconus,

Gillis Van Thiennen,

Gillis Jacobss,

Gerardt Janssen,

Gillis Van den Berge,

Gillis Valcke,

Gerardt Janssen Van Vimmen,

Gerardt Van den Abele,

Gerardt Ver [Van] Strype,

Gilley de Beck,

Gherardt Willenson.

H.

Henrick Kinickes,

Henrick de Moir,

Henrick Sweyds,

Hans Smidt,

Hermon Henrickson,

Hans Ver Haghen,

Henrick Lienens,

Hans Cornelis Van Breda,

Henrick de Wyrdt,

Henrick Willems,

Hans Van Auweghen,

Henrick Van Orsell,

Hans Tielmans,

Henrick Claessen,

Hans Smidts,

Hans Van Diependael,

Hans Piefferoen,

Henrick de Knoip,

Henrick Simoens,

Huyge Wiltsen,

Herman Wolfardt,

Hans Lucas,

Hans Angeloe,

Henrick Pietersson,

Hansken Van der Hole,

Henrick Tessmaker,

Hans de Bruynne,

Hans Hagelers,

Hans Baerwyns,

Hans Van der Scheuren.

J.

Jan Engeram, Senior,

Jacob Saal, Senior,

Jan Lamoot, Senior,

Jan Danelu, Diaconus,

Jan Loeyen,

Jan Van den Grave,

Jasper Van den Hone,

Jan Pietersson Van den
Bossche,Jan Pietersson Van Rum-
munde,

Jan Hauwe,

Jacob Heyn, Diaconus,

Jacob Van Aken,

Jois Bauwens,

Jan Beeckmans,

Jan Cornelis,	Jan Willenson,	
Jan Willickson,	Jaques de Dunel,	
Jois Provoost,	Jan Janssen Van Audenarde,	
Jan Van der Beke,	Jan Janssen Van Ziericksee,	
Jan de Konyneck, Senior,	Jan Nachtegael,	
Jaspar Jacopsen,	Jesayas Beyts,	
Jan Bernardts,	Jan de Mennynck,	
Jan Van Orsell,	Jan Loorisson,	
Jaques Roelandt,	Jooris de Lettewerck,	
Jan Lodwyckss,	Jacop Hortzwoet,	
Jaspar Van Toulouse,	Jois Bardts,	
Jan Cuypers Cornelissen,	Jan Broeck,	
Jacop Grammeyer,	Jaspar Baudens.	
Jaques Koeck,	K.	
Jan Stell,	Konradt Janssen,	
Joeris de Blare,	Klays Theyssen,	
Jan Daniels,	Klays Van Tungeren.	
Jan Winrickssen,	L.	
Jan Van der Vliet,	Lois Tiery, Senior,	
Jan Kabeliauw,	Lambrecht Nenem,	
Jan de Beck,	Lenardt Cornelisson,	
Jaques de la Chantiere,	Lienen Van Vyne,	
Jan Dierickssen,	Lucas de Heere,	30
Jan de Grave Van Kassel,	Lienen de Bake,	
Jan Henrickssen,	Lienen de Buss,	
Jaques Weelss,	Lodowyck Van Mauwden.	
Joren Orinck,	M.	
Jois Van den Veste,	Mauritius Van den Hone,	
Jan Senertyen,	Michiel Wouters,	
Jorge Wullenaer,	Marten Boin,	
Jan Van Kampenhaut,	Matthieu Verkens,	
Jooris de Dobbelaer,	Matheus Verhonen,	
Jan Van Kerdt,	Marten Van de Laten,	
Jan Van Verdebau,	Marten de Coster,	
Jan Van den Bosche,	Matheus Stille,	
Jaques Hoste,	Matrio Verlare.	
Jooris Wieders,	O.	
Jan Grieten,	Otto Jacobs.	

BOOK
I.

P.

Petrus Carpentarius, Senior,
 Pieter Pieterssen, Diaconus,
 Pieter de Berdt, Diaconus,
 Paschieu Van der Mote,
 Pieter Lamoot,
 Pieter de Bruynne,
 Pauwels de Boyr,
 Philippus Garcie, Diaconus,
 Pieter Bogardt,
 Pieter Vereycke,
 Pieter Voss,
 Pieter Doffaye,
 Pieter Van der Elst,
 Philips Henrickson,
 Philips Van Lonen,
 Pieter de Wale,
 Pieter Roeles,
 Pieter Koselaer,
 Pieter Unistardt,
 Petrus Geluius,
 Pieter Sterten,
 Pieter Segerss,
 Pieter Tieretens,
 Pieter Verroist.

R.

Remier Verwayen,

Roelandt Van Sandtfordt,
 Raphael Van den Putte,
 Roeguer Stevens,
 Remer Van Reckem,
 Romboudt Van Kerssbeke,
 Robert Janssen.

S.

Steven Unystardt,
 Sebastiaen Urancks,
 Sebastiaen Pieterssen,
 Sebastiaen Doraff,
 Segar Van Pelkem.

T.

Tomaes Soenen, Senior,
 Thomas Cornelissen.

V.

Vincent Van der Leyen.

W.

Willem Salween,
 Willem Jacobson,
 Willem de Wagenaer,
 Willem Mayardt,
 Willem Kock,
 Wouter Urancks,
 Willem Prooffsts,
 Willem Frantzen,
 Walterus Pannekoeck.

Ad postulationem R^{di} D. Epi. Londinensis, testamur nos Ministri verbi, nomine totius nostri consistorii, numero (prout eos in Philippi Hispaniarum Regis ditione natos ex ecclesiæ nostræ registro discernere potuimus) ducentos et triginta sex, esse viros pietatis et honestatis studiosos; qui non solum in dictâ nostrâ ecclesiâ suæ fidei publicam confessionem ediderunt, sed et disciplinæ ejusdem ecclesiæ sese subjecerunt, ac ejusdem ministerium ac Sacramenta hactenus frequentarunt.

Sequentes verò hic infernè adscriptos in ejusdem Hispa-

niarum Regis ditione natos testamur, ad ejusdem Reve- BOOK
I.
rendi D. Epi. Londinen. postulationem, esse viros probos
et modestos, ac purioris religionis causâ à Belgio profugos
(prout nobis quorundam fratrum ac quorundam aliorum
proborum virorum testimonio commendati sunt) qui se
nostræ dictæ Ecclesiæ per publicum in nostro consistorio
fidei examen et professionem jam à festo Natalis Dominici
proximè elapso, subjecerunt, ac deinde etiam in eâdem
dictâ Ecclesiâ Dominicæ Cœnæ communicarunt.

A.	Gillis Van der Beke,	
Adriaen Moel Enyser,	Gillis de Vroye.	
Anthonio Kethel,	H.	
Abraham de Kock,	Hanss Hossardt,	
Adriaen Godtscalek,	Hercules Fremault,	
Arnoudt Hose,	Hilgardt Gerardtsen,	32
Adriaen Van der Mote,	Hans Gonardss.	
Adriaen Happardt.	J.	
B.	Jaques Gommardts,	
Bernardt Van den Broncke,	Jan Blummardt,	
Bernardt Remss.	Jacob Schuddemate,	
C.	Jan de Vetter,	
Clement Van den Driessche,	Jan Vailliandt,	
Christiaen Kryntzen.	Jakes Van Maalsack,	
D.	Jasper Vander Plaetzen,	
David de Moelenner Gil-	Jan de Franke,	
lems.	Jaques de Kock,	
F.	Jan Van Eynde,	
Frederick Tseyss,	Jacob Hoste,	
Frantz Vederhonen.	Jan Dierickson,	
G.	Jacob Jacobsen,	
Gysbrecht Turmael,	Jooris Smynt,	
Gillis Van der Ghemst.	Jan Peyss,	
Guillame Bogardt,	Jeroon Galmards,	
Gysbaert Steynmuelen,	Jaspar Sulss,	
Gillis Lemmens,	Jan Hossaert.	
Gillis Stichelbaut,	K.	
Gillis Orblock,	Klaess Sandfordt,	
Guillame Boerte,	Klaess de Coninck.	

BOOK	L.	N.
I.	Lucas Van Pene, Lienen de Heider, Lienen Van der Hulst, Lupardt Goedhals, Lodowyck Theeuwes, Lienen de Wachter, Lienen de Wulf.	Nicolaes Bendt, Nicolaes Van den Luffel. O. Olivier Van den Drieffche. P. Pieter Van den Broncke, Pieter Moir Van Hassel, Pauwels Van Anwerpen.
	M. Matheus Verhagen, Machiel Corsselis Griffioen, Maerten Tayen, Maerten de Vischer, Machiel de la Rouere, Maerten Van Pene, Machiel Tsnys, Maerten Vrolick, Maehardt Lamoot.	R. Rippardt Herrickssen, Ridsardt Christiaens, Romeyn Janssen. V. Vullinck Van Riette. W. Willem Maass.

*Ita est: Gottfridus Wingius in Ecclesia Belgio-Germanica
Verbi Minister.*

Bartholdus Wilhelmi, Ner- densis, Thomas Soenen, Loys Tyry, Jan de Coninck, Franciscus de Marcsinii, A. — de Stuer, Verbi Min- ister,	Pieter de Carpentier, Claude Dottegnie, Jan Lamoot, Gherardt Artiis, Jacobus Salius, Jan Klercks,
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Examined by { William Cocks,
and
William Sharington.

Number XVI.

*Theodore Beza, to certain brethren of the English Churches, 37
upon some controversies in the ecclesiastical polity.*

SAEPE multumque à charissimis Anglicarum Ecclesia- Epistola
rum fratribus rogati, &c. i. e. Being often and earnestly Bez. duo-
required by certain of our dear brethren of the English decima.
Churches, that in their miserable state we should suggest
some counsel to them, in which their consciences might
acquiesce, especially the opinions of many varying from one
another; we deferred a great while to do it, for very
weighty causes; and we declare, that even now also we
would most willingly be silent, but that we held ourselves
bound not to reject the so often repeated petitions of the
brethren, and their lamentable groans. But the causes of
our long silence were these :

First, as on one side we are unwilling to call in question
the credit of the brethren, but that they sincerely wrote to
us this whole business; yet on the other hand it is very
hard for us to suspect such great men as the Bishops, of
things so different from their offices, much less to persuade
ourselves thereof.

In the next place, who are we, that we should give any
judgment of these things?

But and if it were allowable for us to judge of them by
some right, or by the request and consent of the parties;
yet would it be most unjust to determine any thing, the
other party being absent or unheard.

Lastly, we feared another thing also, lest by this our
counsel, whatever it were, this whole evil might rather
rankle than receive a cure; as being a thing, as it seems to
us, that can be healed only by prayers and patience. Since
therefore the brethren's entreaties do so far force us by all
means to afford them some counsel, we do expressly avow
these things are so writ by us, that we mean not any preju-
dice to happen to the other side, much less to assume to
ourselves a judgment upon any man. And we beseech all

BOOK those in the Lord, into whose hands these writings shall
I. come, that they be not offended therewith, but to persuade themselves that these things are written by us in simplicity and truth, by a presupposition of the fact, as they speak, for the pacifying in some measure the consciences of the brethren earnestly desiring this of us; which wholly to neglect, we could not for charity sake. Therefore, supposing the things so as we hear, we simply and ingenuously profess, that this is our opinion of these controversies.

Vocation of Ministers. I. It is enquired, "Whether we can prove this disorder
 " in the vocation of the ministry, *viz.* that without any
 " lawful consent of the Presbytery, and any parish assigned,
 " upon a very light examination of men's lives and manners,
 38 " they should be received into the number of the ordained.
 " To whom afterwards, according to the Bishop's pleasure,
 " power is given to preach the word of God for a certain
 " time, or to say only the Liturgy."

We answer: Such vocations and ordinations seem not at all lawful, whether we have regard to the express word of God, or the purer Canons. Yet we know it is better to have something than nothing. But we beseech God with all our heart, that he grant this also to England, *viz.* a lawful calling of the Ministers of the word and sacraments: which being hindered, the benefit of the doctrine of the truth must either vanish presently, or be maintained by some extraordinary and heavenly means. In the next place, we, in all lowliness, beg the Queen's Majesty, by the sacred name of God, that she bend all her mind to the amendment of this thing, which is the stay of the whole English Church, and so of the kingdom itself also. In the third place, we also beseech those great men, as well who are of her Privy Council, as those who have succeeded the Popish Bishops, by the singular mercy of Almighty God, that they destroy that tyranny which hath ruined the Christian Church, out of that very place whence the ruin sprang; we beseech both, I say, even with tears, and by the name of him before whose tribunal we shall all stand, that being mindful of the former times, and of their duty, (especially since the Lord

hath given them her Majesty, from whom all heroical things are to be hoped for, unless they be wanting to themselves,) they desist not doing their endeavour, in entering into counsels for the establishing this matter, and persuading her Majesty, and give themselves no rest until the business be effected.

BOOK
I.

But what is to be done in the mean time? Certainly, as to ourselves, we would not take the function of the ministry on this condition; no, though it were offered, much less seek it. Yet those to whom the Lord this way hath opened an entrance to propagate the glory of his kingdom, we exhort, that they hold out strongly in the fear of the Lord; yet on this condition added, that they may holily and religiously discharge their entire ministry; and moreover, according to their office, propound and urge such matters as tend to put things into a better state. For otherwise, if this liberty be taken from them, and be commanded after this manner to wink at a manifest abuse, so as even to approve of what, it is evident, wants to be amended, what else may we advise, than that they choose rather to live privately, than to cherish an evil against their conscience, which, in a short time, will necessarily draw with it the whole ruin of the Churches. And we hope that her royal Majesty, and so many men of dignity and goodness, will endeavour that care may rather be taken of so many pious and learned brethren, than so great an evil should happen; to wit that the Pastors should be forced even against their consciences to do that which is evil, and so to involve themselves in other men's sins, or to give over. For we more dread that third thing, *viz.* to execute their ministry contrary to the will of her Majesty, and the Bishops, for causes, which, though we hold our peace, may well enough be understood.

II. It is demanded also of us, "Whether we approve of that distinction in caps and garments, as well in common use, as in the function of the ministry. And that we answer openly and freely."

Of caps and
garments.
39

We answer therefore freely, if the matter be so as we hear, they seem to deserve very ill of the Church of God,

BOOK I. and must render an account of this deed before Christ's judgment-seat, who are the authors of this thing. For although we think, that civil and politic order is by no means to be disproved: whereby, not only the orders of citizens, but of offices are distinguished; yet we think any distinction is not to be approved. For what if Ministers be commanded to wear such habits as buffoons, or stage-players use? Is it not a manifest mockery of the ecclesiastical function? But here somewhat worse seems to be by us admitted of; because, not only the Lord hath rendered that priestly habit ridiculous to many Papists themselves, but it appears polluted and defiled with infinite superstitions.

Some will say, that they are *ancient*: they are so, but much ancients is the apostolical simplicity, under which the Church flourished.

But if we were minded to inquire more largely into these things, it would not be hard to shew, that those matters which served afterwards for distinction, were first common and ordinary. But things being altered after so long a distance of time, wherefore this strangeness, unless out of an unprofitable evil zeal?

Some will say again, they are things *indifferent in themselves*. We grant indeed they are so, if they be considered by themselves. But who will so consider them? For those that are Papists, whatsoever the civil law may pretend, are confirmed by this means in their old superstition. Such as begin so far to detect superstitions, that they have begun to curse the very footsteps of them, how much are they offended? They that are better informed, what fruit do they reap hence? Whether is the distinction of so great value, that the consciences of so many should be therefore disturbed, the reason of that distinction being fetched from the manifest and sworn enemies of sound doctrine? Moreover, that of them that are called *Clergymen*, not the least part is said still to carry papistry in their bosom. Now will they become better by the restoring of this habit? Or, will they not rather wax bold with the hope that their papistry shall ere long be set up again?

But if any object the circumcising of Timothy, and other things of that sort, we pray him again and again to consider, what Paul would have said, if any had made such a law, that whosoever exercised the ministry of the Gospel, should be bound to wear a Pharisee's garment, or to preach the Gospel, and administer the Sacraments in the habit of profane Priests; much less to circumcise their children, whatsoever reason might be added to such a civil law: yea, why should these things be brought in? For however they might be tolerated in the beginning, until they might by little and little be changed; yet being once taken away, for what benefit they should be received again, in truth we do not see. That therefore, which we said before, we repeat again, we cannot like of that counsel, nor hope for any good to come from thence. Yet we shall willingly depart from our opinion, if we shall hear any thing righter urged.

"What then," say the brethren, "do you think fit that we should do, on whom these things are obtruded?" We answer, that here is need of a distinction: for the condition of the Ministers is one, and that of the flock another: next, many things may, and ought to be borne, which nevertheless are not rightly commanded.

Therefore we answer, first, although those things in our judgment are not rightly brought back into the Church again; yet, since they are not of the nature of those things which are wicked in themselves, we do not think them of so great moment, that therefore, either the Pastors should leave their ministry, rather than take up those garments, or that the flocks should omit the public food, rather than hear Pastors so clothed. Only, that the Pastors and the flocks sin not against conscience, (so that the purity of the doctrine itself, or of opinions, remain safe,) we persuade the Pastors, that after they have delivered their consciences, both before the Queen and the Bishops, by a modest protestation, (as becomes Christians, void of all tumult and sedition, and yet grave and serious, as the greatness of the matter requires,) let them to their flocks openly inculcate

BOOK those things which belong to the taking away this scandal,
 1. and prudently and quietly insist upon the amendment of those abuses, as the Lord shall offer occasion. "But those things which they cannot change, let them bear, rather than for this cause forsaking the Churches, by greater and more dangerous evils, they yield an occasion to Satan, that seeks nothing else."

The flocks also (the pure doctrine remaining) we persuade, that nevertheless they attentively give ear to the doctrine itself, religiously use the sacraments, put up their sighs to the Lord, until, by a serious amendment of life, they obtain from him that which is requisite to an entire reformation of the Church. But if it be commanded Ministers, not only to tolerate them, but to approve of them as right by their subscription, or cherish them by their silence; what else can we advise, than that having borne witness of their own innocence, and tried all remedies in the fear of the Lord, to give way to manifest violence. But we prophesy to the realm of England better things than these extremities.

Alternate
 singing, the
 cross in
 baptism,
 &c.

III. This also is inquired, "What we think of that broken [*i. e.* alternate] singing; of signing with the cross; of putting questions to the children to be baptized; of the round unleavened wafer, and kneeling in the Lord's Supper."

We answer, that kind of *singing* seems to us a manifest corruption of the pure and ancient praising of God. As for the *sign of the cross*, as there was in time past some use of it, yet the superstition certainly is so very execrable, and withal so novel, that we judge they did very rightly, who once banished the rite out of the churches: whereof also we
 41 see not what the profit is. *The questioning of children* to be baptized, we make no doubt, came into the Church from hence, that by the negligence of Bishops, the same form was retained in the baptism of infants, which in the beginning was used in the adult Catechumens; a matter which we may also perceive from many other things which yet prevail in Popish baptism. Therefore, as chrism and exorcis-

ing, however ancient, are with good right abolished; we should desire also, that that, not only needless, but trifling *interrogation* be laid aside, however Augustin himself, in a certain epistle, defend it by some interpretation. The *bread*, whether it be leavened or unleavened, we think it worth no great pains, although we think the common bread to be much more agreeable to the appointment of Christ. For why did the Lord use unleavened bread, but because at that time wherein he thought fit to institute that holy Supper, none in Judea used other bread? Either therefore the feast of unleavened bread must be restored, or we must acknowledge the common and ordinary bread is more rightly used after the example of our Lord, although the Lord used unleavened bread. To say nothing of the custom of the ancient purer Church, which the Greek Church retains to this day. Lastly, *kneeling*, while the elements are received, hath a certain shew of pious and Christian worship; and so heretofore might be used fruitfully: yet, because from this fountain that detestable bread-worship sprang, and still remains in the minds of many, it seems fit, upon good reason, to be taken away. Therefore, we beseech Almighty God to suggest to the Queen's Majesty, and the Bishops, such counsel in these things, as seem necessary once to purge away these defilements.

IV. It is asked, "Whether we approve of Baptism administered by midwives."

We answer, it is not only disliked by us, as the former matters were, but seems also altogether intolerable; as arising from the ignorance of the true use of Baptism and the public ministry. Therefore, we think the Ministers should earnestly reprove the retaining such an abuse, but by no means allow such false Baptism.

V. They say also, that "excommunications and absolutions in some episcopal courts in England are executed, not according to the sentence of the presbytery, (because there is none there,) nor according to the word of God, but by the authority of some lawyers, and such others; yea, sometimes, of some one man, and indeed for mere

BOOK " money-causes, or matters civil, and other things of that
 1. " nature, as was wont to be done in Popery."

We answer, that it seems to us almost incredible, that such an abuse of a most perverse custom and example should still be used in that realm, where the purity of the doctrine flourisheth. For the right of excommunication, before that Papal tyranny, will be never found to be in the power of one, but in the power of the presbytery, and the people not wholly excluded. In the next place, that judicial handling *βιωτικῶν, of things pertaining to this life*, came to the Bishops plainly by abuse. For as to that the Apostle discourseth, of appointing judges at Corinth, it is nothing to the purpose, where there is a Christian magistrate: neither ever came it into the Apostle's mind, to load the presbytery with such matters of cognizance merely civil. It appears also, that the ancient Bishops, not by any power of theirs, but by the importunity of such as contended together, had the hearing of such controversies, and that only as private judges. Among whom nevertheless they did most wisely, who rather chose to follow the example of Christ, refusing the umpirage of dividing the inheritance, and of being judge in a matter of adultery brought before him.

If any thing therefore be done to the contrary in England, truly we think, that by such judgments a man is not any more bound before God, than by those Papal excommunications. And we wish this cruelty of consciences, and foul profanation of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and merely spiritual, were at the first opportunity by the Queen's authority abolished, as much as the corruptions of *doctrine* itself; and that presbyteries and deaconries were set up according to the word of God, and the canons of the pure Church. Which unless it be done, we fear in truth, lest it be the beginning of many calamities; which, however, I pray God avert. For it is certain, the Son of God will one day severely revenge from heaven such manifest abuses, whereby consciences are disturbed, unless some remedy be used. In the mean time, that which is not rightly done, we think is rightly borne by those who cannot change what they bear:

yet so far forth, that they approve not of the thing itself, but redeem unjust vexation with patience. But if they be pressed so far, as to be compelled not only to bear this course, but to approve of this excommunication as lawful, and by suing for unlawful absolution manifestly to assent to that abuse; we persuade, that they rather bear any thing, than act against their consciences.

But why do I speak these things? for certainly we promise ourselves much better things, yea, all the best things now of that realm: wherein the setting up of Christian religion hath been sealed with the blood of so many most eminent martyrs. We only fear, lest the same which hath befallen so many other countries happen also to England: to wit, that because *fruits meet for repentance be not brought forth*, the Lord being angry, taking away the light of his Gospel, double their darkness. These are the daily sermons in our churches; and truly our judgment is, that, in the first place, the same should be done by all the Ministers of God's word; that by all ways they urge this part of the Gospel especially, which respects a serious amendment of life. For this being obtained, the Lord would certainly suggest both counsels, and zeal, and such other things, needful to begin the reformation of the Church.

We exhort therefore in the first place, and most humbly beseech with tears, our right good brethren of the English Churches, and most respected in the Lord, that all bitterness of minds being laid aside, (which we fear this evil hath greatly increased on both sides,) the truth of doctrine itself remaining safe, and conscience safe, men patiently bear with one another, heartily obey the Queen's Majesty, and all their Bishops; and lastly, constantly resist Satan, who seeketh all occasions of tumults and infinite calamities, men's minds agreeing together in the Lord, though they are not presently of the same opinion in some things. For the great God is our witness, that this our writing is by no means intended, or looks that way, that one part strive thereby against the other; or as though we cast it forth as

BOOK
I.

ἐριδος μήλον, *the apple of contention*; although the truth of the fact, as they speak, presupposed, (being overcome by the continual petitions of the brethren,) we have in simplicity declared our opinion concerning these things. And we join our daily prayers, with the groans of all the godly who are there, that the most merciful Lord, taking pity upon human infirmity, would most effectually direct the Queen's Majesty with his Holy Spirit, and all the nobles of the kingdom of England, as also the prelates of the churches; and in a word, all the workmen of the spiritual building: that the work of the Lord, so often begun, and so often hindered, might most happily be promoted in the highest peace and concord of all orders; that not only all old stains both of the doctrine itself and the ecclesiastical polity may be once purged; but also, all the monsters of errors driven away, that Satan again endeavoureth anew to bring into the Church of Christ. Which the most gracious Father by his Holy Spirit grant, in Jesus Christ his true, eternal Son, of the same essence with himself, in which we profess one and the same God to be adored for ever. Amen.

From Geneva 24. October, 1567.

Number XVII.

A Catalogue of such unlawful books as were found in the study of John Stow of London, Feb. 24. 1568.

A PARLIAMENT of Christ, made by Thomas Heskins. *Flores Historiarum*, in parchment, written hand.

A brief Collection of Writings of Matters of Chronicles. The Hatchet of Heresies; set out by Shacklock.

A Summary of the Chronicles, corrected by him.

Fundationes Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, &c. in papyro script.

An Exposition of the Creed, Ten Commandments, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, &c: set forth by Dr. Bonner.

A Discourse of the Troubles in France, in print. Translated by Thomas Jeney, Gent. Dedicated to the French Queen. BOOK
I.

Bede; translated by Stapleton.

Questions of Love, and the Answers; translated out of French into English.

Certain Sermons set forth in print. Preached by Mr. 44 Roger Edgeworth, Doctor in Divinity, Chancellor of the Church of Wells.

Dr. Watson's Sermons.

A great old printed book, containing the manner of the List of Saints.

The Five Homilies made by Leonard Pollard, Prebendary of Worcester.

A Proof of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Mr. Juel, &c. by Thomas Dorman.

Two notable Sermons made by Dr. Watson, the third and first [fourth] Fridays in Lent last past, before the Queen, concerning the Real Presence, &c. and the Mass; which is a sacrifice of the New Testament.

The Cardinal of Lorain his Oration.

An Explanation and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar; with Confutation of a Book written against the same. Made by Stephen Bishop of Winton, and exhibited by his own hand, for his Defence, to the King's Majesty's Commissioners at Lambeth, in print.

A Confession of William [perhaps Richard] Smith, made to the Lord Protector's Grace, and the rest of the King's most Honourable Council, the first of December, in the 6th year of King Edward VI. [it must be before, for the Protector was dead some years before,] in written hand.

Much rude matter gathered together for a Summary of a Chronicle: [so Stow's History of England was called; which was printed not long after in a small volume; and again the second time, anno 1573.]

A Buckler of the Catholic Faith of Christ's Church, containing divers Matters now of late called into Controversy by the New Gospellers. Made by Richard Smith, Doctor of

BOOK Divinity. In print. A piece of a Mass Book in print; with a certain Directory in writing, of the old Popish Service.

A brief Collection of Matters of Chronicles, since ann. Dom. 1563. entered in an old written book of Chronicles: bound in board: written, as it seems, with his own hand.

The Pearl of Perfection; made by James Cancellor.

A Discourse, wherein is debated, whether it be expedient that the Scriptures should be in English, for all Men to read that will.

The Way Home to Christ and Truth; leading from Anti-christ, &c. Set forth by one Vincent, [Vincentius Lirinensis,] a Frenchman; in Latin, above eleven hundred years past; and translated into English, and imprinted anno MDLVI.

A little Book of Homilies, set forth by Dr. Bonner.

Two Homilies, upon the first, second, and third Articles of the Creed; made by Dr. Feckenham.

John Angel, his book, late Sub-dean of the Queen's Chapel.

A Sermon of Dr. Brooks, late Bishop of Gloucester.

The displaying of Protestants. Made by Miles Huggerd, [Hogherd, a hosier in London.]

- 45 The Tryal of Supremacy. Wherein is set forth the Unity of Christ's Church militant; given to St. Peter and his Successors by Christ; and that there ought to be one head Bishop, &c.

A brief Shew of false Wares, &c. by Rastal.

A plain and godly Treatise concerning the Mass and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, &c.

Testimonies of the real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar: set forth by Poiner, Student in Divinity.

A brief Treatise, setting forth divers Truths, &c. By Dr. Smith of Oxford.

A Copy of a Challenge taken out of the Confutation of Mr. Juell's Sermon. By John Rastal.

A Defence of the Sacrifice of the Mass; by Dr. Smith.

The Assertion and Defence of the Sacrament of the Altar, BOOK
I.
&c. By Dr. Smith.

A Confutation of a certain book called, *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine*, &c. against the late Archbishop of Canterbury; by Dr. Smith.

A Sermon made at Powles-Cross, by one Hugh Glasier. Allowed and approved by Dr. Bonner.

Number XVIII.

Propositions or articles framed for the use of the Dutch Church in London, and approved by the Church of Geneva, for the putting an end to long controversies among the members of that Church: being also very profitable to be set forth in these days, wherein new congregations do spring up.

CHRISTIAN liberty is not a wandering and unruly licence, by which we may do or leave undone whatsoever we list at our pleasure; but it is a free gift bestowed upon us by Christ our Lord; by the which, the children of God, (that is, all the faithful,) being delivered from the curse of the law, or eternal death, and from the heavy yoke of the ceremonial law, and being endowed with the Holy Ghost, begin willingly of their own accord to serve God in holiness and righteousness.

Therefore, sith that he which is the Son of God is ruled by the Spirit of God, and that the same Spirit commandeth us, we should obey all ordinances of man, (that is, all politic order, whereof the magistrate is the guardian,) and all superiors, which watch for the health of our souls; yea, and that according to our vocation we should diligently procure the safeguard of our neighbour; it followeth, that that man abuseth the benefit of *Christian liberty*, or rather, II.
How this liberty is transgressed. 46 is yet sold under sin, who doth not willingly obey either his magistrate or superior in the Lord, or doth not endeavour to edify the conscience of his brother.

BOOK

I.

III.
Of private
men's judg-
ments in
matters in-
different.

Moreover, what is profitable to edify, and what is not, is not to be determined by the judgment of the common people, or of some simple man, nor yet by the issue of men's actions; but rather sometime by the nature of those things, touching the doing or not doing whereof, question is moved. As if they be either commanded or forbidden by God, and be agreeable unto our calling, or not: and sometimes, (as if the matters were otherwise of their own natures mean or *indifferent*,) they are to be considered by the circumstances of the times, places, and persons, weighed according to the balance of God's word.

IV.
Of consci-
ence.

Conscience is the feeling of God's judgment, whether that a man be assured out of the word of God of that judgment, or that he make it to himself rashly or superstitiously. But whereas it is the duty of Christians to observe the commandments of their Lord, that indeed is properly called a right and good conscience, which is governed by the word of God. Whereby it cometh to pass, that every faithful man by that revealed word doth examine and weigh with himself, both what he doth, and also what he letteth undone, that he may judge of them both, which is just, and which is unjust.

V.
Things in-
different.

Indifferent things are called those, which by themselves, being simply considered in their own nature, are neither good nor bad, as meat and drink, and such like; *in the which* therefore, it is said, that *the kingdom of God consisteth not*; and that therefore a man may use them well or evil: wherefore it followeth, that they are marvellously deceived, which suppose they are called *indifferent*, as though without any exception we may omit them, or use them as often as we list, without any sin.

VI.
Indifferent
things com-
manded or
forbidden.

Things otherwise indifferent of themselves, after a sort change their nature, when by some commandment they are either commanded or forbidden. Because, neither they can be omitted contrary to the commandment, if they are once commanded, neither omitted contrary to prohibition, if they be prohibited; as appeareth in the ceremonial law.

VII.
Ceremonial
laws.

Albeit the yoke of the ceremonial law be taken away by

Christian liberty, and that it is not lawful for any mortal man to lay another yoke in the place thereof; yet notwithstanding, the confused use of indifferent things may be lawfully repressed, both generally and specially.

Generally, the use of these indifferent things is restrained by the law of charity, which is universal. This is belonging to all men, and to all things, and plainly forbidding, that nothing, otherwise indifferent and lawful, be done, whereby thy neighbour is destroyed; or that any thing be omitted, whereby he may be edified. But yet here are two things to be presupposed: the one, that judgment be taken out of the word of God, what may or ought to be done, or not done: the other, that every man have consideration of his calling. And so we say, the words of the Apostle are to be understood, *I was made all things to all men*.

Specially, the use of these things is forbidden by ecclesiastical or civil decree. For although that only God doth properly bind the conscience of man, yet in respect, that either the magistrate, who is God's Minister, doth think it profitable for the commonwealth, that something, otherwise of itself lawful, be not done, or that the Church, having regard to order, comeliness, and also edifying, do make some laws concerning indifferent things, those laws are altogether to be observed of the godly, and do so far forth bind the conscience, that no man wittingly and willingly, with a stubborn mind, may, without sin, either do those things which are forbidden, or omit those things which are commanded.

And sith these things are not ordained simply for themselves, but in respect of certain circumstances, not as though the things themselves were of their own nature unlawful (for it belongeth only to God to determine this) in case those circumstances do cease, and so be that offence be avoided as near as we can, and that there be no stubborn will of resisting; no man is to be reproved of sin, which shall do otherwise than those ordinances: as it is plain, by the example of David, in a case otherwise flatly forbidden, when he ate the shewbread.

BOOK
I.

VIII.

The use of
things in-
different in
general.

47

IX.

The use of
things in-
different in
special.

X.

Circum-
stances in
things in-
different be
diverse.

BOOK
I.

XI.
To forbid,
or to com-
mand
things in-
different,
except for
three
causes,
do offend.
Also, they
that rashly
judge other
men's con-
sciences
herein.

XII.
Christian
liberty is
not to be
prejudiced
generally,
but by cir-
cumstan-
ces.

XIII.
They are to
be reprov'd,
which
wound
weak con-
sciences in
things in-
different.

XIV.
Consti-
tutions are
some uni-
versal, and
some parti-
cular.

They, which for any other cause either command or forbid at their pleasure the free use of indifferent things, than for one of these three ; that is, neither for edifying, nor for policy, nor ecclesiastical order; and especially those which do rashly judge other men's consciences in these matters: offend heinously against God and against their neighbour.

Those which thus do, either by open wickedness, or by wilful ignorance, are not to be regarded. But those, which being deceived by simple ignorance, or by authority of ancient custom, have erred in these things, are to be borne withal, as much as may be; and yet but so far as Christian liberty be not generally prejudiced. Which thing is to be discerned by the circumstances, and by the spirit of discretion: as it appeareth, not only by the doctrine, but also the doings of St. Paul, who reprehended Peter, circumcised Timothy, and again would not circumcise Titus. And therefore there is no cause why the Church should alter this or that being well ordained, for fear of offending some private men.

48 Even as they, of whom I spake a little before, do grievously offend against God and their neighbour, so are they greatly to be blamed, who either by preposterous zeal, or by impatience, do quite overthrow the consciences which are weak, and not thoroughly instructed in indifferent things, either to do them, or to leave them undone. As likewise, they offend on the other side, which, by their winking, cherish and confirm the weakness of their brethren.

These *ecclesiastical constitutions* being lawfully made in respect of certain circumstances, (that is of order, and for common utility, and not as though there were any worshiping of God placed in them,) are not only catholic, that is, universal, but also sometimes particular, for the manifold variety of the circumstances. And therefore, both these men offend, which do rashly change them that are catholic, and also those which do stiffly retain the same; albeit, there be special necessity to alter them: but chiefly, those, which by wrong judgment thrust particular ceremonies upon all men.

The Church of Christ is a congregation of men profess-
 ing Christ's Gospel, in the which the Gospel is purely
 taught, and the sacraments truly administered out of the
 word of God, by Ministers called to the same purpose.
 The which congregation sometime is small, and sometime
 great; sometime is seen of men, (as when the ministry is
 public,) and sometime hidden, and, as it were, for a time
 overwhelmed, either by public corruption of all estates, or
 force of the enemy, or by both these mischiefs, God exer-
 cising his just judgment against man's wickedness, but never
 quite destroying his congregation.

BOOK
I.XV.
What the
Church is;
sometimes
manifest,
sometimes
obscure.

So often as God doth ordain such visible companies, to
 make himself known in them, to call his elect, and to dis-
 pense the riches of his Spirit by the ministry of his word
 and sacrament; it is very manifest, that it is most necessary,
 that every man, (which will not teach God and his wisdom
 to his own most certain destruction,) according as opportu-
 nity is offered, do join and submit himself to some particu-
 lar Church, as it were, to some certain parish in this great
 and wide city of God.

XVI.

Every man
must join
himself to
some particu-
lar
Church, be-
ing visible.

Now, that the catholic Church of God may continue in
 unity, it is not lawful for any particular Church to usurp
 any supremacy or superiority over another, by authority to
 judge it, condemn it, or to separate herself from it, espe-
 cially since it is manifest, that all the Churches of God are
 endowed with equal power.

XVII.

No superi-
ority in
particular
Churches.

Furthermore, if any particular Church find any fault in
 another, whether it be in doctrine or in manners, and then
 by brotherly conference, and godly exhortation, prevail no-
 thing, the same must (avoiding all curiosity, which is able
 to set congregations at variance, and observing the band of
 common friendship) endeavour to refer the whole matter
 unto the Synod or Council, in the which the controversy
 may be tried only by the word of God. By the name of a
Synod we understand neither an Œcumenical Council, as
 they term it, (for who shall gather it together?) neither any
 such meeting, whereunto it is necessary that certain hun-
 dreds of Churches meet together, except the order of some

XVIII.

Synods for
to decide
controversies.

BOOK
I.

region be such ; but such an one, unto which, according to the place and time, other Churches near at hand, or far off, may be joined ; which by the word of God may decide the controversy.

XIX.
Schisms and
apostasy
from the
Church is
to be
avoided.

Wherefore, to avoid the pestilent renting and tearing asunder of the whole body of Christ, we think it is not lawful for any man, for any cause, to depart from Christ's Church ; that is, from the Church in which at the least wise that doctrine is preserved whole and sound, wherein consisteth the soundness of religion, and wherein the use of the sacraments, which Christ hath instituted, is preserved. And therefore we affirm, that not only heretics, but also schismatics do grievously offend. To depart out of Christ's Church, is not simply to go from one company to another, but as though thou remain in one place, to separate thyself from the fellowship. of the congregation, as though thou wert no member thereof.

XX.
The lawful
Ministers
and Elders
represent
the Church.

In the Church of Christ, that is to say, in the house or city of the living God, the Consistory, or fellowship of governors, consisting of the Ministers of the word, and of *Seniors* lawfully called, sustaineth the person of the universal Church in ecclesiastical government, even as every magistrate in his commonwealth.

XXI.
Let no man
trouble the
congregation,
but
ask counsel
of the pas-
tors.

If any man, either private, or bearing public office in the Church, do not agree unto the ecclesiastical constitutions now made and received, especially such as are catholic, he is bound to ask counsel modestly of the pastors and seniors, and to stand to their arbitrement, at the least thus far, that he trouble not the congregation ; according to that saying of the Apostle, *If any man lust to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God.*

No law is
to be made
but accord-
ing to the
word, pro-
fitable and
necessary.

But if there be any stir concerning the making of laws, then must nothing at all be rashly altered, no, not by the Consistory itself. And before any law be established, we must not only see whether it be agreeable to the word of God, but also whether it be profitable, and almost necessary to be brought in. But in case there be but a lawful [some
light*] suspicion, that some of the flock will be offended,

*Levissima
in Lat. cop.

and yet it is not meet the whole congregation give voice therein, and that the help of a good magistrate be wanting, the opinions of such men are to be asked and diligently weighed, that these which are weak may be instructed; and if any shall be stubborn, they may in time be admonished of their duty. Neither shall it grieve them, if the matter so require, to seek counsel of such Churches as are least suspected, or of some godly and learned men. So that 50 nothing be decreed in the Church of God, but with fruit and edification.

Those which shall factiously set themselves against laws made after this sort, and will not be brought to their duty; and much rather those which conspire against their Ministers and Seniors, are worthy to be handled as open enemies to the Church.

It belongeth only to the Consistory, to be occupied in making new laws of discipline, as we said, in the awe and fear of the Lord, and in applying such as are already made to the present necessity, and in admonishing, and also, if the last remedy must needs be used, either in suspending from the Supper of our Lord, or in once excommunicating them which have offended, according as the circumstances of the thing, the time and persons shall seem to require. For it is not written of the universal Church, nor of the whole congregation in any particular Church, but only of the foresaid governors of the Church, (whom Christ instituted in his Church, according to the example of the former Church of the Jews:) *Tell the Church: and if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and a publican.*

Ecclesiastical excommunication is the public judgment of the Seniors of the Church, against a subject of the Church having fallen, and being unrepentant, and, after lawful examination and due admonition of his faults, pronounced in the name of Christ our Lord, and by the authority of his word. Whereby it is declared, that the same man (until he repent) is cast out of the Church of God and communion of saints, and given over unto Satan.

BOOK
I.

XXII.
Such as resist godly laws, and conspire against God's Ministers, are to be handled as enemies to the Church.

XXIII.
How far the authority and duty of the Ministers and Elders of Christ's Church is extended.

XXIV.
What excommunication is, and for whom of Christ ordained.

BOOK If any man complain of injury done unto him, they shall
I. *first* complain unto the Consistory, and that after a modest

XXV. sort, and as it becometh Christians, rather confessing their
 All matters of injury ought to be prosecuted charitably and with modesty. faults than excusing them; that if it might be the matter be determined and ended at home. But in case it cannot so be, either they must seek unto other Churches, or, if need be, they must go to the Christian magistrate, or refer the matter unto a Synod. That order, to be short, shall be observed, which is used in that country where any such thing shall happen. In the mean season, whosoever shall factiously prosecute the matter, and not rather peaceably follow the cause, he declareth himself worthy, even for that very thing, to be removed out of the Church.

XXVI. Those which be lawfully excommunicated, or have unlawfully departed from the Church with offence, insomuch as they are banished from the kingdom of Christ, and from salvation, they can in no wise be admitted unto any public function in the Church, or to the use of the sacraments, until such time as they have justly satisfied the congregation; neither can there be any company joined or kept with them, except it be such as may make to their amendment, or at the leastwise be politic and moderate, and after a civil manner.

XXVII. The civil magistrate is an ordinance from God, by the which, through the help of the nobility, good men being protected, and wicked men corrected, godliness, honesty, and peace, are preserved amongst men.

XXVIII. Whosoever will not resist the ordinance of God, must, without any exception of persons, be also subject unto the magistrate, and obey his commandment, so that it be not repugnant to the word of God.

XXIX. As the godly and faithful magistrate is an inestimable blessing of the Lord, even so a wicked, unfaithful, foolish, and tyrannical magistrate is stirred up of God in his anger, to be a scourge and chastisement to punish the sin and wickedness of his subjects.

XXX. As it is the duty of the magistrate to maintain and defend
 It belong- the one a blessing, the other a scourge.

the Church of God with the sword, even so it is the duty of the Ministers of the Church, in the behalf of the same, to crave his help against rebels, heretics, and tyrants, as often as they think need shall require.

If any man, against the laws and privileges of his country, advance himself as a lord or magistrate; or if he who is confirmed in the office of a magistrate, do wrongfully spoil his subjects of the privileges and liberty which he hath sworn unto them, or by open tyranny oppress them; then ought the ordinary magistrate to oppose him; who, according to God and their duty, ought to defend the subjects, as well against domestical as foreign tyrants. *In this article (as our most worshipful brethren of Geneva did also admonish us) our mind is not to have any window laid open to any rebellion or injustice.*^a

But if there be some fault in his person, who, according to the laws and rites of the country, is lord and ruler either by close or open consent; to wit, that he is ungodly, or covetous, or ambitious, or cruel, or a fornicator, or unchaste, &c. it belongeth only to the superior magistrate and estates of the country to correct it. But it is the duty of all private men, and also of all inferior magistrates, that herein rendering due obedience, they rather choose to suffer wrong, than that leaving their vocation, wherein every man ought always to continue himself, to set force against force, and so to deal unjustly.

* The words of Beza and the Genevian Church, that the last clause of the thirty-first Article refers to, were these, (which I think convenient here to set down, to shew that Church's judgment in this matter.) "Your conclusions concerning the authority of magistrates, as ye sent them to us, we do not doubt in general to approve as godly and orthodox. Only we could not conjecture, why in Art. XXX. ye make mention of tyrants; and in Art. XXXI. which seems to arm inferior magistrates against the superior, we are forced [*τερίζω*] to forbear our assent; not only because it is very dangerous, in our times especially, to open such a window; but also because this matter seems not simply to be argued, (as the thing is handled of you in this *thesis*;) but from very many and very weighty circumstances. In this aphorism therefore we abstain; and that not at all out of any fear of men, but that we pronounce nothing rashly in a matter of so great moment."

BOOK
I.

eth to the
civil ma-
gistrates to
defend the
Church of
Christ.

XXXI.

Every man
in his voca-
tion ought
to live as a
subject.

XXXII.

Manifest
and noto-
rious crimes
(of the in-
ferior ma-
gistrate)
are to be
only pun-
ished by
the Prince:
and herein
all private
men and
other,
rather to
suffer
wrong, than
to rebel.

52

BOOK
I.

Number XIX.

*A list sent into the Bishop of London, to be preferred above,
for favour, upon account of the arrest.*

The names of those which have been persecuted for religion,
and frequent the English, French, Dutch, or Italian
Churches.

Joos Faes	Adriaen de Breier
Christiaen Van Cortenberch	Mr. Jan Mouson
Harman Holman	Henrick de Drossaert
Hendrick Herpers	Joos Moyeson
Joris Struys	Adriaen Poelvoet Van
Cornelis Hendricksen	Sierckzee,
Michiel Geertsen	Jan Van Spiers
Mattheus oude Cleercooper	Jan Coens
Hendrick de Stoeldraeyer	Jan de Viet
Gonaert Hamels	Arnout Aerdtsen
Cornelis Busyn	Jasper Van oude Janssen
Deniis Folcaert	Tobias de Bye
Aert van Guylick	Jan Penneman
Jan Hanicks	Peeter de Pruet
Hector Vander Vore	Anthony de Rycke
Mr. Lenart Van Isegem	Adriaen Wanten
Jaques Cromelinck	Peeter de Rycke
Ambrosius Huybrechts	Walram Lowick
Willem de Keyser	Hans de Drossaert
Reynier Franssen	Gielis Sierkens
Jan Moreel	Christian Beeckmans
Gielis Segers	Joos Vander Borcht
Peeter Persoons	Joos Van Oorliaens
Mr. Jan Thomas	Lieuen Twercken
Stenen de Sagher	Lieuen Van den Hulle
Cornelis Reyens	Hendrick Martens
Claes Stantvoort	Adriaen Hendricks
Cornelis Bulleyns	Hans Speeckaert
Hendrick Van Abbeue	Peeter Lieuens
Hans Voormant	Dierick Vryman
Joos de Graue	Jan Coenen
Willem de Sagher Van Burse	Hendrick Harmans

		BOOK I.
Hendrick Moermans	Emanuel Hueze	
Marten Pyniarts	Jasper Jansen	
Abraham Rossaert	Anthuenis Burtoen	
Peeter Bouters	Jan Willemsoen	53
Jan Coucke	Hugo Queryynsoen	
Jan Vande Vynet	Cornelis Bullens	
Joos de Puyt	Adrian Vanden Pust	
Peeter Winne	Hendrick de Hout	
Jan Vanden Luere	Jacob Plaete Voet	
Marinus Lambrecht	Arnout de Naen	
Harman Tyssins	Peeter Sterlincks	
Dierick Cornelissen	Jaques Meyndt	
Philips de Vrolicke	Joos Vanden Sype	
Fransoys Tybaut	Clement Struis	
Charles Veeskens	Hendrick Abbeville	
Philips Vanden Meere	Johan Vande Poelle	
Willen Van Pottelberghe	Peeter Janssen	
Cornelis de Vos	Adriaen Hiele	
Gonaert Van Broeghel	Cornelis Vanden Borcht	
Cornelis Vanden Borcht	Geeraret Manhoet	
Peeter Cleymans	Joris Van Heucke	
Jacob myn Heere Van Huele	Jan Mantau	
Hendrick Laureyns	Jan Brant Mesmaker	
Peeter de Hase	Egbart Buntinck	
Cryspyn Vanden Biest	Lodewyck Manteew	
Anthony Wiegens	Fransois Smedekens	
Jan Knodde	Frans Oitsen Smet.	

We whose names be hyre under-wreten, do testifie these persons above-wreten, to be persecuted for religion; and before the tyme of the arrest, to have frequented, some the Doche church, some the French church, &c.

Derych Henryckson

Jan Vander Hure

Jasper Van Vosberghen

Arnould Bernardt

Nicolas Sellin.

Examined by { William Cocks.
 { William Sharrington.

BOOK

1.

54 The names of those that were of the Dutche church, and now frequent the English church: and many of the same frequent also the French and Dutche church.

Cornelis Plas	Anthony Smet
Jan Godschalck, with his son Jacob	Willem Wetten
Mr. Jan de Viendrt	Huybreche Delinck
Gabriel Berdts	Adriaen Ghyselinck
Herman Van Goch	Bartholomeus Piters
Jeremias Ackerman	Jan Beelen
Bartholomeus Huysman	Willem Piterson
Willem Busdonk	Christiaen de Ryke
Michiel Mattheus	Jacob Corte
Adriaen Vanden Mere	Cornelis Vanden Plaetzc
Jan Selen	Gielis Van Hiele
Geraerdt Van Bedber	Joris Cutler
Peeter Trioen	Pauwels Maes
Melsen Van As	Peeter de Mol
Jan Draeck	Gerardt Janssen
Jan Pruet	Crispiin Van Oudenaken
Jan Selot	Hans de Lether dresser
	Heyndrick Moreels.

We whose names be hyre under-wretten, do testify these persons above-wretten, to have bynn sometime of the Doche congregation, and syns their departing from the same church, the same persons to have frequented some the English church, and some the French, Doche, and Italian churches.

Signed as before.

AN APPENDIX

55

OF DIVERS

ORIGINAL PAPERS, LETTERS, AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS,

WHEREUNTO REFERENCE IS MADE

IN

THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

BOOK II.

Number I.

*Mysdemeanors of the Master of the Savoy, partelie confessed MSS. penes
by the said Master, and partelie proved by the othe of the me.
Chapleins and other officers of the same house.*

First, THAT the said Master is not resident as he is 1.
bounde to be by the statutes of the house, neither doth his Non-resi-
dence.
dewtie in keepinge hospitalitie in his owne person.

Item, That he mayntayneth in the said hospital divers of 2.
his kinsfolkes with meate, drinke, and lodginge, at the charges Over-charge-
ing the hos-
of the said hospitall: and hath a messe of meate at everie pital.
meale, whether he be present or absent, at his commande-
ment, to the charge of the same hospitall at one hundreth
pounds by the yere at the least, contrarie to the statutes of
the same hospitall.

Item, When he is there, he receiveth not the Communion, 3.
nor comyth not to the churche, unless it be verie syldome, Not com-
municating.

BOOK but useth to spend his tyme in bowlinge and gamynge, and
II. keepeth his servants and others thereat, so as they also cum
 not to the church in tyme of divine service, nor receive
 the Communion as they should do.

56 *Item*, That albeit he hath received all the rents of the said
 hospitall, yett he never made any accompte to the iiij Chap-
 leins there sithens his admission to the mastership, which is
 more then xj yeres agoe, beinge bounde by the statutes to
 make an accompte to them twice everie yere.

4.
Not ac-
compted.

5. *Item*, That he kepith the statutes and ordenences of the
 said hospitall from the said Chapleins, contrarie to the same
 statutes, and suffreth strangers to kepe and pervse the same.

Statutes in
his own cus-
tody.

6. *Item*, That the said Master hath kept and had the com-
 mon seale of the said hospitall in his owne custodie ever si-
 thens he was Master there, untill the xxij daie of Aprill
 1370, last past, direct contrarie to the statutes and orde-
 nences of the same hospitall, and without the consent of the
 Chapleyns there, whereas it ought to remaine by order of
 the said statutes in the common treasorie vnder iiij lockes
 and keyes.

The seal
kept in his
own cus-
tody.

7. *Item*, Where by the statutes of the said house he ought
 not to make any lease for any terme above yeres,
 without the consent of the visitors of the same house, yet
 nevertheless of his private authoritie he hath made and
 granted divers unprofitable leases of the landes of the said
 hospitall for excessive number of yeres, as for xxx, xl, l, lx,
 lxx, above; and namelie, one lease to Mr. Fanshall, of the
 manor Dengeh for vi hundred yeres. Another to one An-
 derton, of lands in Yorkeshire and Lancashire for a thou-
 sand yeres, as it is said.

Irregular
leases.

8. Also, That the said Master havinge the said seale in his
 owne custodie, hath made a great number of the grantes
 under the common seale of the said hospitall, without the
 consent of the said Chaplynes, and hath bounde the said
 hospitall by the common seale thereof to paie divers great
 summes of money for his owne private detts; and with the
 revenues of the same house hath dischargid and paid a great
 parte of the same; and for sume parte thereof hath and doth

Abusing
the seal.

suffer sundrie extentes to be served upon the lands of the said hospitall. And so what by one means, and what by other, he hath burdenyd the hospital with the same his dettes, above the summe of MDCccc xxxviijl. xvis. vijd. alreadie knowen.

BOOK
II.

Also, That the Master, without the consent of the Chapleins, hath under the common seale of the said hospitall solde awaie the fee-simple of an house and lande at Myle-ende, of the yerely rent of vl. and converted the money that he toke therefore to his owne use.

9.
Mile-end
sold.
Leased only
for 500
years, the
rent a pep-
per-corn.

Also, That he hath bounde the hospitall by the common seale, to pay xli. for the advousen of the benefice of Denbigh, and hath sold the same again to his owne use.

10.
Charged
the house
with debt.

Also, That the said Master, of his own private authoritie, hath solde and alienated the jewells, copes, vestimentes, and ornaments of the said hospitall. Also, a chalis with a coverduble gilte. Also, vere faire plate and ornamentes gevyn by Mr. Fekenham, late Deane of Pawlis; for the which the hospitall is bounde yerelie to paie xls. for ever to the Peticannons of Pawles in London.

11.
Jewels and
plate alien-
ated.

Also, That the said Master hath taken awaie certaine beddinge gevyn to the poore, and caried it to the Courte and other places, for his men to lye on.

12.
Beds taken
away.

Also, That by his means the poore want their allowance of fire in the wynter, and lacke drinke in greate necessitie; whereby the sisters have ben driven to give them water instede of drinke.

13.
The poor
abused.

Also, The beddinge belonging to the poore is verie sore decayed, and lackith both in number and other furnyshe-ments required by the statutes.

14.
Bedding de-
cayed.

Also, That there hath ben muche evill rule and dissolute livinge emonges his servantes. So that two of his mayden servantes, beinge his cokes, have ben gotten with childe in the said hospitall, and no correction hath ben done therefore.

15.
Dissolute
living.

Also, That one Elizabeth Woller, a suspect woman of livinge, hath, in her keepinge, a private or double key of the alley-gate, contrarie to the statutes. And thereby at all

16.
A suspicious
woman en-
tertained.

BOOK tymes both night and daie cummyth in, and bringith in
 II. and owt whom she lyst into the said Masters lodgynges:
 wherebie the house is brought into great obloquie.

17.
 The books
 of statutes
 not kept.

Also, That the said Master hath not kept the bookes of statutes and ordinaunces, with the dotations and letters patententes of the lands and other munyments, belonginge to the said hospitall in the common treasurie, under iiij lockes and keys, accordinge to the statutes; but hath kept them to his private use, and levith the same in thandes and kepinge of other persons owt of the house, to the great daunger and losse of them.

Concordat cum compertis in visitatione hospitalis prædict.

W. Say.

Number II.

Grindal, Archbishop of York, to the Lord Treasurer; complaining of injuries offered to his Clergy by those that were sent down upon concealments.

MSS. penes me.

AFTER my very hearty commendations to your good Lordship. I can be very well contented, that the gentlemen pensioners, in whose behalf your Lordship wrote unto me, may have the penalties, forfeited by the Clergy of my diocese, according to their letters patents. Neither did I ever mind to abridge them of any part thereof. But I find fault with the manner of proceeding which hath been used here, about the levying of the same. For first, their deputies have been bare men, and noted for evil dealing heretofore, and so the liker to commit extortions and briberies. Whereof some, as I hear, have been opened in the Star-chamber; and 58 of some we have suffered in these parts. Secondly, their manner of dealing, by composition for offences past and to come, tendeth not to the restraint of abuses, but is rather a mean to increase the same. Moreover, (as they use the matter,) men of good worship and calling, which are no way culpable, and generally, all the whole Clergy, as well the

innocent as the faulty, are compelled to appear before the said deputies, being men qualified as before, and to attend upon them as Commissioners (where indeed they have no such commission) to their great charge, molestation, and discredit.

BOOK
II.

Wherefore, if the said gentlemen would send me down in articles a form of proceeding to be observed by their deputies; whereby the said inconveniencies, and some other, now for brevity omitted, may be avoided, I shall be willing, in all reasonable order, to further their commodity, or otherwise leave them to the execution of their commission according to their own discretion, so as no injury be offered to my Clergy and me. Which I assure myself was not meant at their granting of their said letters patents. And thus ceasing further to trouble your Lordship at this time, I heartily commend the same to the grace of God. From Bishoppesthorpe, this xxix. of June, 1573.

Your Lordship's in Christ,

Edm. Ebor.

Number III.

The said Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer, concerning proceedings in the ecclesiastical Commission with Papists in the north.

MY very good Lord, we of the ecclesiastical Commission MSS. p. here have sent a certificate to my L.L. of the Council, of nes me. our proceedings this term. Only five persons have been committed for their obstinacy in Papistical religion. For the number of that sect (thanks be to God) daily diminisheth; in this diocese especially. None of note was committed, saving only your old acquaintance Doctor Vavasor; who hath been tolerated in his own house in York, almost three quarters of a year. In his answer made in open judgment, he shewed himself the same man which you have known him to be in his younger years: which was sophistical, disdainful, and eluding arguments with irrision, when he was

BOOK
II.

not able to solute the same by learning. His great anchorhold was in urging the literal sense of *hoc est corpus meum*, thereby to prove *transubstantiation*: which to deny (saith he) is as great an heresy as to deny *consubstantiation*, decreed in the Nicene Council. The diversity was sufficiently
59 declared unto him by testimonies of the Fathers. *Sed ipse sibi plaudit*. My Lord President and I, knowing his disposition to talk, thought it not good to commit the said Dr. Vavasor to the castle of York, where some other like affected remain prisoners; but rather to a solitary prison in the Queen's Majesty's castle at Hull, where he shall only talk to walls.

The imprisoned for religion in these parts of late made supplication to be enlarged; seeming, as it were, to require it of right, by the example of enlarging of Fecknam, Watson, and other Papists above. We here are to think, that all things done above are done upon great causes, though the same be to us unknown. But certainly my Lord President and I join in opinion, that if such a general *jubilee* should be put in use in these parts, a great relapse would follow soon after. Your Lordship, and other of my Lords, may consider of it, if any such suit should be made, &c.

Thus I take my leave of your good Lordship, heartily commending the same to the grace of God. From York, 13th of Novemb. 1574.

Your Lordship's in Christ,
Edm. Ebor.

Number IV.

Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the most reverend Father in God, Edmond, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other the Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the province of Canterbury, in the Convocation or Synod, holden at Westminster by prorogation, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, MDLXXV. touching the admission of apt and fit persons to the ministry, and the establishing of good order in the Church.

FIRST, that none shall be made Deacon or Minister hereafter, but only such as shall *first* bring to the Bishop of that diocese, from men known to that Bishop to be of sound religion, a testimonial, both of his honest life, and of his professing the doctrine expressed in the Articles of Religion, which concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted; entitled, *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord 1562, for the avoiding of the Diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion; Put forth by the Queen's authority:* and which also shall then be able to answer, and render to the same Bishop an account of his faith in Latin, agreeable and consonant to the said Articles: and shall *first* subscribe to the said Articles. And every such Deacon shall be of the age of twenty-three years, and shall continue in that office the space of an whole year at the least, before he be admitted to the Order of Priesthood. And every such Minister shall be of the full age of twenty-four years. And neither of those Orders shall be given, but only upon a Sunday or holyday, and in the face of the Church; and in such manner and form, and with such other circumstances as are appointed by the book entitled, *The Form and Manner of making, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*

E MSS.
Guil. Petyt,
Armig.

BOOK
II.

II. *Item*, That no Bishop shall give either of the said Orders to any that be not of his own diocese, (other than graduates residing in either of the Universities,) unless they be dimitted under the hand and seal of that Bishop, and of whose diocese they are; and not upon letters dimissary of any Chancellor or other officer to any Bishop.

III. *Item*, That unlearned Ministers heretofore made by any Bishops, shall not hereafter be admitted to any cure or spiritual function, according to the Queen's Majesty's injunctions in that behalf. For which purpose, the Bishop shall cause strait and diligent examination to be used in the admission of all Curates to the charge of any cure.

IV. *Item*, That diligent inquisition be made in every diocese for all such as have forged or counterfeited letters of Orders, that they may be deposed and punished by the Commissioners ecclesiastical.

V. *Item*, That the Bishops by their letters do certify one to another the names of such counterfeit Ministers; to the end they be not suffered to serve in any other diocese.

VI. *Item*, That from henceforth none shall be admitted to any Orders ecclesiastical, unless he do presently shew to the Bishop a true presentation of himself to a benefice then void, within the diocese or jurisdiction of the said Bishop; or unless he likewise shew to the said Bishop a true certificate, where presently he may be placed to serve some cure within the same diocese or jurisdiction: or unless he be placed in some cathedral, or collegiate church, or college: or unless the Bishop shall forthwith place him in some vacant benefice or cure: or unless he be known to have sufficient patrimony or livelihood of his own.

VII. *Item*, That none shall be admitted unto any dignity or benefice with cure of souls, unless he be qualified according to the tenor of the first Article: and if any such dignity or benefice be of the yearly value of xxx*l.* or above, in the Queen's books, unless he shall then be a Doctor in some faculty, or a Bachelor of Divinity at least, or a preacher lawfully allowed by some Bishop within this realm, or by one of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford; and shall

give open trial of his preaching before the Bishop or Ordinary, or some other learned men appointed by him, before his admission to such dignity or benefice. And nevertheless, where the stipends or livings be very small, there to choose and admit of the best that can be found in such case of necessity.

BOOK
II.

VIII. *Item*, That all licences for preaching granted out by any Archbishops or Bishops within the province of Canterbury, bearing date before the 8th of February 1575, be void and of none effect. And nevertheless, all such as shall be thought meet for that office, to be admitted again without difficulty or charge, paying not above four pence for the seal, writing, parchment, and wax for the same, according to an article of the *advertisements* in that behalf.

In the printed articles it is somewhat different, viz. paying nothing for the same.

IX. *Item*, That every Bishop take order, that all able preachers within his diocese do earnestly, and with diligence, teach their auditors sound doctrine of faith and true religion; and continually exhort them to repentance and amendment of life; that they may bring forth the fruits of faith and charity, and be liberal in alms, and other good deeds commanded by God's word. And that none be admitted to be a preacher unless he be first a Deacon at the least.

X. *Item*, That every Bishop in his diocese shall with all expedition take order, that the Catechism allowed be diligently taught to the youth in every parish church; and that the Homilies, when no sermons be had, be duly read in order, as they be prescribed, every Sunday and holyday.

XI. *Item*, That every Bishop shall likewise take order within his diocese, that every Parson, Vicar, Curate, and stipendary Priest, being under the degree of a Master of Art, and being no preacher, shall provide, and have of his own, within two months after warning given to him or them, the New Testament, both in Latin and English, or Welsh; and shall confer daily one chapter of the same, the Latin and English, or Welsh together. And that Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, in their synods and visitations, shall by their discretion appoint to every of the said Par-

BOOK
II.

sons, Vicars, Curates, and stipendary Priests, some certain tax of the New Testament to be conned without book, or otherwise to be travailed, as shall be thought most convenient to the said Archdeacons, Commissaries, or Officials; and shall exact a rehearsal of the same, and examine them, how they have profited in the study thereof, at their next synods and visitations, or such other time or times, as to them shall be thought meet

XII. *Item*, Where some ambiguity and doubt hath risen among divers, by what persons private baptism is to be administered; forasmuch as by the Book of Common Prayer allowed by the statute, the Bishop of the diocese is authorized to expound and resolve all such doubts as shall arise concerning the manner how to understand, and to execute the things contained in the said book; it is now by the said Archbishop and Bishops expounded and resolved, and every of them doth expound and resolve, that the said private baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be ministered by a lawful Minister or Deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other. And that every Bishop
62 in his diocese shall take order, that this exposition of the said doubt shall be published in writing before the first day of May next coming, in every parish church of his diocese in this province. And thereby all other persons shall be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministering of baptism privately, being no part of their vocation. [This twelfth Article is omitted in the printed book of these Articles.]

XIII. *Item*, That from henceforth there be no commutation of any penance by any having ordinary jurisdiction ecclesiastical, or any of their officers or deputies into any mulct pecuniary; unless the same be done upon great and urgent causes, by the consent of the Bishop of the diocese, declared in writing under his hand and seal.

XIV. *Item*, That all Archdeacons, and others, which have ordinary jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and their officers and deputies, shall call before them all such person or persons as shall be detected or presented before them, or any of them, of any ecclesiastical crime and fault; and shall use

all means by law prescribed, to convince and punish such as **BOOK**
be found to be offenders, effectually upon pain of suspen- **II.**
sion from his and their office.

XV. *Item*, That the Bishops shall take order, that it be published and declared in every parish church within their diocese, before the first day of May next coming, that marriage may be solemnized at all times of the year, so that the banns be first, upon three several Sundays or holydays in the service-time, openly asked in the church, and none impediment objected; and so that the said marriage be also publicly solemnized in the church at the usual time of Morning Prayer. [This fifteenth Article is omitted also in the printed Articles. As also this that follows is left out.]

“ To all which Articles, and every of them, we, the said
“ Archbishop and Bishops, whose names are under-
“ written, have assented and subscribed our several
“ names with our proper hands, as well for ourselves,
“ as also for other Bishops, being absent; for whom
“ in this Synod we have lawful proxies.”

BOOK
II.

Number V.

MSS. Grindal. *The Faculty-Office. The dispensations, with their prices.*

63

Dispensation and Tax.	To the Queen.	L. Chancellor.	Clerk.	Archbishop.	Commissary.	Registrar.
Commendam 16 <i>l</i> .	8 <i>l</i> .	35 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> . q.	13 <i>s</i> . 9 <i>d</i> . ob. q.	3 <i>l</i> . 11 <i>s</i> . 1 <i>d</i> .	17 <i>s</i> . 9 <i>d</i> . ob. q.	17 <i>s</i> . 9 <i>d</i> . ob. q.
Plurality 6 <i>l</i> . 10 <i>s</i> .	3 <i>l</i> .	13 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . ob.	7 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> . ob.	28 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> . ob.	7 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> . ob. q.	7 <i>s</i> . 2 <i>d</i> . ob. q.
Legitimation 4 <i>l</i> .	43 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	8 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> . ob.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . ob.	17 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .	4 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .	4 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .
Non-Residence 2 <i>l</i> . 13 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	30 <i>s</i> .	Nil.	3 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	8 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> . ob.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . o b.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . ob.
Licence to eat Flesh 40 <i>s</i> .			3 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	6 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .	3 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	3 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .
Creation of No- taries 13 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	Nil.	Nil.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . q.	Nil.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . q.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . q.
<i>De non promo- vendo</i> : that is,	43 <i>s</i> . 4 <i>d</i> .	8 <i>s</i> . 10 <i>d</i> . ob.	4 <i>s</i> . 5 <i>d</i> . ob.	17 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> .	4 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .	4 <i>s</i> . 6 <i>d</i> .

for a Doctor of Civil Law to enjoy some ecclesiastical preferment, 4*l*.

Trialities, 9*l*.

As many benefices as the party could get. } The Tax here much greater, according to the quality of the grant.

Dispensation for children, and young men under age, to take ecclesiastical benefices. If the party were eighteen years of age or more, 4*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*. If under eighteen years of age, much greater.

Perinde valere ; that is, making grants good, which by law were void, and a right grown to some other person, 6*l*.

Dispensation to take all Orders together, 13*s*. 4*d*.

Dispensations to take Orders out of one's own diocese, 6*s*. 8*d*.

Licences to marry without banns, 10*s*.

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*The ecclesiastical Commission granted to the high Commis- 64
sioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, for
ecclesiastical causes.*

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queen of England, &c. To the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty, and right well-beloved Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan; to our right trusty and well-beloved, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, St. David's, Norwich, Chichester, and Rochester, for the time being, Richard, Suffragan of Dover, and to our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, &c. Whereas, in our Parliament holden at Westminster, the twenty-fifth day of January, in the first year of our reign, and there continued and kept until the eighth day of May then next following; among other things, there were two acts and statutes made and established: the one entitled, *An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction of the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual*; abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same; the other entitled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service of the Church, and Administration of the Sacraments*: and whereas also, in our Parliament holden at Westminster, the 12th day of January, in the fifth year of our reign, among other things, there was one other act and statute made and established, entitled, *An Act for the Insurance of the Queen's Majesty's royal Power over all States and Subjects within her Dominions*: and further, whereas, in our Parliament begun and holden at Westminster, the 2d of April, in the thirteenth year of our reign, and there continued unto the dissolution of the same; among other things, there was an act and statute made and established, entitled, *An Act to reform certain Discords touching Ministers of the Church*; as by the said several acts more at large doth appear:

And whereas divers seditious and slanderous persons do not cease daily to invent and set forth false rumours, tales,

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Cleopatra,
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and seditious slanders, not only against us, and the said good laws and statutes, but also have set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England; meaning thereby to move and procure strife, division, and dissension among our loving and obedient subjects, much to the abusing of us and our people: wherefore, we earnestly minding to have the same several acts before-mentioned to be duly put in execution, and such persons as shall hereafter offend in any thing contrary to the tenor and effect of the said several statutes, or any of them, to be condignly punished; and having special trust and confidence in your wisdoms and discretions, have authorized, designed, and appointed you to be our Commissioners; and by these presents do
65 give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, whereof you, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, St. Davies, Norwich, Chichester, Rochester, for the time being; or you the Bishop Suffragan of Dover, or the said Tho. Smith, Francis Wallingham, Roger Manwood, Tho. Goodwin, Alexander Novel, Gabriel Goodman, John Whitgift, Tho. Sackford, Tho. Wylson, Gilb. Gerrard, Tho. Bromly, Anthony Cook, Hen. Nevyl, Tho. Wats, Davy Lewis, Tho. Yale, Barth. Clerk, or John Hammond, to be one, from time to time hereafter, during our pleasure: to inquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses, and all other ways and means you can devise, of all offences, contempts, transgressions, and misdemeanors, done and committed, and hereafter to be committed and done, contrary to the tenor and effect of the said several acts and statutes, and every or any of them: and also to inquire of all and singular heretical, erroneous, or offensive opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours or tales, scandalous words or sayings, invented or set forth, or hereafter to be published, invented, or set forth by any person or persons, against us, or against any our Magistrates, or Officers, or Ministers, or other whatsoever, contrary to any our laws or statutes of this our realm, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, in

any county, city, borough, or other place or places, exempt or not exempt, within this our realm of England; and of all and every the coadjutors, counsellors, and comforters, procurers and abettors, of every or any such offender or offenders.

And furthermore, we do give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, whereof you the said Archbishop of Canterbury, our Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, &c. to be one, from time to time, during our pleasure, as well to hear and determine all and every the premises; as also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, offences, assaults, frays, and quarrels done and committed, or hereafter to be committed and done in any church or chapel, church-yard or chapel-yard, or against any divine service, or any Minister or Ministers of the same, contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm, in any place or places, exempt or not exempt, within this our realm. And also, to inquire of and search out, and to order, correct, reform, and punish all and every such person or persons, dwelling in places exempt or not exempt, which wilfully and obstinately have absented themselves, or hereafter shall wilfully and obstinately absent themselves from the church, and such divine service as by the laws and statutes is appointed to be had and used, by censures of the church, or any other ways and means by the said act for uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. or any laws ecclesiastical of this realm, is limited or appointed. And also, to take order by your discretions, that the penalties and forfeitures limited by the said act for uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. against the offenders in that behalf, may be duly, from time to time, levied by the churchwardens of every parish, where any such offence should be done, to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of every such offender, by way of distress, according to the limitation and true meaning of the said statute. 66

And also, we do give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, as is aforesaid, from time to time, and at

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all times, during our pleasure, to visit, reform, redress, correct, and amend in all places within this our realm of England, as well in places exempt as not exempt, all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, spiritual or ecclesiastical, whatsoever, which by any manner spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation or otherwise, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of all virtue, and the preservation of the peace and unity of this realm; and according to the authority and power limited and appointed by any laws, ordinances, or statutes of this our realm.

And also, we do give and grant full power and authority unto you, or three of you, as aforesaid, from time to time, and at all times, during our pleasure, to inquire of, search out, and call before you, all and every such person or persons ecclesiastical living, that shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary, or repugnant, to any of the Articles of Religion, and also to the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled, *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishop and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord God 1562, according to the Computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of Diversity of Opinions, and for establishing of Consent, touching true Religion: Put forth by the Queen's authority.* And that if any person or persons, being convicted before you, or any three of you, as aforesaid, for any such matter, shall persist therein, or not revoke his or their error, or after such revocation eftsones affirm such untrue doctrine, then to deprive from all promotions ecclesiastical all and every such person and persons so maintaining, or affirming, or persisting, or so eftsones affirming, as is aforesaid.

And lastly, we do give full power and authority unto you, or three of you, as is aforesaid, by virtue hereof, to

inquire, hear, determine, and punish all incests, advoutries, fornications, outrageous misbehaviours and disorders in marriages, and all other crimes and offences, which are punishable or reformatable by the ecclesiastical laws of this our realm, committed and done, &c. according to the tenor of the laws in that behalf, and according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions.

Willing, and commanding, and authorizing you, &c. to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of all the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary. And upon due proof thereof had, and the offence or offences before specified, or any of them, sufficiently proved against any person or persons, by confession of the party, or lawful 67 witnesses, or by any other due means, before you, or three of you, that then you, &c. shall have full power and authority to order and award such punishment to every such offender, by fine, imprisonment, censures of the Church, or otherwise, or by all or any of the said ways; and to take such order for the redress of the same, as to your wisdoms and discretions shall seem most convenient.

And further, we do give full power and authority unto you, &c. to call before you, &c. every offender or offenders, in any of the premises; and also, such as by you, &c. shall seem to be suspect persons in any of the premises; and also all such witnesses, or any other person or persons that can inform you concerning any of the premises, &c. as you shall think meet to be called before you. And him or them to examine upon their corporal oaths, for the better trial and opening of the truth of the premises.

And if you, &c. shall find any person or persons disobedient, either in their appearance before you, &c. or else in not accomplishing or not obeying your orders, decrees, and commandments, &c. you shall have full power to punish the said persons by executions, and other censures ecclesiastical, or by fine, according to your discretions, or commit the same to ward, there to remain until he or they shall be by you delivered and enlarged.

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And because there is great diversity in the persons that are to be called before you, some of them dwelling far off from you, some being fugitives, and so to be charged with grievous crimes and faults, the speedy redress whereof is most requisite; and therefore more speedy, effectual, and straiter process than by your letters missive is required in most part of those causes; we, for the better execution and furtherance of our service here, do give full power and authority unto you, &c. to command all and every our Justices, and other officer or officers, and subjects within this our realm, in all places as well exempt as not exempt, by your letters to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, any person or persons which you shall think meet to be convented before you, to answer to any matter touching the premises, or any part thereof; and to take such sufficient bonds to our use, as you, &c. shall by your letters prescribe for his or their personal appearance to be made before you, or three of you as aforesaid, and so to attend as appertaineth. And in case any such person or persons so apprehended be not able, or will obstinately refuse to give sufficient bonds to our use, for his or their personal appearance; then we will, that in our name you, &c. give commandment to such Justices, &c. under whose charge he or they so to be convented shall happen to remain, either for the bringing him or them before you; or else, to commit him or them to ward, or other safe custody, &c. so to remain until you, &c. shall further order for his or their enlargement.

And further, we do give unto you, &c. full power and authority to take and receive of every offender and suspected person to be convented and brought before you, a
68 recognizance or obligation to our use, in such sum or sums of money as to you shall seem meet and convenient, as well for their personal appearance before you, as for the performance and accomplishment of such orders and decrees, as to you shall seem convenient in that behalf.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that you shall assume our trusty and well-beloved subject William Bedell to

be your Register, whom we by these presents do depute to that effect, or, in his absence or default, any other public sufficient notary or notaries whatsoever you the Archbishop and Bishop of London for the time being shall, by your discretions and considerations of the time and place, judge most meet and apt to further our service, &c. for the registering of all your acts, decrees, and proceedings, by virtue of this our commission; and shall limit unto the said Register such allowance for the pains of him and his clerks in that behalf, as to your discretions shall be thought meet, to be answered as well of the parties before you to be convented, &c. as of the fines which you assess and levy by force of this our commission, &c.

And like manner, you, by your discretions, shall appoint one or more messenger or messengers, or other officer, to attend upon you for your service in this behalf; and shall limit unto him or them, for his or their pains, such allowance as you shall think good: the same to be answered to him or them in like manner and form, as before touching the said Register is appointed.

And further, our will and pleasure is, that you, &c. shall appoint one sufficient person to be receiver, and to gather up and receive all such sum or sums of money, as by you, &c. shall by virtue of this our commission be assessed or taxed for any fine or fines, upon any person or persons for their offences. And that every such receiver, &c. shall be accountable for the same, &c. willing and commanding you, once in every Michaelmas term, during this our commission, to certify into our Court of Exchequer, as well the name of the said receiver, as also a note of all such fines as shall be set or taxed before you, and by him received; to the intent that the said receiver may be charged thereby; and upon the determination of his account, we may be answered of the residue thereof, that to us shall appertain over and beside the allowances to the said register, messenger, and other officers, willing and commanding also our auditors and other officers, to whom it shall appertain, upon the sight of the said bill signed with the hand of you,

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or any three of you, to make unto the said receiver due allowance, according to the said bill upon the said account.

And whereas there were divers cathedral and collegiate churches, grammar-schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations erected, founded, or ordained by the late King of famous memory, our dear father King Henry VIII; and by our late dear brother King Edward VI; and by our late sister Queen Mary; and by the late Lord Cardinal Pool; the ordinances, rules, and statutes whereof be either none
69 at all, or altogether imperfect, or being made at such time as the crown and regiment of this realm was subject to the foreign usurped authority of the see of Rome, they be in some points contrary, diverse, and repugnant to the dignity and prerogative of our crown, the laws of this our realm, and the present state of religion within the same; we therefore do give full power and authority unto you, or six of you, of whom we will you, the forenamed Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, Chichester, Rochester, for the time being; Gabriel Goodman, William Dey, or Tho. Watts, always to be one; to cause and ordain in our name all and singular the ordinances, rules, and statutes of all and every the said cathedral and collegiate churches, grammar-schools, and other ecclesiastical corporations, together with their several letters patents, and other writings touching and in any thing concerning their several erections and foundations, to be brought and exhibited before you, or six of you, as is aforesaid; willing and commanding you, &c. upon the exhibiting, and upon diligent and deliberate view, search, and examination of the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, letters patents and writings; not only to make speedy and undelayed certificates of the enormities, disorders, defects, surplusage or wants, of all and singular the statutes, rules, and ordinances, but also with the same to advertise us of such good orders and statutes, as you, or six of you, &c. shall think meet and convenient to be by us made and set forth for the better order and rule of the said several churches, erections, and foundations, and the

possessions and revenues of the same; and as may best tend to the honour of Almighty God, the increase of virtue and unity in the said places, and the public weal and tranquillity of this our realm: to the intent we may thereupon further proceed to the altering, making, and establishing of the same, and other statutes, rules, and ordinances, according to an act of Parliament thereof made in the first year of our reign.

And where also we are informed, there remain as yet still, within this our realm, divers perverse and obstinate persons, which do refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction, power, privilege, superiority, and preeminence, spiritual and ecclesiastical, over all states and subjects within this our realm, and other our dominions, which is given to us by virtue of the foresaid two Acts; the one entitled, *An act for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same*; and the other entitled, *An act for the assurance of the Queen's Majesty's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions*; we therefore do assign, depute, and appoint, and by these presents do give full power, and authority, and jurisdiction to you, or three of you, whereof you, the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. to tender and minister the oaths expressed and set forth in the same Act, &c. to all and every the Archbishops, Bishops, and other persons, officers and Ministers ecclesiastical; and also to every other person or persons appointed, or compellable by either of the said Acts, to take the said oath, of what state, dignity, preeminence, or degree soever he or they be; and to receive and take the said oath of the said persons, and every of them, &c. willing and requiring you, &c. that after the refusal or refusals of the same oath by any person or persons, to certify us accordingly, under the seals of you, and every of you, &c. and of the names, places, and degrees of the person or persons so refusing the same oath, before us in our Court, commonly called *the King's Bench*.

Moreover, our will, and pleasure, and commandment is,

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that you our said Commissioners shall diligently and faithfully execute this commission, and every part and branch thereof, in manner and form aforesaid, and according to the true meaning thereof; notwithstanding any appellation, provocation, privilege, or exemption in that behalf, to be made, had, pretended, or alleged by any person or persons, resiant and dwelling in any place or places, exempt or not exempt, within this our realm, any our laws, statutes, proclamations, other grants, privileges, &c. which be, or may seem, contrary to the premises notwithstanding.

And that for the better credit and more manifest notice of your doings in the execution of this our commission, our pleasure and commandment is, that unto our letters missive, processes, decrees, orders, and judgments, from or by you, or any three of you, to be awarded, set forth, had, made, decreed, given, or pronounced at Lambeth, or London, you, or three of you, as aforesaid, shall cause to be put and affixed a seal engraved with the rose and the crown over the rose, and the letter E before, and the letter R after the same, with a ring or circumference about the same seal, containing as followeth, *Sigill. Commissar. Regin. Maj. ad caus. Ecclesiast.*

And finally, we will and command all and singular Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other our officers, Ministers, and subjects, in all and every place and places, exempt or not exempt, within our realms, upon any knowledge or request from you or any three of you, whereof you the said Archbishop, &c. to be one to them, or any of them given or made, to be aiding, helping, and assisting you, and at your commandment, in and for the due executing of this our commission; as they and every of them tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their utmost perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters of commission to be sealed with our great seal. Witness ourself at Gorambury, the twenty-third day of April, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

Number VII.

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*Articles to be inquired of in the metropolitical Visitation of
the most reverend Father in God, Edmund, by divine
sufferance, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all
England, and Metropolitan, in all and singular cathe-
dral and collegiate churches within the province of Can-
terbury.* 71

1. FIRST, Whether your Bishop and his Chancellor, Grind. Reg.
Commissaries, and all other his officers, do minister justice
indifferently and incorruptly to all her Majesty's subjects,
and punish vice and public crimes with due punishment,
without any corrupt commutations, neither respecting gifts
nor persons. And whether any money, gift, reward, or any
other commodity, other than accustomed lawful fees, hath
been received for justice, or any judgments or execution of
laws, or for any gift, advowson, presentation, collation, in-
stitution, or induction, or for the procuring of any such to
any spiritual or ecclesiastical living. What hath been re-
ceived; by whom, and by whose mediation.

2. *Item*, Whether your Bishop, Dean, Chapter, and all
other your governors, do, in their several regiments, direct
all their doings to seek the glory of God, the godly quiet-
ness of the Church of England; the upholding in good or-
der of your cathedral officers, neither suffering in the same
corrupt doctrine nor offensive manners. And whether any
of them hath, or doth make, or suffer any waste, ruin, de-
cay, or dilapidation of the goods or possessions of this
church; as by decay, or not repairing of the church and
the several houses, alienating the stocks, buildings, imple-
ments, or other moveable goods of the church; or commit-
ting any of the same to private uses, or making of leases in
possession or reversion for more years, or otherwise, than
the statutes of the church do prescribe; or by greedy waste
of timber, excessive sales of wood, advowsons unused, and
unreasonable grants, patents, and reversions of offices, un-
wonted annuities, and such like greedy griping of things

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present, to the impoverishing of the church and succession. How many, and what they be: whether any such grant or advowson hath been sold for any value: by whom, and to whom, and for how much; and who now enjoyeth the same.

3. *Item*, How many such grants, patents, advowsons, sales, offices, annuities, and such like, have been confirmed by your chapter-seal, sithence the first year of her Majesty's reign: to whose use; and by whose means; and what money was received for the same: by whom, and to whose use: whether any like gift, grant, advowson or lease for longer time than for one and twenty years, or three
72 lives, hath been made or confirmed, antedated, or by other colourable means procured in the possession or reversion, sithence the beginning of the Parliament in the 13th year of her Majesty's reign. What those be, and by whose means procured, and to whose use.

4. *Item*, Whether your Deans, Archdeacons, and other Dignitaries of the church, be resident or not. Who they be: what other promotions or livings every one of them hath, and in what diocese; and whether every one of them be Ministers or not: whether they use seemly or priestly garments, according as they are commanded by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions to do.

5. *Item*, Whether your Prebendaries be commonly resident; or how many of them were: where every one of the rest be: what be their names: what livings every one of them hath; and in what place: what Orders they be in: how or in what apparel they do commonly go. Whether they do preach in their several courses; or how often, and what times in the year; or how oft they do resort to your cathedral church.

6. *Item*, Whether the divine service be used, and the Sacrament ministered in manner and form prescribed in the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, and none other: whether it be said and sung in due time: whether in all points, according to the statutes of your church, not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesty's laws or injunctions: whe-

ther all that were wont be bound, or ought to come to it, do so still: whether every one of the church doth openly communicate in the said cathedral church at the least once in every year. BOOK
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7. *Item*, Whether the grammar-school be well ordered; whether the number of children thereof be furnished: how many do want, and by whose default: whether they be diligently and godly brought up in the fear of God and wholesome doctrine: whether any of them have been received for money or rewards; and by whom: whether the statutes, foundations, and other ordinances, touching the godly prescribed and used alms of your church, and the said grammar-school, master or the scholars thereof, or any other having doing or interest therein, be kept. By whom it is not observed; or by whose default. And the like in all points you shall inquire, and present of your choristers and their master.

8. *Item*, Whether all other officers and ministers of the church, as well within as without, do their duty in all points, obediently and faithfully. And whether your Dean, Stewards, Treasurers, Bursars, Receivers, or any other officer, having any charge, or any ways being accountant to the said church, do make a true, perfect, and faithful account, at such days and times as be limited and appointed by the statutes and customs of the said church; making full payment yearly of all arrearages: whether any money or goods of the church do remain in any men's hands: who they be, and what sums remain.

9. *Item*, You shall inquire of the doctrine and judgment of all and singular heads and members of the said church; as your Dean, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Readers of Divinity, Schoolmasters, Vicars, Petty Canons, Deacons, 73 Conducts, Singing-men, Choristers, Scholars in grammar-schools, and all other officers and ministers, as well within your church as without: whether any of them do either privily or openly preach any unwholesome, erroneous, or seditious doctrine, contrary or repugnant to any article agreed upon in any synod of the Clergy of the province of

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Canterbury, sithence the first year of her Majesty's reign; or discourage any man, soberly for his edifying, from the reading of the holy Scriptures: or in any point do persuade or move any not to conform themselves to the order of religion reformed, restored, and reviewed by public authority in this Church of England.

10. *Item*, You shall inquire of the names and surnames of all and singular the abovenamed members, officers, and ministers of this your said church, as well high as low: whether you know or suspect any of them to obtain his room, or living, by simony, that is, by money, unlawful covenants, gift, or reward: who presented him: whether his living be in lease; and by whom it is leased; to whom, and upon what rent. Whether he doth pay any pension: for what cause: what sum, and to whom: whether any of them be known or suspected to be a swearer, an adulterer, a fornicator, or suspected of any other uncleanness: whether any of them do use any suspect house, or suspected company of any such faults, any tavern, alehouse, or tippling houses, at any inconvenient season: whether any of them be suspected to be a drunkard, a dicer, a carder, a brawler, fighter, quarreler, or unquiet person, a carrier of tales, a backbiter, slanderer, baitmaker, or any other ways a breaker of charity and unity, or cause of unquietness by any means.

11. *Item*, Whether you have necessary ornaments and books for your church.

12. *Item*, Whether your church be sufficiently repaired in all parts: what stock or annuity is there towards the reparation of the cathedral church: in whose hands and custody doth it remain.

13. *Item*, Finally, you shall present what you think necessary or profitable for the church to be reformed, or of new to be appointed and ordered in the same.

Number VIII.

Hierom Zanchy to the Archbishop; congratulating his access to the archbishopric.

S. OBSERVANTIA, quâ te, Reverendissime Domine, ^{Zanchii Epist. lib. 2.} semper sum prosequutus, propter tuam singularem pietatem, humanitatem, virtutem, facit, ut non possum non gratulari tibi istam novam, amplissimamque de quâ ad me scripsit communis amicus Knolles, dignitatem. Quid enim majus expectari amplius in isto regno tibi poterat? Gratulator itaque ex animo. Quoniam istæ divinæ benedictiones ⁷⁴ testimonia sunt, tum constantis in Deum pietatis tuæ, tum immutabilis erga te benevolentiae Dei. Sed non minus gratulor eandem rem toti isti regno, quod scilicet talem jam nactus sit à Deo Primatem: cujus curâ et diligentia magis ac magis in vera religione ac pietate promoveri possit.

Neque enim dubito, quin ista supremæ post regiam Majestatem dignitatis accessio, futura sit tibi perpetuus stimulus, quo ad faciendum officium diligentius quàm unquam, acriter exciteris. Precor Deum sua etiam in te dona augeat; firmaque et diuturnâ valetudine donare te velit, ad salutarem suæ Ecclesiae gubernationem.

Vivo adhuc, et quidem bona valetudine, Dei beneficio, pro mea ætate, qui sexagesimum primum ago annum, cum uxore, liberis quinque, et qui brevi, ut spero, prodibit in lucem. Sunt autem et hæ magnæ Dei benedictiones, pro quibus ingentes illi ago gratias. Restat, ut tum donis sui Spiritus eos repleat, tum quæ ad vitam hanc honestè transigendam necessaria sunt, illis suppeditet; quod ut faxit, toto pectore illum rogo per Jesum Christum; ac tibi etiam, amplissime Archiepiscopo, aliisque amicis et bonis viris commendo. Dominus Jesus te diu nobis ad Ecclesiae salutem, conservet incolumem. Expectamus quotidie nostrum Casimirum. Heidelb. 22. Julii, 76.

T. Amplitud.

H. Zanchius.

BOOK
II.

Number IX.

The Archbishop's letter to the Queen, concerning suppressing the Prophecies, and restraining the number of Preachers.

To her Majesty, December 20, 1576.

Grind.
Epist.
penes me.

WITH most humble remembrance of my bounden duty to your Majesty; that may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it hath pleased you to deliver unto me, when I last attended on your Highness, concerning the abridging the number of Preachers, and the utter suppression of all learned exercises and conferences among the Ministers of the Church, allowed by their Bishops and Ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and discomforted me. Not so much for that the said speeches sounded very hardly against mine own person, being but one particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all for that the same might both tend to the public harm of God's Church, whereof your Highness ought to be *nutricia**, and also to the heavy burdening of your own conscience before God, if they should be put in strict execution. It was not your Majesty's pleasure then, the time not serving thereto, to hear me at any length, concerning the said two matters there propounded; I thought it therefore my duty by writing to declare some part of my
75 mind unto your Highness: beseeching the same, with patience, to read over this that I now send written with mine own rude scribbling hand; which seemeth to be of more length than it is indeed: for I say with Ambrose, *Scribo manu mea, quod sola legas*; i. e. "I write with mine
own hand, that you alone may read it."

* Ess. xlix.
38. Queens
shall be thy
nursing
mothers.

Ambrosius
ad Valen-
tinian.
Imperator.

Madam,

First of all, I must and will, during my life, confess, that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your Majesty; who, notwithstanding mine insufficiency, (which commendeth your grace the more,) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits as I

could never hope for, much less deserve. I do therefore, according to my most bounden duty, with all thanksgiving, bear towards your Majesty a most humble, faithful, and thankful heart; and that knoweth He which knoweth all things. Neither do I ever intend to offend your Majesty in any thing, unless in the cause of God, or of his Church, by necessity of office, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced: and in those cases, (which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me,) if I should use dissembling or flattering silence, I should very evil requite your Majesty's so many and so great benefits; for in so doing, both you might fall into peril towards God, and I myself into endless damnation.

BOOK
II.

The prophet Ezechiel termeth us, Ministers of the Church, *speculatores*, i. e. "watchmen;" and not *adulatores*, i. e. "flatterers." If we see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards God, we must of necessity give warning, or else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your Majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any evil opinion of you, although I cannot assent to those two articles then propounded. I do, with the rest of all your good subjects, acknowledge, that we have received by your government many and most excellent benefits, as, among others, freedom of conscience, suppressing of idolatry, sincere preaching of the Gospel, with public peace and tranquillity. I am also persuaded, that even in these matters, which you seem now to urge, your zeal and meaning is to the best. The like hath happened to many of the best princes that ever were: yet have they not refused afterwards to be better informed out of God's word. King David, so much commended in the Scriptures, had no evil meaning when he commanded the people to be numbered: he thought it good policy in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to employ against God's enemies, if occasion so required. Yet afterward, (saith the Scripture,) his own heart stroke him; and God, by the prophet Gad, reprehended him for his offence, and gave him for the same, choice of

2 Regum
xxiv.

BOOK II. three very hard penances, that is to say, famine, war, and pestilence. Good King Ezechias of courtesy, and good af-

4 Regum
xx.

e Paral. xix.

fection, shewed to the ambassadors of the King of Babylon the treasures of the house of God, and of his own house; and yet the prophet Esay told him, that God was there-
76 with displeased. The godly King Jehoshaphat, for making league with his neighbour King Achab, (of the like good meaning, no doubt,) was likewise reprehended by Jehu the prophet in this form of words; *Impio præbes auxilium, et his qui oderunt Dominum amicitia jungeris, &c.* Ambrose writing to Theodosius the Emperor, useth these words; *Novi pietatem tuam erga Deum, lenitatem in homines; obligatus sum beneficiis tuis, &c.* And yet for all that, the same Ambrose doth not forbear in the same epistle earnestly to persuade the said Emperor to revoke an ungodly edict, wherein he had commanded a godly Bishop to re-edify a Jewish synagogue pulled down by the Christian people.

Prima Pars.
Concerning
suppressing
preachers.

And so to come to the present case; I may very well use unto your Highness the words of Ambrose above written, *Novi pietatem tuam, &c.* i. e. "I know your
" piety God-ward, and your gentleness towards men: I am
" bounden to you for your benefits," &c. But surely I cannot marvel enough, how this strange opinion should once enter into your mind, that it should be good for the Church to have few preachers.

Expostu-
lates with
the Queen
for the
number of
preachers.
Matth. ix.

Alas! Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any one thing, than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached; and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest; which being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but many workmen?

3 Reg. v.

There was appointed to the building of Salomon's material temple, an hundredth and fifty thousand artificers and labourers, besides three thousand three hundredth overseers: and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to build and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is his Church?

Matth.
xxviii.

Christ, when he sendeth forth his Apostles, saith unto

them, *Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*; i. e. "Go BOOK
 "ye, preach the Gospel to every creature." But all God's II.
 creatures cannot be instructed in the Gospel, unless all possible means be used, to have multitude of preachers and teachers, to preach unto them.

Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulenti, i. e. "Let the Coloss. iii.
 "word of Christ dwell among you richly," saith St. Paul to the Colossians; and to Timothy, *Prædica sermonem*, 2 Tim. iv.
insta tempestivè, intempestivè, argue, increpa, exhortare, i. e. "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, "reprove, rebuke, exhort." Which things cannot be done without often and much preaching.

To this agreeth the practice of Christ's Apostles, *Qui con-* Acts xxiv.
stituebant per singulas ecclesias Presbyteros, i. e. "Who "appointed Elders in every church." St. Paul likewise writing to Titus, writeth thus, *Hujus rei gratiâ reliqui te* Ad Tit. i.
in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere, et constituias oppidatim Presbyteros; i. e. "For this cause I left thee in "Crete, that thou mayest go on to make up what is want- "ing, and appoint Elders throughout every town." And afterwards describeth, how the said *Presbyteri*, i. e. "Elders," were to be qualified; not such as we are compelled to admit by mere necessity, (unless we should leave a great number of churches utterly desolate,) but such indeed as were able to exhort *per sanam doctrinam, et contradicentes* Ibid.
convincere, i. e. "By sound doctrine to convince gain- "sayers." And in this place I beseech your Majesty to note one thing necessary to be noted; which is this, if the 77
 Holy Ghost prescribe expressly that preachers should be placed *oppidatim*, i. e. "in every town or city," how can it well be thought, that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire?

Public and continual preaching of God's word is the 1 Pet. i. 2.
 ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul calleth it the *ministry of reconciliation* of man 2 Cor. v.
 unto God. By preaching of God's word, the glory of God is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity is increased. By it the ignorant is instructed, the negligent exhorted and in-

BOOK
II.

Psal. xxx.

cited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness, the wrath of God is threatened. By preaching also due obedience to Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects, for obedience proceedeth of conscience; conscience is grounded upon the word of God; the word of God worketh his effect by preaching. So as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth.

Preaching
God's word
makes loyal
subjects.
London.

No prince ever had more lively experience hereof than your Majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily. If your Majesty come to the city of London never so often, what gratulation, what joy, what concourse of people is there to be seen? Yea, what acclamations and prayers to God for your long life, and other manifest significations of inward and unfeigned love, joined with most humble and hearty obedience, are there to be heard? Whereof cometh this, Madam, but of the continual preaching of God's word in that city? whereby that people hath been plentifully instructed in their duty towards God and your Majesty? On the contrary, what bred the rebellion in the north? Was it not Papistry and ignorance of God's word, through want of often preaching? And in the time of that rebellion, were not all men, of all states, that made profession of the Gospel, most ready to offer their lives for your defence? Insomuch that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual preaching had been better instructed than the rest, (Halifax I mean,) was ready to bring three or four thousand hable men into the field to serve you against the said rebels. How can your Majesty have a more lively tryal and experience of the contrary effects of much preaching, and of little or no preaching? The one working most faithful obedience, and the other most unnatural disobedience and rebellion.

Halifax.

But it is thought of some, that many are admitted to preach, and few be hable to do it well. That unable preachers be removed is very requisite, if *ability* and sufficiency may be rightly weighed and judged: and therein I trust as much is, and shall be done, as can be; for both I, for

mine own part, (let it be spoken without any ostentation,) am very careful in allowing such preachers only, as be hable and sufficient to be preachers, both for their knowledg in the Scriptures, and also for testimony of their good life and conversation. And besides that, I have given very great charge to the rest of my brethren, the Bishops of this province, to do the like. We admit no man to the office, that either professeth Papistry or Puritanism. Generally the Graduates of the University are only admitted to be preachers, unless it be some few which have excellent gifts of knowledg in the Scriptures, joyned with good utterance and godly perswasion. I myself procured above forty learned preachers and Graduates within less than six years to be placed within the dioces of York, besides those I found there; and there I have left them. The fruits of whose travel in preaching, your Majesty is like to reap daily, by most assured, dutiful obedience of your subjects in those parts.

BOOK
II.The Arch-
bishop care-
ful what
preachers be
allowed.

78

But indeed this age judgeth very hardly, and nothing indifferently of the abilitie of preachers of our time; judging few or none in their opinion to be hable. Which hard judgment groweth upon divers evil dispositions of men. St. Paul doth commend the preaching of Christ crucified, *absque eminentiâ sermonis*, i. e. "without excellency of speech." But in our time many have so delicate ears, that no preaching can satisfie them, unless it be sawced with much finess and exornation of speech: which the same Apostle utterly condemneth, and giveth this reason, *Nè evacueter crux Christi*, i. e. "Lest the cross of Christ be made of none effect."

1 Cor. i.

Some there be also that are mislikers of the godly reformation in religion now established; wishing indeed that there were no preachers at all; and so by depraving the Ministers impugne religion, *non aperto Marte, sed cuniculis*, i. e. "not by open opposition, but by secret undermining." Much like to the Popish Bishops in your father's time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called in, as

BOOK II. evil translated; and the new translating thereof to have been committed to themselves; which they never intended to perform.

L A number there is, (and that is exceeding great,) whereof some are altogether worldly minded, and only bent covetously to gather worldly goods and possessions; serving Mammon, and not God. And another great sum have given over themselves to all carnal, vain, dissolute, and lascivious life, *voluptatis amatores, magis quam Dei*, i. e. "lovers of pleasure rather than God:" *et qui semetipsos dediderunt ad patrandum omnem immunditiam cum ariditate*; i. e. "and who have given over themselves to commit all uncleanness with greediness;" and because the preaching of God's word, which to all Christian consciences is sweet and delectable, is to them (having *cauteriatas conscientias*, i. e. "consciencies seared") bitter and grievous. For, as St. Ambrose saith, *Quomodo possunt verba Dei dulcia esse in faucibus tuis, in quibus est amaritudo nequitie?* i. e. "How can the word of God be sweet in his mouth, "in which is the bitterness of sin?" Therefore they wish also, that there were no preachers at all. But because they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching, so expressly commanded by God's word, (for that were open blasphemy,) they turn themselves altogether; and with the same meaning as the other do, to take exceptions against the persons of them that be admitted to preach.

79 But God forbid, Madam, that you should open your ears to any of these wicked perswasions; or any way go about to diminish the preaching of Christ's Gospel: for that would ruinate altogether at the length. *Quum defecerit prophetia, dissipabitur populus*, i. e. "When prophesie shall fail, the people shall perish," saith Salomon.

Reading the Homilies and preaching compared. Now where it is thought, that the reading of the godly Homilies, set forth by publique authority, may suffice, I continue of the same mind I was when I attended last upon your Majesty. The reading of the Homilies hath his commoditie; but is nothing comparable to the office of

preaching. The godly preacher is termed in the Gospel, *BOOK*
fidelis servus et prudens, qui novit famulatio Domini ci- II.
bum demensum dare in tempore; i. e. "a faithful servant, Matth. xxiv.

"who knoweth how to give his Lord's family their appointed food in season." Who can apply his speech according to the diversity of times, places, and hearers; which cannot be done in homilies: exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions, are uttered with more affection, to the moving of the hearers, in sermons than in homilies. Besides, homilies were devised by the godly Bishops in your brother's time, only to supply necessity, for want of preachers; and are by the statute not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, whensoever they may be had; and were never thought in themselves alone to contain sufficient instruction for the Church of England. For it was then found, as it is found now, that this Church of England hath been by *appropriations*, and that not without sacrilege, spoiled of the livings, which at the first were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching. Which *appropriations* were first annexed to abbies; and after came to the Crown; and now are dispersed to private men's possessions, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution. So as at this day, in mine opinion, where one Church is able to yield sufficient living for a learned preacher, there are at the least seven churches unable to do the same: and in many parishes of your realm, where there be seven or eight hundred souls, (the more is the pity,) there are not eight pounds a year reserved for a Minister. In such parishes, it is not possible to place able preachers, for want of convenient stipend. If every flock might have a preaching Pastor, which is rather to be wished than hoped for, then were reading of homilies altogether unnecessary. But to supply that want of preaching of God's word, which is the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities aforementioned, both in your brother's time, and in your time, certain godly homilies have been devised, that the people should not be altogether destitute of instruction: for it is an old and true proverb, *Better half a loaf than no bread.*

Appropriations, not without sacrilege.

BOOK
II.

Secunda
Para. Con-
cerning the
exercises.

Now for the second point, which is concerning the learned *exercise* and *conference* amongst the Ministers of the Church; I have consulted with divers of my brethren, the Bishops, by letters; who think the same as I do, *viz.* a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And I trust your Majesty will think the like, when your Highness shall be informed of the *manner* 80 and *order* thereof; what *authority* it hath of the Scriptures; what *commodity* it bringeth with it; and what *in-commodities* will follow, if it be clear taken away.

An account
of the exer-
cises.

The *authors* of this exercise are the Bishops of the dioceses where the same is used; who both by the law of God, and by the Canons and Constitutions of the Church now in force, have authority to appoint exercises to their inferior Ministers, for encrease of learning and knowledge in the Scriptures, as to them seemeth most expedient: for that pertaineth *ad disciplinam Clericalem*, i. e. "to the discipline of Ministers." The times appointed for the assembly is once a month, or once in twelve or fifteen days, at the discretion of the Ordinary. The time of the exercise is two hours: the place, the church of the town appointed for the assembly. The matter intreated of is as followeth. Some text of Scripture, before appointed to be spoken of, is interpreted in this order: First, The occasion of the place is shewed. Secondly, The end. Thirdly, The proper sense of the place. Fourthly, The propriety of the words: and those that be learned in the tongues shewing the diversities of interpretations. Fifthly, Where the like phrases are used in the Scriptures. Sixthly, Places in the Scriptures seeming to repunge, are reconciled. Seventhly, The arguments of the text are opened. Eighthly, It is also declared, what vertues and what vices are there touched; and to which of the commaundments they pertain. Ninthly, How the text hath been wrested by the adversaries, yf occasion so require. Tenthly, and last of all, What doctrine of faith or manners the text doth contain. The conclusion is, with the prayer for your Majesty, and all estates, as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and a Psalm.

These orders following are also observed in the said exercise: First, two or three of the gravest and best learned Pastors are appointed of the Bishop, to moderate in every assembly. No man may speak unless he be first allowed by the Bushop, with this *proviso*, that no layman be suffered to speak at any time. No controversie of this present time and state shall be moved or dealt withal. If eny attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by the Moderator. None is suffered to glaunce openly or covertly at persons publick or private; neither yet eny one to confute another. If eny man utter a wrong sense of the Scripture, he is privately admonished thereof, and better instructed by the Moderators, and other his fellow Ministers. If eny man use inmodest speech, or irreverend gesture or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in lyfe, he is likewise admonished, as before. If eny wilfully do break these orders, he is presented to the Bushop, to be by him corrected.

BOOK
II.The orders
of them.

The ground of this, or like exercise, is of great and ancient authority. For Samuel did practise such like exercises in his time, both at Naioth in Ramatha, and at Bethel. So did Elizæus at Jericho. Which studious persons in those days were called *fili prophetarum*, i. e. "the sons of the prophets:" that is to say, the disciples of the prophets, that being exercised in the study and knowledge of the Scriptures, they might be hable men to serve in God's Church, as that time required. St. Paul also doth 81 make express mention, that the like in effect was used in the primitive Church; and giveth rules for the order of the same. As namely, that two or three should speak, and the rest should keep silence.

The ground
of them.

1 Reg. xix.

1 Reg. x.

4 Reg. ii.

1 Cor. xiv.

That exercise of the Church in those days, St. Paul calleth *prophetiam*, i. e. "prophecie;" and the speakers *prophetas*, i. e. "prophets:" terms very odious in our days to some, because they are not rightly understood. For indeed *prophetia* in that and like places of St. Paul doth not, as it doth sometimes, signify *prediction* of things to come. Which gift is not now ordinary in the Church of God, but signifieth there, by the consent of the best auncient

Called pro-
phesies in
Scripture.

BOOK II. writers, the interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures.

1 Cor. xiv.

And therefore doth St. Paul attribute unto those that be called *prophetæ* in that chapter, *doctrinam, ad ædificationem, exhortationem, et consolationem*, i. e. "doctrine, to "edification, exhortation, and comfort."

Acts ii.

This gift of expounding and interpreting the Scriptures was in St. Paul's time given to many by special miracle, without study: so was also, by like miracle, the gift to

Acts x.

speak with strange tongues, which they had never learned. But now, miracles ceasing, men must attain to the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, &c. by travel and study, God giving the increase. So must men also attain by like means to the gift of expounding and interpreting the Scriptures. And amongst other helps, nothing is so necessary as these above named exercises and conferences amongst the Ministers of the Church: which in effect are all one with the exercises of students in divinity in the Universities; saving, that the first is done in a tongue understood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers.

Cantuar.

London.

Wynton.

Bathon.

Litchfield.

Glocestren.

Lincoln.

Ciestren.

[Cicestren.]

Exon.

Meneven-

sis, al. Da-

vidis.

10.

The benefit
of these ex-
ercises.

Howsoever report hath been made to your Majesty concerning these exercises, yet I and others of your Bushops, whose names are noted in the margent hereof, as they have testified unto me by their letters, having found by experience, that these profits and commodities following have ensued of them: 1. The Ministers of the Church are more skilful and ready in the Scriptures, and apter to teach their flocks. 2. It withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. 3. Some, afore suspected in doctrine, are brought hereby to open confession of the truth. 4. Ignorant Ministers are driven to studie, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. 5. The opinion of laymen, touching the idleness of the Clergy, is hereby removed. 6. Nothing by experience beateth down Popery more than that Ministers (as some of my brethren do certifie) grow to such a good knowledg by means of these exercises, that where afore were not three able preachers, now are thirty, meet to preach at St. Paul's Cross; and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. So as, it is

found by experience the best means to encrease knowledg BOOK
II.
in the simple, and to continue it in the learned. Only backward men in religion, and contemnners of learning in the countries abroad, do fret against it: which in truth doth the more commend it. The dissolution of it would breed triumph to the adversaries, and great sorrow and grief unto the favourers of religion. Contrary to the counsel of Ezekiel, who saith, *Cor justi non est contristandum*; i. e. "The heart of the righteous must not be made sad." And although some few have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all.

Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain. Neither is there any just cause of offence to be taken, yf divers men make divers senses of one sentence of Scripture; so that all the senses be good and agreeable to the *analogie* and proportion of faith: for otherwise we must needs condemn all the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of Scripture diversly; and yet all to the good of the Church. Therefore doth St. Basil compare the Scripture to a well; out of which, the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water.

I trust, when your Majesty hath considered and well weighed the premisses, you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such inconveniencies can grow of these exercises, as you have been informed, but rather the clean contrary. And for my own part, because I am very well assured, both by reasons and arguments taken out of the holy Scriptures, and by experience, (the most certain seal of sure knowledg,) that the said exercises, for the interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to encrease knowledg among the Ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers, I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises: much less can I

Abuses of
them.

Epilogus se-
cundæ par-
tis.

He refuses
to suppress
these exer-
cises.

BOOK
II.

2 Cor. x.

2 Cor. xiii.

O! Episco-

pus verè

Apostolicus.

send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, *I have no power to destroy, but only to edifie*; and with the same Apostle, *I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.*

If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your Majesty that I received of the same. I consider with myself, *Quòd*

Heb. x.

horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis, i. e. "That it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

Cyprian.

O! Homo

vere divi-

nus.

I consider also, *Quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis juribus nixam) edificat ad gehennam*, i. e. "That he who acts against his conscience, (resting upon the laws of God,)

Matth. xvi.

"edifies to hell." *And what should I winn, if I gayned* (I will not say a bushoprick, but) *the whole world, and lose mine own soul?*

His advice

to the

Queen.

Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I chuse rather to offend your earthly Majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God. And now being sorry, that I have been so long and tedious to your Majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same, well to consider these two short petitions following.

83

Prima pe-
titiò.

The first is, that you would refer all these ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church, unto the Bishops and Divines of your realm: according to the example of all godly Christian emperors and princes of all ages. For indeed they are things to be judged, (as an ancient Father writeth,) *in ecclesiâ, seu synodo, non in palatio*, i. e. "in the church, or a synod, not in a palace." When your Majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the same in your Court, but send them to your judges to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of doctrine or discipline of the Church, the ordinary way is to refer the decision of the same to the Bishops, and other head Ministers of the Church.

Ad Theodo-
sium, Epist.
39.

Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words, *Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis, quanto magis in causa religionis sacerdotes Domini, æquum est consulas?* i. e. "If

“ in matters of mony you consult with your earls, how much BOOK II.
 “ more is it fit you consult with the Lord's Priests in the II.

“ cause of religion?” And likewise the same Father to the good
 Emperor Valentinianus, *Si de fide conferendum est, Sacer-* Epist. 89.

dotum debet esse ista collatio ; sicut factum est sub Constantino augustæ memoriæ principe : qui nullas leges antè præmisit, quàm liberum dedit iudicium Sacerdotibus ; i. e.

“ If we confer about faith, the conference ought to be left to
 “ the Priests ; as it was done under Constantine, a prince of
 “ most honourable memory ; who set forth no laws, before he
 “ had left them to the free judgment of the Priests.” And
 in the same place the same Father saith, that Constantius
 the Emperor, son to the said Constantine the Great, began
 well, by reason he followed his father's steps at the first ;
 but ended ill, because he took upon him *de fide intra palatium*
judicare, i. e. “ to judge of faith within the palace,”
 (for so be the words of Ambrose,) and thereby fell into
 Arianism ; a terrible example.

The said Ambrose, so much commended in all histories
 for a godly Bishop, goeth yet farther, and writeth to the
 same Emperor in this form, *Si docendus est Episcopus à* Ibid.
laico, quid sequatur ? Laicus ergo disputet, et Episcopus
audiat ; Episcopus discat à laico. At certè, si vel Scriptu-
rarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus,
quis est qui abnuat, in causa fidei, in causa, inquam, fidei,
Episcopos solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Impe-
ratores de Episcopis judicare ? i. e. “ If a Bishop be to be
 “ taught by a layman, what follows ? Let the layman then
 “ dispute, and the Bishop hear : let the Bishop learn of the
 “ layman. But certainly, if we have recourse either to the
 “ order of the holy Scriptures, or to ancient times, who is
 “ there that can deny, that in the cause of faith, I say, in
 “ the cause of faith, Bishops were wont to judge concerning
 “ Christian Emperors, not Emperors of Bishops ?” Would
 to God your Majesty would follow this ordinary course,
 you should procure to yourself much quietness of mind,
 better please God, avoid many offences, and the Church

BOOK should be more quietly and peaceably governed, much to
 II. your comfort, and the commodity of your realm.

84 The second petition I have to make to your Majesty is
 Secunda pe- this; that, when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or
 titio. matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is his
 spouse, bought with so dear a price, you would not use to
 pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex auctori-*
tate, as ye may do in civil and extern matters: but always
 remember that in God's causes, the will of God (and not
 the will of any earthly creature) is to take place. It is the
 antichristian voice of the Pope, *Sic volo, sic jubeo; stet pro*
ratione voluntas; i. e. "So I will have it; so I command:
 "let my will stand for a reason." In God's matters, all
 princes ought to bow their scepters to the Son of God, and to
 ask counsel at his mouth, what they ought to do. David
 exhorteth all kings and rulers to *serve God with fear and*
trembling.

Theodor. et. Remember, Madam, that you are a mortal creature.
 Eccles. "Look not only (as was said to Theodosius) upon the
 Hist. lib. v. "purple and princely array, wherewith ye are apparelled,
 cap. 8. "but consider withal, what is that that is covered therewith.
 "Is it not flesh and bloud? Is it not dust and ashes? Is it
 "not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth
 "again, God knows how soon?" Must not you also one
 2 Cor. v. day appear *ante tremendum tribunal crucifixi, ut recipias*
ibi, prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum? i. e.
 "before the fearful judgment-seat of the crucified [JESUS,]
 "to receive there according as you have done in the body,
 "whether it be good or evil?"

Psal. lxxvi. And although ye are a mighty Prince, yet remember
 that he which dwelleth in heaven is mightier. He is, as
 the Psalmist saith, *terribilis, et is qui aufert spiritum prin-*
cipum terribilis super omnes reges terræ; i. e. "terrible,
 "and he who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is ter-
 "rible above all the kings of the earth."

Wherefore I do beseech you, Madam, *in visceribus*
Christi, when you deal in these religious causes, set the

majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside ; determine with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat* ; i. e. "Not mine, but thy will be done." God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years ; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy, but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause which ye have set forth ; I mean, Christ's true religion ; and, secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to God for you. Which have hitherto, as it were, tyed and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved.

Take heed, that ye never once think of declining from God, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Ozeas, [Joash,] who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together ; and afterwards, *cum roboratus esset, (saith the text,) elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, et neglexit Dominum* ; i. e. "when he was strengthened, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, "and he regarded not the Lord." Ye have done many things well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be blessed. For if ye turn from God, then God will turn away his merciful countenance from you. And what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a terrible expectation of God's judgments, *and an heaping up wrath against the day of wrath !*

2 Paral.
xxiv.
Heb. x.
Rom. ii.

But I trust in God, your Majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward in the zealous setting forth of God's true religion, always yielding due obedience and reverence to the word of God, the onley rule of faith and religion. And if ye so do, although God hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us for our unfaithfulness, yet I doubt nothing, but that for his own name's sake, and for his own glory sake, he will still hold his merciful hand over us, shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as he hath done hitherto.

BOOK
II.

I beseech God our heavenly Father plentifully to pour his *principal spirit* upon you, and always to direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen.

Number X.

The Queen to the Bishops throughout England, for the suppressing the exercise called Prophecyng, and any other rites and ceremonies but what are prescribed by the laws.

Cotton li-
brary.
Cleopatra,
F. 2.

RIGHT reverend father in God, we grete you well. We hear to our great grief, that in sundry parts of our realm there are no small numbers of persons presuming to be teachers and preachers of the Church, (though neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet fit for the same,) which, contrary to our laws established for the public divine service of Almighty God, and the administration of his holy Sacraments within this Church of England, do daily devise, imagine, propound, and put in execution, sundry new rites and forms in the Church, as well by their unordinate preaching, readings, and ministering the Sacraments, as by procuring unlawfully of assemblies, and great number of our people out of their ordinary parishes, and from places far distant, (and that also some of our subjects of good calling, though therein not well advised,) to be hearers of their disputations, and new devised opinions, upon points of divinity, far unmeet for vulgar people: which manner of innovation they in some places term *prophecyngs*, and in some other places *exercises*. By which manner of assemblies great numbers of our people, especially the vulgar sort, meet to be otherwise occupied with honest labour for their living, are brought to idleness, and seduced; and in manner schismatically divided among themselves into variety of dangerous opinions, not only in towns and parishes, but even in some families, and manifestly thereby encouraged to
86 the violation of our laws, and to the breach of common order,

and finally to the offence of all our quiet subjects, that desire to live and serve God according to the uniform orders established in the Church: whereof the sequel cannot be but overdangerous to be suffered. BOOK
II.

Wherefore considering it should be the duty of the Bishops, being the principal ordinary officers in the Church of God, as you are one, to see these disorders (against the honour of God and quietness of the Church) reformed; and that we see that by the encrease of these, through sufferance, great danger may ensue, even to the decay of the Christian faith, whereof we are by God appointed the defender; beside the other great inconveniencies, to the disturbance of our peaceable government; We therefore, according to the authority we have, do charge and command you, as the Bishop of that dioces, with all manner of diligence, to take order through your dioces, as well in places exempt as otherwise, that no manner of publick and divine service, nor other form of administration of the holy Sacraments, nor any other rites and ceremonies be in any sort used in the Church, but directly according to the orders established by our laws. Neither that any manner of person be suffered within your dioces to preach, teach, read, or exercise any function in the Church, but such as shall be lawfully approved and licensed, as persons, able for their knowledg, and conformable to the ministry in the rites and ceremonies of this Church of England. And where there shall not be sufficient able persons for learning in any cures, to preach or instruct their cures, as were requisite, there shall you limit the Curats to read the publick Homilies according to the injunctions heretofore by us given for like cases.

And furthermore, considering for the great abuses that have been in sundry places of our realm, by reason of the aforesaid assemblies, called *exercises*; and for that the same are not, nor have not been appointed nor warranted by us or by our laws; We will, and straitly charge you, that you do cause the same forthwith to cease, and not to be used; but if any shall attempt, or continue, or renew the same, we will you not only to commit them unto prison, as main-

BOOK
II.

tainers of disorders, but also to advise us, or our Council, of the names and qualities of them, and of their maintainers and abettors. That thereupon, for better example, their punishment may be made more sharp for their reformation.

And in these things we charge you to be careful and vigilant, as, by your negligence, if we should hear of any person attempting to offend in the premisses without your correction or information to us, we be not forced to make some example in reforming of you according to your deserts.

Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, the viith day of May 1577. In the sixth year of our reign.

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Number XI.

Arguments to be considered, whether a several commission be expedient for passing faculties within the realm of Ireland; and no longer to be granted from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cott. library.
Cleopatra, F. 2.

I. AT such time as the authority of the Bushop of Rome was utterly abolished within her Majesty's dominions, for granting the said faculties, from whom only within Christendom they passed before that time, a very strait and precise form was thought convenient to the Parliament holden in England, for granting the said faculties in any her Majesty's dominions: which was by the Archbishop of Canterbury only. Of whom special choice was made by the said Parliament for that purpose.

II. Neither was it thought inconvenient, that where, as well out of all other realms and countries before, as out of these her Majesty's dominions of England and Ireland, travail was made to Rome, for the said faculties, her Majesty's subjects of both her said realms should procure faculties of the Archbishop of Canterbury, resiant within this her realm of England.

III. And therefore one special reason may be gathered, that forasmuch as faculties and dispensations against the common law ecclesiastical are of their own nature odious and sparingly to be graunted, therefore the Parliament thought it not convenient to have them pass from divers men's hands. And if her Majesty's subjects of Ireland should from thenceforth procure their faculties out of England, whereas before they had them at Rome, it was taken a good change, made for the ease of her Majesty's subjects in both the said lands. And that as things pass out of England to her Majesty's subjects in Ireland by common messengers, without the parties special travail, so might faculties, upon the commendation of the Ordinary of the place where the suitors dwell, be sent into Ireland, without the travail of those that sued for the same.

IV. Whereupon, forasmuch as by the said Parliament holden in England, the authority was solely committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors only, for the time being, in the rates and taxations of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the said realm, for first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, paid to her Majestie; the profit of faculties was taxed to the said Archbishop of Canterbury, as having authority to pass the same, as well in Ireland as England. And so remaineth at this present taxed above the value that shall come unto him, if a several commission be graunted for Ireland.

V. And therefore as it should seem, though in the Parliament holden at Dublin, in the 28th of Henry VIII. being three years after the Parliament holden in England, a clause in the Act of Faculties was then added by way of provision, that if at any time it should be thought good to the King, his heirs and successors, to appoint another to exercise the office of Faculties there, the said person, or persons, so appointed by the King, his heirs and successors, should have the like authority in Ireland, as the Archbishop of Canterbury hath either in Ireland or England. Yet hath it not hitherto, since the making the said Act, been thought necessary or expedient, that any such other commission should

BOOK
II.

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copy.

have been appointed within the said realm of Ireland, until that Dr. Ackworth, who was put from his livings here in England for his inordinate life, and Mr. Garvey [who, being neither in Orders of the ministry, nor Doctor of Law, is a person disallowed] for their own private lucre and gain, rather than for the commodity of the Church, or the country of Ireland, have sought to have this commission for the said realm.

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out in the
copy.

VI. And if that shall continue, or rather be graunted, it is also to be considered, whether it be convenient that her Majesty's subjects in Ireland shall have liberty to procure faculties in two places: so as any one, upon due examination of the cause, or quality of the person, being denied for his unworthiness in one place, may not nevertheless [by friends and rewards] procure his faculty in another. For though such commission be graunted particularly in Ireland, yet doth the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury continue for graunting faculties in Ireland, as well by the Act of Parliament made in Ireland, as in England. Neither can it be restrained without particular injury done to the see, being by that occasion charged with greater first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, to her Majesty.

VII. One matter among others is also to be considered, whether it be not better to have faculties so pass to her Majesty's subjects of Ireland, as worthy men only upon commendation of their Ordinary may have them from hence; or as well unworthy as worthy confusedly from these Commissioners, who pretend the greatest reason of their commission to be the Prince's commodity, in passing great numbers of faculties.

VIII. For if they mean to pass no more than the Archbishop of Canterbury would, upon the special commendation of the Bishops, and other wise and godly men in that realm, then will not the Prince's commodity be so great by graunting them, or any of them, a commission, as it will be by continuing that authority only in the see of Canterbury. For where they by their commission have a moyety of the Prince's part, here it is wholly answered to her Majesty.

So as, except they graunt more than twice so many as the Archbushop of Canterbury will do, the Prince's commodity shall be hindred by their commission. And if they shall graunt more than twice so many, it is to be feared they will graunt more than a good many: and so rather hurt the Church in Ireland, than do any good.

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II.

IX. And where, peradventure it shall be said, that the Archbushop of Canterbury hath hitherto little benefitted the Queen's Majestie, by passing faculties in Ireland; that hath happened by his restraint. And it may be hereafter, when it shall so please her Majestie, that the said Archbushop will either eftsones send her Master of Faculties into Ireland, or else pass commission to some of the Bushops there, for passing such faculties as shall be profitable for the Church and country to have graunted.

X. Lastly, The affection, which divers of the Irish people have rather to faculties graunted by the Pope, than after the statutes of her Majesty's realms, it is thought will rather be encreased, when they shall see them pass in Ireland under the names of meaner persons, or so neer at hand, than if they be moved to have them from the Archbushop of Canterbury, the Primate or Metropolitan of England. For so much do they more esteem the Pope's faculties, as they are procured far off, under a large and ample title.

Number XII.

A Discourse concerning prophesying from 1 Cor. xiv. 29.

Prophetæ duo aut tres loquantur, &c. *Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge.*

1. *PROPHETIAM* hoc loco cum Petro Martyre, &c. MSS. Cecilian. I assert with Peter Martyr and others, that *prophesy* P. Mart. in in this place is not simply and barely to be taken for the 1 Cor. xiv. foretelling of things to come, since St. Paul attributeth to it Calv. in Rom. xii. 6. edification, exhortation, consolation. In the discussing of which things, that of the Apostle is to be held fast in

BOOK the first place, that we do not stray from the analogy of
II. faith.

2. If it be asked, in what *place* and *time* the Apostle would, that *these two or three prophets speak*, he answered before, viz. *As often as the congregation comes together*. Whence it appears, that it is not a private, but a public exercise of the Ministers; nor, that it ought to be done in a corner, but in the sight and light of the whole Church. But on what days the people and prophets should come together in one place, that shall be left to the discretion of the Church: yet so, that in appointing the days, chief account be had to the Church's edification. But on Sabbath days, such assemblies cannot be without very great inconvenience to the Church, while the pastors and teachers should be called away from feeding their own flocks of sheep and lambs: who are chiefly to be attended on that seventh day, according to the apostolical precept of St. Peter, prescribed to all Elders, whose office it is to labour in the word and doctrine. *Feed, (saith Peter) as much as lies in you, the flock of God, that dependeth on you.* Peter Martyr complains, that the Church hath lost such ecclesiastical assemblies to its very great damage, "where (saith he) the sacred Scriptures and the disciplin of the Church might be treated of in common."

90 3. As to the *persons*, to whom the power of speaking hath been granted, they ought to be prophets. *Let the prophets (saith he) speak.* Therefore, before any taketh on him a turn of speaking in the Church, it is necessary that he be chosen into the rank of prophets.

4. And, as it is not granted to any in a prophetical manner to speak in the Church, so neither to *judge*. Therefore, in this tryal and censure of the prophets, I think none are to be appointed censors and judges, but prophets; that the whole action of judging, as well as speaking, be altogether prophetical. Moreover, so I interpret the words of the Apostle, where he saith, *Let the rest judge*; that is, the rest of the prophets. And that this is the sense of the Apostle, appears from the Apostle himself. *The spirits of the pro-*

1 Cor. xiv.
26.

Ver. 26.

P. Martyr
in 1 Cor.
xiv. 31.

phets (saith he) *are subject*. To whom? *To the prophets*: BOOK
II.
so that the Apostle seems indeed to me, to have put an open distinction between the speaker and the hearers; that is, between the prophets and the rest of the people.

5. Concerning the *number* of them that speak, the Apostle doth not so strictly command, *concerning two or three*, but that if occasion require, and a fuller and plainer revelation shall be given to any prophet sitting by, any fourth person may add his opinion. For *revelation* is not always taken for an instinct of the Holy Spirit to foretel things to come; (which kind of revelations was almost peculiar to that time;) but for the ordinary and larger gift of searching out the more abstruse and hidden places of the holy Scriptures. For what else is the sense of this very word *revele*, if we look to the etymology of the word, than to *uncover that which is covered*, and to unfold that which vailed? In which 2 Thes. ii. 3.
sense the Apostle writeth, that *Antichrist shall be revealed*; that is, by the preaching of the Gospel, the vizzard of godliness, whereby his wickedness was a great while covered, shall be taken off from him, that it shall appear to all the world, how deformed the prince of darkness is. And of this ordinary revelation of the Spirit the Apostle speaks in 1 Cor. iii. 13. Phil. iii. 15.

6. But for many of the prophets sitting by it cannot be that they all speak together at one time: yet *one by one*, saith the Apostle; that is, successively and by turns, all they who are inspired by a prophetic spirit, and whom it shall seem good to the Priests and Bishops to assign this office, may prophesy. By this means the Holy Spirit by the Apostle most wisely would have peace and good order in the Church provided for; that none might justly complain that he was excluded, and not allowed the liberty of speaking; nor yet place given to any fanatical and giddy spirit to intrude itself, and to disturb the Church's order.

But some perhaps will think much, that the rest of the Christian people be excluded, and their mouths be wholly shut up, as though they were altogether destitute both of judgment and speech, and all spiritual gifts. When as yet

BOOK such is the liberty of the Holy Spirit, that it breathes where
 II. it will, and peculiarly distributes to every one as it will.

91 We answer, that none is quite shut out from this ordinary gift of prophesying in the Church, unless women, to whom it is a base thing to speak in a well-constituted Church. But if any of the common people be so instructed by the gift of the Holy Spirit, as that he can dextrously and faithfully interpret the Scriptures, and in the judgment of the other prophets shall be esteemed worthy to speak in the congregation in his turn, this man now shall not be esteemed for a mere plebeian or layman, (as they commonly speak,) although he be not admitted to the office of a teacher or pastor in the Church, but for a prophet in this behalf:

And this is that order, that form of prophesying, as far
 1 Cor. xiv. as I apprehend, which the Apostle, as a skilful workman,
 33. had heretofore prescribed to all the Churches of the saints.

Whether
 this ancient
 exercise
 ought to be
 taken up
 again in
 the Church.
 8. But now let us diligently examine, whether any necessity lyeth now-a-days upon the Churches of Christians, to take up again the same order, (although long intermitted, and by the malice of Satan laid asleep, and plainly buried,) and perpetually henceforth to observe it. With so great reverence I embrace the Apostle's rules of prophesying layd down in this place, that I subscribe to them not as ordinances of men, but plainly as the commands of God: whereof God himself is the Author and Lawgiver, the Apostle the preacher only, and writer. Therefore the Apostle would fence and fortify this same form of interpreting the Scriptures, so profitable and necessary to the Churches of the saints, not only with his own authority, but with God's, that it might be transmitted over even to posterity. *If any (saith the Apostle) seem to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge concerning the things I write, that they are the Lord's commands.* Therefore, where it is said by the Apostle, *Let two or three prophets speak;* let us acknowledge the voice not of an Apostle, but of the Lord commanding. And let us not think it, but believe it to be commanded; not to the Corinthians only, but also to all Christians, especially since the Apostle writeth, that he prescribed the same

Ver. 37.

order of *prophesying* to all the Churches of the saints which he had planted. Moreover, the Apostle evinceth the necessity of an ecclesiastical meeting, not to be less than that of edification, exhortation, and comfort, which ought to be perpetual in the Churches, since it seemed good to St. Paul to annex these three things to prophesy, as the effects thereof. Now the Apostle would signify, as it were in one word, the profit of this prophetical exercise, when he saith, that this form of interpreting the Scriptures by many Ministers succeeding one another, was prescribed to this end, *that all* Ver. 31. (not the people only, but also the very pastors and teachers) *might learn*. And by this means also it shall best come to pass, that the proficiency of the prophets may be manifest to all. 2 Tim. iv. 5.

9. While we assert these things truly, and hold them sincerely, we do not condemn the other evangelical Churches, but we do most ardently wish for their proficiency and perfection in the Lord; and we pray daily, that those who are set over the Churches of Christ to feed and govern them, may study yet more and more to excel, to the edification of the Churches. But if still the chief men of this Church go on wholly to destroy the colleges of the prophets, which the Holy Ghost hath endeavoured to build up by the ministry of holy men, let the prophets and spiritual judge, that is, all godly learned men, if this be not to go backward rather than forward in the way of the Gospel, *et deficere potius quàm proficere*, i. e. and to grow worse rather than better. Which how dangerous it is after so many years living under the Gospel, and how odious in the sight of the Lord, if any knows not, let him consult the prophets for this matter. But by name I will cite one instead of many, even Jeremiah. *Who, (saith he) will pity thee, O Jerusalem? and who will condole with thee? And who will depart to petition for thy peace? Thou hast forsaken me, saith the Lord; thou art gone away backward. For this I will stretch out my hand upon thee, to destroy thee. I am weary so often of repenting.* Jer. xv. 5, 6.

BOOK
II.

Number XIII.

The Lords of the Queen's Council to the Archbishop, concerning a libel printed against her marriage with Monsieur, the French King's Brother.

Grind.
Regist.

AFTER our right hartly commendations to your good Lordship; you shall understand, how of late hath been imprinted within the city of London, a certain libel, entitled, *The Gaping Gulph*. Wherein the author, under the pretence of misliking of some dealings treated of between her Majesty and the Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother, in very deed seemeth to go about to draw her Majesty's subjects into some mistrust and doubt of her Highness's said actions; as though thereby some alteration were like to ensue; especially in religion, which her Highness hath heretofore established and maintained, and is fully determined, with the assistance of God's goodness and grace, to uphold and maintain during her life; yea, and even with the hazard of her own person: whose constancy in that behalf cannot in reason be called in question, if with thankfulness it be thought on, how her Majesty hitherto, for the maintenance of the same, hath willingly sustained the malice of the great and mighty Princes, her neighbours: as one that wholly dependeth on God's providence, with assurance, that so long as she shall continue a nurse to the Church, she shall never lack for merciful assistance.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as we know, that divers of the said books have been seditiously cast abroad and dispersed in sundry places of this realm; and have good occasion to think the same hath been done within your Lordship's diocese: by the reading whereof, her Majesty's good subjects, specially those of the Clergy, may perhaps by overlight credit, upon vain suspicions and presumptions, be induced to think and speak otherwise of her Majesty's doings, than either they have cause to do, or it becometh dutiful and obedient subjects; her Majesty, for the removing of all such doubts as may be conceived in that behalf, and the better confirming of her faithful servants in such a good

opinion of her Highness, as both her doings and government over them (the like whereof never happened within this realm) have deserved; and appertaineth before God and men unto their duties; hath at this present caused a proclamation to be made, printed, and published, which we send your Lordship herewith. Upon the receipt whereof, her Majesty's pleasure is, that, with as much speed as you conveniently may, you should assemble the special noted preachers, and other ecclesiastical persons of good calling within your dioces, and upon the reading of the said proclamation, to signifie unto them her Highness's constant and firm determination to maintain the state of religion without any alteration or chaunge, in such sort as hitherto she hath done; and that as heretofore she could not, by any perswasion or practice of sundry adversaries, be brought to alter or chaunge the same, so now much less her meaning is at this present, by any treaty with the said Duke, to do the like. Who hath heretofore shewed himself a friend to those of the religion, even with the hazard of his estate and life: a thing notoriously known, though by another of the libels it be otherwise untruly given out; and doth deserve, in respect of the honour he did of late to her Majesty, in vouchsafing to come and see her in such a kind and confident manner, without respect of the peril he did expose himself to in the said voyage, both by the sea and by the land, to be honoured and esteemed of all those that truly love her Highness.

Yee shall also admonish them, that in their sermons and preachings they do not intermeddle with any such matter of estate, being in very deed not incident nor appertaining to their profession; but commanding them to contain themselves within the limits and bounds of their callings; which is to preach the Gospel of Christ in all purity and singleness, without entangling and confounding themselves in secular matters, wherewith they ought to have nothing to do at all; but rather teach the people to be thankful towards Almighty God for the great benefits, both of liberty, of conscience, peace, and wealth, which they have hitherto enjoyed by her Majesty's good means; and to beseech him to continue and encrease his blessings over us; to the intent that,

BOOK II. in all humbleness and obedience under her gracious government, we may lead a quiet and Christian life: rather than, by intermeddling in such matters impertinent to their calling, go about to give occasion of distrust or disquietness among the subjects of this realm. By which their unorderly dealings there cannot but grow great prejudice to the cause of religion: which may be perhaps pretended, but in very deed is like by such means rather to be hindred than furthered.

94 And to such of the said preachers as dwell in remote places, and cannot be present at the said assembly, you shall signifie so much by your letters. And in case any of them shall understand, that any persons whatsoever by the said books, or otherwise, shall have been seduced, and carried into any such doubt or mistrust of religion, or prejudice like to ensue in this realm; you shall charge them by all godly and Christian perswasions, to do their best endeavour to remove all such undutiful and unnecessary conceits; being far contrary to her Majesty's most gracious meaning. And in case they shall not be able so to prevail as were convenient, but shall understand that either some other persons shall otherwise deal in this matter, or that the people rest not therewith satisfied; and so shall think that some further order is necessary to be taken in that behalf, you shall charge them forthwith to give notice thereof unto you, the Ordinary. And thereupon you, by your authority, shall call such persons before you, as in whom you shall find any cause to be reformed. And by your information, or otherwise, correct them in their error; so as no farther inconvenience follow by such disordered behaviour.

And so requiring your Lordship, that here and there may be no want of your diligence, as you tender her Majesty's service, and will answer to the contrary at your peril, we bid you right hartily farewell. From Greenwich, the 5. Octob. 1579.

Your Lordship's very Loving Friends,

Tho. Bromely Canc. Will. Burghley. Hunsdon. F. Knollys.
H. Sydney. F. Walsingham. Tho. Wylson.

Number XIV.

*Articles delivered to the Lords from the Lower House of
Convocation, anno 1580.*

I. FIRST, that no Bishop henceforth shall make any Minister, but such as shall be of age full twenty-four years, and a Graduate of the University; or, at the least, able in the Latin tongue to yield an account of his faith, according to the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation; and that in such sort, that he can note the sentences of Scripture, whereupon the truth of the said Articles is grounded. And if any patron shall present any Minister to any benefice, which shall not be in this sort qualified, that it shall be lawful for the Bishop to refuse such presentee; and shall not be constrained, either by *double quarrel*, or *Quare impedit*, to institute any such. The Bishop that shall do contrary to this order, upon proof thereof, to be suspended by the Archbishop from making of Ministers for the space of two years. E MSS. G.
Petyt. Armig.

II. *Item*, That there shall not henceforth be used any commutation of penance, but in rare respects: that is to say, either for some great value or dignity of the person, or for fear of some desperate event that will follow in the party that should be put to open shame. And at such time his penalty of money to be large, according to the ability of the person: and by the Ordinary, with good witnesses to be employed, either to the relief of the poor, or other necessary and godly uses. And yet even in this respect, the party offending, beside such pain of money, shall ever make in his parish-church some satisfaction to the congregation, by declaring openly his repentant and sorrowful mind for such offence committed. And here is earnestly to be desired, that in all other respects, and towards all other persons, there may be some more strait punishment to be assigned by ecclesiastical Judges, for adultery, whoredom, and incest, than now by ecclesiastical laws they can do: whether it be by imprisonment, joined with open penance, or otherwise.

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III. *Item*, That there be no dispensation graunted for marriage without banns, but under sufficient and large bonds, with these conditions following, That afterward there shall not appear any lawful let or impediment, by reason of any precontract, consanguinity, affinity, or by any other lawful means whatsoever. And, secondly, That there be not at that present time of granting such dispensation, any suit or plaint, quarel or demaund moved or depending before any judge ecclesiastical or temporal, for and concerning any such lawful impediment betwixt the parties. And, thirdly, That they proceed not to the solemnization of the marriage without consent of parents and governours.

IV. *Item*, As touching dispensation for plurality of benefices, we wish that none may have that privilege, but only such as for their learning are most worthy, and best able to discharge the same. That is, that the party at the least be Master of Arts of four years standing, and a common known preacher of good ability; and yet the same to be bound to be resident at each benefice some reasonable proportion of time.

V. *Item*, As touching excommunication, because it hath been ever used by ecclesiastical judges in their jurisdiction, we do find by conference, that the alteration thereof will be joined with many difficulties, and almost by interruption of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, unless many other things of bodily punishment and coercements be graunted unto us. Which we think in these days will not only be more offensive than this is, but also, by default of others, make our proceedings in such case utterly frustrate: therefore, our desire is, that two or three honest persons, well skilled in the ecclesiastical laws, may open unto your Honours what inconveniencies will follow, and how hardly this point will abide alteration.

Number XV.

*An Argument propounded in the Convocation concerning 96
reforming the ordinary use of Excommunication.*

EXCOMMUNICATION by the law was never used, ^{E MSS. G.}
nor could be used, as a punishment of any crime, saving ^{Petyt.}
of notorious heresie, usury, symony, piracy, conspiracy ^{Armig.}
against the person of the Prince, of his estate, dignity, and
crown, perturbbers of the common peace, and quietness of
the Church or realm, wilful murderers, sacrilegers, per-
jurers, and incorrigible and notorious committers of incest
and adultery, false witnesses and suborners thereof, violent
layers of hands upon ecclesiastical persons, demaunders of
more cured benefices than one without authority; and such
other great and horrible crimes, which were called *senten-
tiæ canonum*. Wherein, beside the particular penances that
Bishops and their officers did impose, it was for more terror
provided by antient canons, that there should be a general
open denunciation of this excommunication in every cathe-
dral and parish church twice in the year.

For other light faults there was no excommunication
permitted or used as a punishment, other than for manifest
and wilful contumacy or disobedience in not appearing,
when persons were called and summoned for a cause eccle-
siastical; or when any sentence or decree of the Bishop or
his officer, being deliberately made, was wilfully disobeyed,
or not performed.

Such wilful contumacy and disobedience to authority is
in the law accounted so great, that it was called a contempt
of that *Quod est in jurisdictione extremum*; that is to say,
if the Judge cannot have appearance of the parties, or exe-
cution of the judgments, he is at the wall, and can go no
farther.

Of very antient time this was their manner of proceeding
in this realm, and the only means of reducing obstinate
persons to the obedience of the law. It may appear by the
antient statute or Act of Parliament in the ninth year of

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Edward II. that it was the old custome and usage of the realm long before that time. The words are these, *Si aliqui, &c. propter suam contumaciam manifestam excommunicentur, ac post 40 dies pro eorum captione scribatur, pretendunt se privilegiatos, et sic denegatur breve regium pro captione corporum, responsio regis nunquam fuit negatum [negata] nec negabitur in futurum.*

It is to be considered, whether this manifest contumacy, and wilful disobedience to the magistrate and authority, be not as well punishable, when the original cause or matter is light, as weighty. The difference whereof doth nothing alter the matter of the disobedience. If for such disobedience it seemeth, that it is either unlawful or offensive to use excommunication, there is great consideration and wa-
97 riness to be used in devising some other means and remedy instead thereof, to procure obedience and execution in causes ecclesiastical; and that the Judge ecclesiastical may have those means laid down with such caution, that thereby, upon pretence and colour of the reformation of this, all jurisdiction ecclesiastical be not utterly overthrown.

The means that were thought fit to be used instead of excommunication by Archbishop Cranmer, Peter Martyr, Bucer, Mr. Haddon, and others that did assemble for that purpose at that time, were imprisonment, or mulct pecuniary; and besides, in persons ecclesiastical, sequestrations of their livings, and suspensions from the execution of their offices. But these means will be as commonly offensive in some respects as the excommunication is now; and will be so hardly executed, that all the excommunications of the law ecclesiastical will be made frustrate.

And therefore, if the course that hath so long continued cannot hold, but must needs be altered, I would wish it to be done by some other means; wherein we should not need to deal with any body, but as we were wont to do ordinarily, in effect as followeth, *viz.*

Where now for not appearing, or for not satisfying any sentence, decree, or order, the ecclesiastical Judge doth pronounce the party *contumacem*, and, in *pœnam contu-*

maciæ, excommunicates him, he shall pronounce him *contumacem*, and in *pœnam contumaciæ*, pronounce him *ecclesiastica jurisdictionis contemptorem*; and so denounce him. And if he shall continue forty days in not appearing, or in not satisfying, he shall signifie the contempt *jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ* to the Prince, in the Chancery, as he was wont to signifie *contemptum censuræ ad claviam*, [to the Chancellor,] without any more change. And as the writs that were sent, were wont to be, *de excommunicato capiendo et relaxando*; so they may be, *de contemptore jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ capiendo vel relaxando*.

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Then there may be general words, that such a contemner so pronounced and denounced in all respects, (saving for coming to the church, receiving of sacraments, and keeping company with others,) shall in all respects, and to all purposes, be as incapable, and shall sustain all such other penalties, as a person excommunicate did sustain before the making of this law.

In all hainous, great, horrible crimes, excommunications may be used by the Archbishops and Bishops in their own persons, with such assistance as shall be thought meet, as it was wont to be in the primitive Church.

In this our realm, of very auntient time it hath been truly observed from time to time, that there was never alteration made of any law ecclesiastical, although it had appearance to benefit the state of the Clergy, but that it turned ever to some notable prejudice.

Number XVI.

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A writing drawn up by the Convocation, (as it seems, anno 1586,) to be offered to the Parliament, for the enacting of the reformation of some things relating to Ministers and other matters of the Church.

I. Concerning Ministers.

IT may be enacted, that none be a Minister of the word and sacraments, but in a benefice having cure of

Cotton
Librar.
Cleopatra,
F. 2.

BOOK souls, then vacant in the dioces of such a Bushop as is to
II. admit him.

That before the admission of such a Minister, the Bushop shall give publick notice by writing under his seal to be fixed on the church door, then destitute of a Pastor, upon some Sunday or holy-day in the time of divine service, signifying the name of the person presented to that charge, or there to be admitted; with intimation, that such as within twenty days after will object against his admission, shall appear at a place certain before him; and alledge such matter as shall only concern his conversation of life, and thereby his sufficiency for that place.

That the Bushop shall not procede to the admission of any to be Ministers of the word and sacraments, before due certificate be made in the authentic form, and publick place by him to be assigned, that the process of notice and intimation was executed in form aforesaid; nor before the expiration of the said twenty days; nor without calling for, or hearing of such as, upon return of the said process, shall and will object as is aforesaid.

It is here to be provided, that where in certain colleges, and cathedral and collegiate churches, the foundation or statutes require such as are there placed to be Ministers; it shall be lawful for such as are known to profess the study of divinity, or otherwise, be lawfully dispensed withal, as before this Act these might, to enjoy any fellowship [or] prebend within the said college, notwithstanding they be no Ministers.

That none be made Ministers, but upon some Sunday publickly in the cathedral church of the dioces, where the Minister is admitted, [and upon good testimonial.]

That after the receipt of such testimonial, the Bushop shall not procede to the making of the person Minister which bringeth that testimonial, before he shall declare before the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church, that he well knoweth the persons, by whom the testimonial is made, to be such as is by the said statute expressed.

That he shall not make a Minister, but such as shall by

the Dean and Chapter, or the more part of them, or six learned preachers of the dioces then present, be allowed for a man meet and sufficient, by subscription of their hands to some writing, declaring their assent in allowing of him.

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That none shall have a benefice with cure of the value of 20*l.* yearly in the Queen's books, except he be Master of Arts, or a Preacher allowed, notwithstanding that he be made a Minister before of some mean cure.

II. Concerning Excommunication.

Excommunication is at this time the pain of contumacy, and hath place where a man appeareth not upon process, or satisfieth not some order prescribed by the judge: as, not taking some cath, or not paying legacies, tiths, &c.

The offences that grow by the practice hereof in this manner are great. One, that being the highest censure left to the Church of God, it is profaned by applying it to temporal and civil causes. Another, that it is exercised by men that have no calling in the Church, as Chancellors, Officials, &c.

It may [therefore] be enacted, that none, not having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall in any matter already moved, or hereafter to be moved in the Courts, give or pronounce any sentence of suspension or excommunication. And yet for the contumacy of any person of [in] causes depending before them, it shall be lawful only to pronounce him *contumax*; and so to denounce him *politiquely*. And if upon such denunciation, as in excommunication hath been used, the party shall not submit himself, nor stand to, nor abide such order as is to him assigned, within fourty days, then it shall be lawful to signifie his contumacy in such manner and sort, and to such Court, as heretofore hath been used, for persons so long standing excommunicate. And that upon such certificate, a writ *De contumace capiendo* shall be awarded in like force, to all effects and purposes, as the writ *De excommunicato capiendo*.

Again, forasmuch as the Church may not be left without this censure of excommunication, it is to be provided, that

BOOK II. for enormous crimes, adultery, and such other, the same be executed, either by the Bishops themselves, with assistance of grave persons; or else by such persons of calling in the Church with like assistance; and not with Chancellors, Officials, [&c.] as now been used.

III. *Touching Commutation of Penance.*

That there be no *commutation of penance* for sin, but by the order and appointment of the Bishop, with assent of the Dean and Chapter, or the most part of them; or with the assent of six preachers of the diocese.

IV. *Touching Dispensations.*

The *faculties* that did the greatest hurt in the Church were three, viz. *dispensation De non promovendo*; *dispensation* for pluralities of benefices, and *dispensation* for non-residences.

These two last named faculties have bred the disorder of making vague Ministers: whereof hath ensued two great 100 inconveniences. One, and the chiefest of all, that the people is not taught: the other, that Ministers placed in benefices where the Pastor is absent, and having for the most part small allowance, do pass from place to place for their better preferment, and resting nowhere, respect neither their lives, nor increase in knowledge. For men be careful for their conversation, where they are to have continuance. And small account can be taken how he profiteth that abideth nowhere long. [Therefore]

That no Chaplain have two cures, if both amount to above 40^l. in the Queen's books, or be forty miles distant.

That none be enabled to have two cures, unless they be under the value aforesaid, and within twenty miles distant, and [they] resident upon one of them. [And none else] shall enjoy the same.

That no Dean of a cathedral church, Prebendary, or other having dignity, have more than one benefice with cure, beside his dignity, &c.

That no man have more dignities or prebends than two.

That they which have chaplains shall advance no more than their number, till the advanced dy, or otherwise one of the two benefices become void. BOOK
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That none be made Chaplain, enabled to [enjoy] two benefices, unless he be a Master of Art, or allowed by the Ordinary as sufficient.

That none shall be non-resident, but such as be continual attendants in the houses of such as they shall be Chaplains unto.

That they shall preach in person yearly two sermons; and four sermons beside *per se vel alium*.

Lastly, To consider, whether it were not meet to abate the number of the Chaplains of Archbushops, and under that degree, that may by the statute keep more than one Chaplain.

That in cases of non-residences and pluralities, the Bushop shall have [the nomination of] the allowance of the Minister that shall serve the cure in the absence of the Incumbent: and the stipend of the same Minister to be appointed by the Bushop, according to the sufficiency of the Minister: so as the stipend do not exceed the half of the clear yearly value of the benefice.

That is one faculty of great inconvenience, graunted not only by the Court of Faculties, but by the Chancellor of every dioces, viz. the dispensation of mariage without banns asking. By occasion whereof children make disordered matches without the assent of their parents; and orphans are left to the spoil of unthrifty persons. There will hardly be found reasonable cause why such dispensations should be permitted to any two persons to mary, whereof the one or both be single persons, and be not widows or widowers.

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Number XVII.

- 101 *A Licence granted to John Morrison, a Scotchman, to preach and administer holy things throughout the Province.*

Grind. Reg. WILHELMUS AUBREY Legum Doctor, officio Vicariatus in spiritualibus Generalis, et officialitatis principalis sedis Archiepiscopalis Cantuar. legitimè fungens; dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Morrison, A. M. in regno Scotiæ oriundo, Sal. in Domino sempiternam.

Cum uti ex fide digno testimonio acciperimus, tu præfatus Johannes Morrison circiter quinque annos elapsos in oppido de Garvet in comitat. Lothien. regni Scotiæ per generalem synodum sive congregationem illius comitatus in dicto oppido de Garvet congregatam juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ formam et ritum ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus fueras: cumque etiam dicta congregatio illius comitat. Lothen. orthodoxæ fidei et sinceræ religionis, in hoc regno Angliæ modo receptæ et auctoritate publica stabilitæ, sit conformis:

Nos igitur formam ordinationis et præfectionis tuæ hujus modi, modo præmisso factam, quantum in nos est, et de jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes, tibi, ut in hujusmodi ordinibus per te susceptis, in quibuscunque locis congruis, in et per totam provinciam Cantuarien. divina officia celebrare, Sacramenta ministrare, necnon verbum Dei sermone Latino vel vulgari, juxta talentum tibi à Deo traditum, purè et sincerè prædicare, liberè et licitè possis et valeas, licentiam et facultatem, de consensu et expresse mandato reverendiss. in Christo Patris Domini Edmundi Divina Providentia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis et Metropolitan, nobis significato, quantum in nobis est, et de jure possumus, ac quatenus jura regni patiuntur, benignè in Domino concedimus et impertimus. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum, quo in similibus utimur,

præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. sexto die mensis Aprilis BOOK
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ann. Dom. 1582.

Number XVIII.

Dr. Beacon to the Chancellor of Cambridge; for a roll to be sent up from the Universities of the learned men there.

GIVE me leave, right honourable, to be your Lordship's ^{MSS. penes me.} remembrancer of a blessed and singular benefit to the Church of God, and the students of the University, obtained by your Lordship's mediation many years since, and most graciously graunted by her most excellent Majesty, for the renewing or execution whereof, remaining in the records at Cambridg, either never once begun to be put in practice, or soon intermitted; the general and just com-102
plaint in these days, for want of sufficient instruction of the people in divers countries, of sharing ecclesiastical livings between corrupt patrons, ordinaries, and hirelings, of suffering many godly and learned preachers in both the Universities to remain less profitable to the Church, less comfortable to themselves, and no less discouragement of young students in divinity; doth make humble suit to your Lordship, or to both the Chauncellors of either University jointly, that by your honorable mediation to her Highness it may be from henceforth more religiously observed: that every second or third year either University do send up the names of all their learned and well-disposed students in divinity, ripe, ready, and willing to be disposed abroad into the Lord's vinyard; to remain with her Highness's principal Secretaries, or Clerk of the Signet, and the Lord Chancellor for the time being, as faithful remembrancers of her Majesty's most gracious zeal and disposition for their timely preferment.

What would not this example work in the inferior subject for imitation? How would it revive the dulled and discouraged spirits of University students, which, after their

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bodies and substance wearied and spent, might stand in some certain hope of their timely employments to the good of the Church, and their convenient provision and maintenance? Nothing would sooner daunt or restrain the shameless corruptions of these times, or work greater joy or hope of God's blessing in the hearts of the godly. It is no reproof of former courses, if the remembrance of any better be renewed: which if your Lordship have peradventure forgotten, Mr. Skinner can make best report thereof, who, not many years since, saw and read it amongst other monuments of our University. Your Lordship is wise to consider what is best to be done, by what means, and at what opportunity; and to pardon this students duty to the University and the Church of God, being performed to the Chauncelour of the University, and so honourable a patron of religion, vertue, and learning; and the L. Chauncelor to be named by her-Majesty: whosoever shall be happy to have his entrance thus sanctified by her Majesty's gracious direction in this behalf; howsoever many wicked benefice-brokers may hereby be disappointed of their manifold spoils reaped and expected by this cursed prey.

My prayers shall be for your Honor's happy preservation to this Church, Commonwelth, University of Cambridg, and your Honor's own nurse of St. John's, which your Honor had a meaning to sanctifie with the first-fruits of graunting impropriations, as they fell void, to the preachers of the house, during their lives, and attendance in teaching that people, before the statutes were fully finished. I beseech your Lordship not to be offended, if I presume to be your Honor's remembrancer thereof also, that it may be done in time, if it be not already done; that God's blessing may be more favourable and plentiful upon the students, and very walls of that famous foundation. From the Doctors Commons this xxv. of April, 1587.

Your Honour's humble at commaundment,

J. Beacon.

Number XIX.

*Precedents of Resignations made by Bishops. Drawn out of
of Matthew Paris by the Archbishop.* 103

*De Resignatione facta per Nicolaum de Farnham Episcopum
Dunel. Ex Matthao Paris.*

PURIFICATIONE Beatæ Mariæ imminente, Episcopus Dunelmensis Nicolaus, sentiens se annosum, valetudinarium, et infirmum, &c. Episcopatum suum Dunelmensem, obtentâ tali à Domino Papa licentiâ, resignavit, et datis ad hoc provisoribus, Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Londinensi et Wigornienti Episcopis, assignata sunt ei tria maneria, viz. de Hoveden cum pertinentiis, Stoctuna et Esingtuna. Recedens igitur à Dunelmo, acceptâ ibidem à fratribus licentiâ ad alterutrum dictorum maneriorum mansurus, perrexit, ut in pace ibidem, sine querelarum vel causarum strepitu, exutus à sollicitudinibus mundanis, sibi jam expectanti donec ejus veniret immutatio, liberius orationi vacaret, &c.

Nicholaus
Epis. Dunel.
Episcopatum suum
resignat,
postquam
sedisset annos octo.

Idem alio in loco.

Adulatores quidam pessimi cupientes placere Dunelmensi Episcopo Waltero, petierunt à Papa Episcopatum vel redintegrari, vel saltem minus damnificari. Quibus Papa. Miramur super his. Nonne facta fuit distributio illa, et partitio per magnam deliberationem et considerationem virorum peritorum, et consensum partium; et res jam confirmata est per nos, et regem Angliæ, et per provisos. Et sic repulsi sunt accusatores cum probris.

Idem alio in loco.

Eodem tempore obiit Magister Nicolaus de Fernham quondam Episcopus Dunelmensis, qui cesserat episcopatu, ut quietius et liberius fructus caperet contemplationis. Obiit autem apud Stoctunam, nobile suum manerium.

Nicholaus
vixit post
resignationem
annos IX.

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Number XX.

The Archbishop's last Will and Testament.

IN the name of God, Amen. The viii. day of May, is the year of our Lord 1583, and in the xxvth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady ELIZABETH by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene, Defender of the Faith, &c. I EDMUND GRINDALL, Archbishop of Canterbury, being hole in mynd, and of perfect remembrance, do make this my last Will and Testament, in man-
104 ner and form following, revoking all other wills whatsoever heretofore by me made, except one bearing date the xiii. day of April, 1583, concerning a certain portion of tithes in the parish of Ashwel, within the county of Hartford, given to the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Pembroke hall in Cambridge.

First, I bequeath my soul into the hands of my heavenly Father, humbly beseeching him to receive the same into his gracious mercies for his Christ's sake: and my body I will to be buried in the quere of the parish church of Croydon, without any solempne herse, or funeral pompe. Notwithstanding my meaning is, that if it please God to call me out of this transitorie lyfe, during the time that I shall remain in the possession of the archbishoprick of Canterbury, that the heraulds shall be reasonable compounded withal, and satisfied for their accustomed fees in such cases.

And as concerning my worldly goods, wherewith the Lord hath blessed me, my will is, that they shall be bestowed by my executors as followeth:

First, having nothing worthie to be presented to her Majestie, I humbly beseeche the same to accept at my hands the New Testament of Jesus Christ in Greke, of Stephanus his impression, as an argument of my dutiful and loving harte towards her Highnes: whom I pray Almighty God long to prosper and preserve to the benefit of his Church. *Item*, I will and bequeath to my next succe-

sor that shall be in the archbishoprick of Canterbury, the pictures of Archbishop Warham and Erasmus, and all such instruments of musick, and other implements, as were bequeathed and left unto me by my predecessor that last was. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the right honourable the L. Burghley, L. High Thresorer of England, that my standing cup which her Majestie gave unto me at new year last, before the date hereof; and I make him supervisor of this my testament, desiring his Honor to take that burden upon him. *Item*, I give unto the reverend Father in God the Bishop of Worcester that now is, my gold ring with a saphire; and to my honourable good friend Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretarie to her Majesty, my best standing cup which I brought from York, praying his Honor to be good and favourable towards the accomplishing of this my testament. *Item*, I gyve unto my faithful friend Mr. Nowel, Dean of Powls, my ambling gelding, called Gray Olephant. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the Pettie Canons and other inferior officers belonging to the church of Christ's Church in Canterburie, to be divided amonges them by the advice of the Dean of Canterburie for the time being, ten pounds. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the Masters and Fellows of Pembroke hall in Cambrige, one standing cup doble gilt, which her Majesty gave unto me the first year after I was Archbishop of Canterburie; and these books following, *viz.* an Hebrew Bible in *decimo sexto*, noted with Mr. Dr. Watts his hand; Chrysostom in Greke, upon St. Paul's Epistles; Pagnine his Thesaurus; Eusebius in Greke, and the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius and others, of Christopherson's translation. *Item*, I gyve to the Provost and Fellows of Quene's college in Oxford, one nest of bowls, brought from York, with a cover, *viz.* the newest three of the nine, and forty pounds 105 which they do owe unto me; also, all such books as I have assigned unto them, to be kept in their library, conteyned in a catalogue subscribed with my hand, and ten pounds towards the claspings, bossing, and chaining of the same. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to the Maior and Citizens of

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II.

Canterburie one hundred pounds, to be kept in a stock for ever, to the use of the poor of that citie; upon condition that they enter into sufficient bond unto my executors, as well that the said stock of one hundred pound shall not be diminished, as also that it shall be yearlie employed upon woll, flax, tow, hemp, and other stuff, whereby the poor people of the said citie may be set on work. *Item*, I give to the poor of Lambeth ten pounds; and to the poor of Croydon other ten pounds; and to the poor of the town and lower part of the parish of St. Beghs aforesaid, thirtene pounds, six shillings and eight pence. And I give to the use of the parish church of St. Beghs my communion cup, with the cover doble gylte, and my fayrest English Byble, of the translation appointed to be redd in the Church. *Item*, I gyve to every household servant that I shall have at the tyme of my death, which is not better provided for in this my testament, one half year's wages. And I will, that my said household servants shall be kept together, by the space of one month after my decease, and have their ordinary diet during the said tyme, to be provided by mine executors, without admitting any stranger thereunto. *Item*, I give unto Mr. Dr. Gibson, one of my lesser standing cups doble gilt, with a cover. *Item*, I will and bequeath to William Woodhall, my nephew, two nests of gilt boles, viz. the greater and the less, and the bed wherein I use to ly in Lambeth; two pillars, and two pair of fine shetes, a pair of my best fustain blanketts, my tapstrie coverlid wrought with grene leaves, a liverie bed, and two pair of shetes, and other furniture mete for the same, my signet of gold, my great nutt, my best salt doble gilt; all the silk in my warderobe that shall not be made into apparel at the tyme of my death; one dozen of silver spones parcel gilt; one garnish of vessel, and two of my best geldings that are not given by name in this my testament; and my black straie nagg called Nix. And I do further forgive him all such debts as he oweth unto me upon specialties. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto Mr. Wilson, my Chaplain, all such books as I have assigned unto him, conteyned in a

scedule subscribed with my hand. And I will, that my executors shall assign unto him the advouson of the parsonage of Wonstone, in the dioces of Winchester, if it fall void in his lifetime. But if it shall fall void after the death of the said Mr. Wilson, then I will, that my executors shall assign the same to my Chaplain Mr. Robinson, now Provost of Quene's college in Oxon, unless he shall before have received some one of the advousons hereafter specified: and I do forgeve unto the said Mr. Wilson all such debts as he oweth me upon specialties. Also I will, that my executors shall assign unto the said Mr. Robinson the advouson of the dignitie and prebend in the church of Lytchfeld, or the advouson of certen dignities and prebends 106 in the church of St. Davies, as sone as either of them shall fall void, at the election and choice of the said Mr. Robinson, unless he shall before have received the advouson of Wonstone aforesaid. But if the said dignities and prebends, or ether of them, shall not fall void in the lifetime of the said Mr. Robinson; or if they shall fall void after that he hath received the advouson of Wonstone aforesaid, then I will, that my executors shall assign one of the said advousons unto my Chaplain Mr. John Chambers, so sone as ether of the said dignities and prebends shall fall void, at the election and choice of the said Mr. Chambers. *Item*, I will, that my advouson of the dignitie of the church of Powles shall be bestowed upon some learned man, at the discretion of my executors, or the longest liver of them.

Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my nieces, Mabel, Anne, Barbara, and Frances, the daughters of Robert Grindal my brother late deceased, to every of them fifty pounds. And to my nieces, Dorothea, Katherine, Elizabeth, and Isabel, the daughters of Elizabeth Woodhal, my sister late deceased, to every of them fifty pounds; to be divided amonges them at the discretion of William Woodhal their uncle. *Item*, I gyve to my niece Woodhal one bowle doble gilt, without a cover; and to my niece Isabel Wilson one other bowle doble gilt, without a cover; and to Edmund Woodhal my godson one of my little standing cups, with a cover, doble

BOOK
II.

gilt. *Item*, I will and bequeath to my niece Frances Young, widowe, one dozen of silver spoons parcel gilt, a garnish of vessel, my little nut, and my can or tankard, double gilt. *Item*, I give unto John Scott, Esq. now Steward of my household, my gelding called Old Marshall; and my servant William Henmarsh, Gent. a ring, price twenty shillings; and to Robert Sandwich of Stillington, a ring, price thirty shillings. *Item*, I give to Robert Estwick, my Gentleman Usher, ten pounds for his fee at my burial: and to my servant Peter Palmer, Gent. ten pounds. And to Thomas Nicolson, Usher of my hall, five pounds. And to my servant William Grindal, ten pounds. And to my servants William Henley and Richard Matthew, to each of them one year's wages, and three pounds six shillings and eight pence. And to my servant John Acklam six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. And to my servant William Hales five pounds. Unless they be otherwise considered by me to the value thereof before my death. *Item*, I gyve to William Tubman my servant, ten pounds, and such books as are assigned unto him, conteyned in a scedule subscribed with my hand, and the advouson of the parsonage of Newington in Surrey, if it shall fall void in his lifetime. *Item*, I gyve to my servant Reignold Gledal, a good nagg, at the discretion of my executors, and forty shillings. *Item*, I give unto my servant John Sharpe, now Clerk of my kitchen, twenty pounds. *Item*, I give unto Richard Ratcliff, Gent. my Comptroller, thirty pounds, which he oweth me. And to Richard Frampton, Gent. my Secretary, ten pounds, out of his dett which he oweth me. *Item*, I gyve to Richard Somerdyne, late Yeoman of my horse, forty pounds, to be deducted out of his dett which he oweth unto me, upon specialtie for his lease of Rippon. *Item*, I gyve unto my loving friend Mr. Thomas Eaton, and to his wife, to ether of them, a ring, price twenty shillings; and I do forgyve him fifty pounds which he oweth unto me. *Item*, I gyve to Mr. William Strickland eight pounds. To Mr. Atherton seven pounds. To Mr. John Shutt ten pounds. To Mr. Warefeld of London, ten pounds. To Barston

and Ponder, eleven pounds: and to Saltmarsh forty shillings, of those detts which they and every of them do owe unto me. *Item*, I gyve and bequeath to John Browne, Fellow of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, ten pounds, and all such books as are assigned unto him in a seedule subscribed with my hand; and my morning gown and hood geven to me at the burial of the late Bishop of Elie; and also a bed, with two pair of shetes, and other furniture to the same, if he receive not the same bed and furniture before my death. *Item*, I gyve Mr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterburie, my white hobbie called York. BOOK
II.

Item, I do ordein and constitute William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterburie, John Scott, Esq. now Steward of my house, and William Woodhal my nephew, executors of this my last will and testament. And I gyve to every of them that shall take upon them the execution of this my testament, fifty pounds: and to every of them that shall refuse the same, I gyve ten pounds, to the intent they be favourers and furtherers of the execution thereof. The residew of all my goods and cattells, my detts and legacies being payd, and all other manner of charges being born and fully satisfied, I will, shall be bestowed upon the poorest of my kinsfolk and servants, and upon poor scholars, and other godlie uses, at the discretion of my executors. In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal hereunto, in the presence of the witnesses underwritten.

E. CANT.

John. Walkerus Archidiac. Essexiæ.

Per me Johan. Incent, Notar. Public.

Per me Thomam Redman, Notar. Public.

Will. Archbold.

Josua Gilpin.

William Kirton.

BOOK
II.

Number XXI.

A letter from Pembroke hall to Grindal, upon his advancement to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and upon certain endowments settled by him on that college.

MSS. de
cantol.
Pembro-
chian.

ETSI nunquam tuam in nos, collegiumque nostrum, (amplissime, reverendissime Præsul,) neque beneficentiam essemus, neque pietatem experti, (quam certè experti sumus singularem, totaque domus frequenti prædicatione celebrat,) ii tamen sunt Præfecti nostri de summo tuo studio, insigni benevolentia, curaque de nobis incredibili, sermones, ut de amplitudine tuâ non sperare optimè, non sentire magnificè, non loqui honorificè, non queamus. Non solum enim peramicam te ait, celeberrimamque collegii mentionem etiam in gravissimarum rerum occupatione facere, sed a quoque addere piorum benefactorum promissa, quibus nos amplissimæ dominationi tuæ, cum omninò omnes, tum sigillatim singulos ita devinxis, ut non tam officiorum aliquorum vinculis tibi obstricti, quàm dediti planè ac devoti videamur. Quibus ornatissimi viri, de nobisque optimè meriti, sermonibus ita exhilarati sumus vel inflammati, ut protinus ardenti quadam cupiditate flagraremus erga amplitudinem tuam, ut quàm gratissimi et quàm officiosissimi cognosceremur. Præsertim cum in altissima celsissimaque sede dignitatis collocatus, de nostris tamen cogitare rebus, et Pembrochianorum tuorum patrocinium suscipere non dedigneris.

Quid enim nobis singulis optatius? Quid universis honorificentius? Quid aulæ Pembrochianæ gloriosius esse potuit, quàm in hominis, non solum excellenti doctrinâ singularique pietate spectatissimi, verum etiam pontificio splendore et authoritate, omni dignitateque illustrissimi, id est, et Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Grindalli, peregregiâ tutelâ esse? Certe nemo ex omnibus est, quos vel mater Academia aluit, vel collegium nostrum educavit, vel Doctorum monumenta celebrârunt, cujus fidei, virtuti, integritati malimus, quàm tuæ commendari. Imò tantum abest (honoratissime Præ-

sul) tibi quempiam ut anteferamus, ut ne conferamus quidem aliquem, sed facile primas, ut totius Angliæ Primati, tribuamus. In quo est, quod magnopere etiam atque etiam Pembrochiani gloriemur, quod cum antea complures Episcopos habuerimus, egregia eruditionis virtutisque laude præstantes, Carliol. Exon. Winton. Dunelmen. Londin. Eboracen. nonnullos alios alumnos collegii nostri, nunc quoque aliquando tandem, ad sempiternam Pembrochianam gloriam, etiam ipsum Cantuariensem, ipsum Metropolitanum, ipsum Angliæ Primatem, et summum denique Archiepiscopum, omnibus animi fortunæque ornamentis cumulatissimum, habeamus. Ad quem non tanquam ad Deum Delphicum, à poetis temerè confictum, sed tanquam ad Mæcenatem, omnium scriptorum monumentis celeberrimum, et communem literarum vindicem, assiduè confugiamus, et in cujus suavissimo, sanctissimoque patrocinio, tanquam peropportuno diversorio, conquiescamus.

Nec vero non maximas Dei et sempiternas gratias debemus, cujus singulari beneficio propugnatorem adepti sumus et patronum tam singularem? Tibi etiam (reverendissime, colendissimeque Pater) secundum Deum, non modo gratias agimus, agemusque ut Mæcenati, immortales, sed omnia præstantissimo et sanctissimo Patri emetiemur. Quod amplissimæ dominationi tuæ præterea impertiamus, præter supplices et assiduas ad numen æternum preces, nihil habemus; a cujus præpotenti Majestate vehementer etiam atque etiam contendimus, ut amplitudinem tuam, cum ad nostram privatim, tum communem ecclesiæ reique pub. utilitatem, quàm diutissimè velit, et aliis rebus omnibus ornamentisque florentissimam, incolumem atque salvam conservare. Dat. Cantabr. è collegio nostro, vel potius tuo. 1576.

Tuæ Amplitudini, &c.

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Epist. Reverendiss. Patr.

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Edwin. Sandys, Archiep. Ebor.

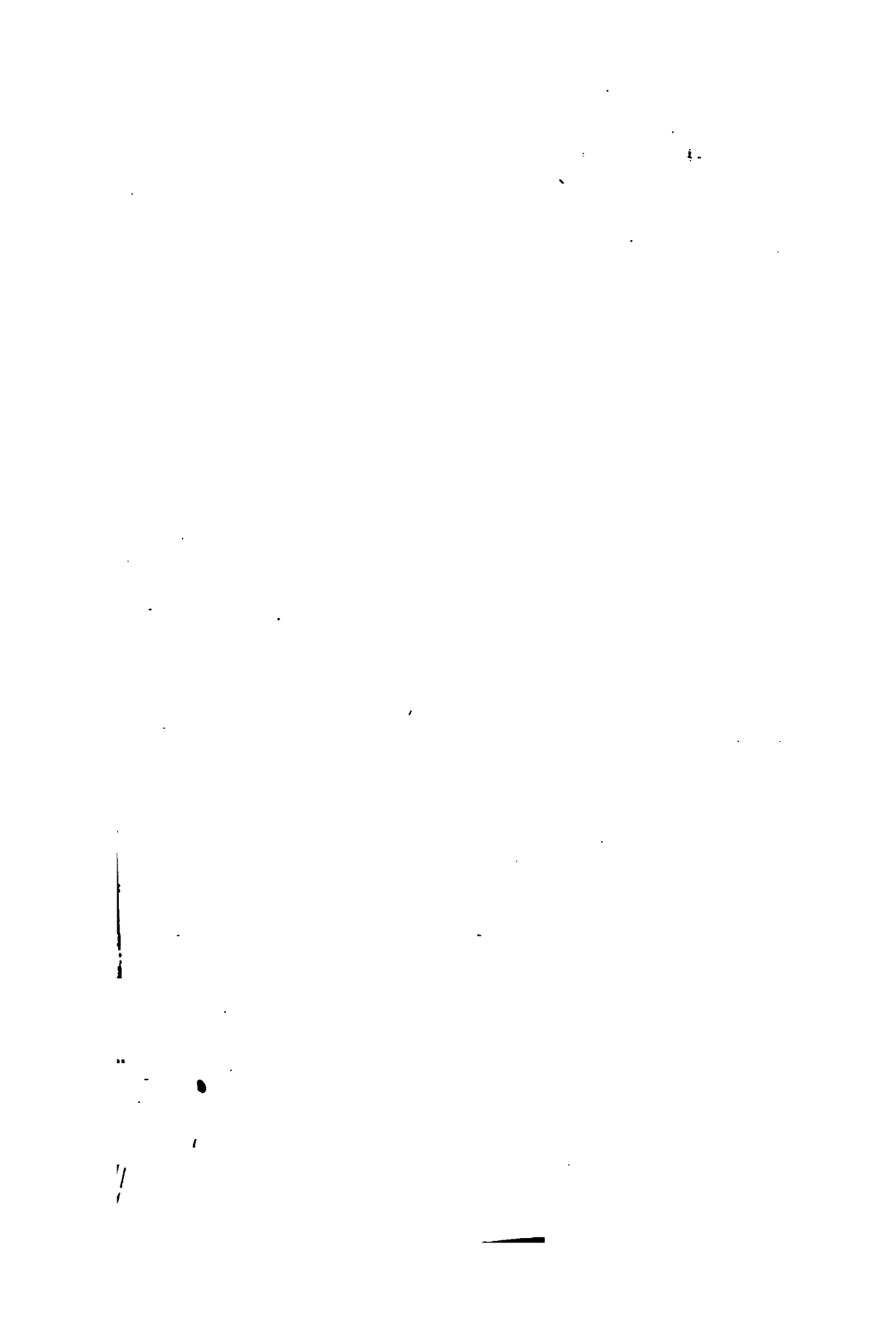
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penes Rev. Francisc. Atterbu-
ry, D.D. Decan. Carliol.
MSS. penes me.**

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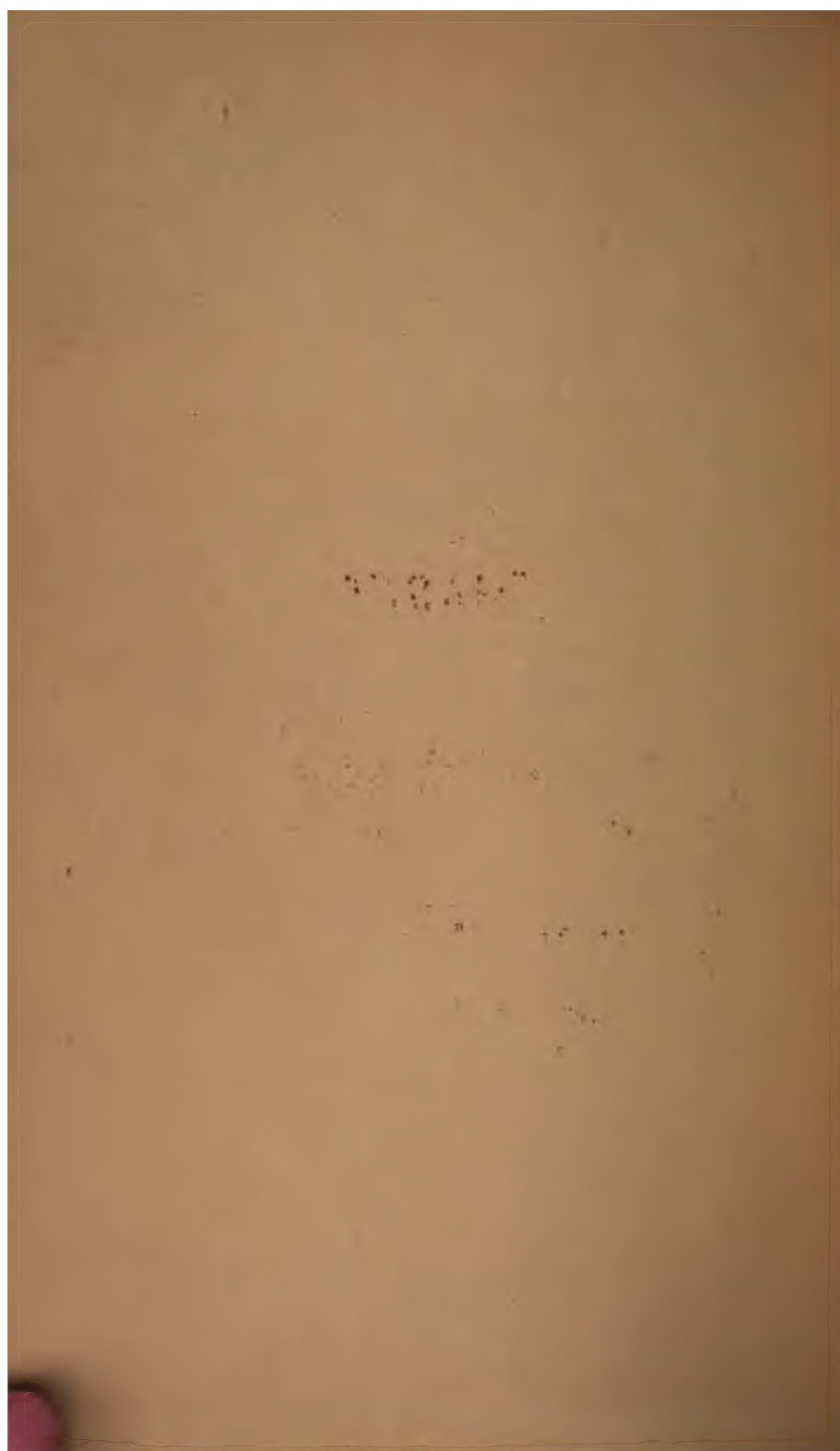
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